00086912

THE

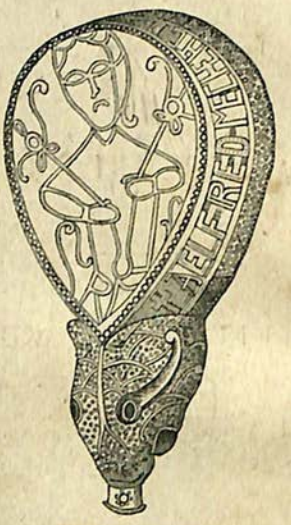
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

BOHN'S ANTIQUARIAN LIBRARY.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF KING ALFRED.



ÆLFRED'S JEWEL.

THE LIFE

OF

ALFRED THE GREAT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

OF

DR. R. PAULI.

86912

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

ALFRED'S ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS.

WITH

A Literal English Translation, and an Anglo-Saxon Alphabet and Glossary.

B1872

By B. THORPE, Esq.,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AT MUNICH.

J 9 H. 9. 50

LONDON:

BELL & DALDY, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

MDCCCLXXIII.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

As a fitting and, it is hoped, welcome accompaniment to the translation of my friend Dr. Pauli's excellent Life of King Alfred, the Publisher has judiciously selected Orosius, the work of our great West-Saxon Monarch, which most loudly called for republication, not only on account of its scarcity and cost, but also because of the glaring inaccuracies, both in the text and translation, of the only existing edition.*

From the necessity of writing an introductory essay I am relieved by the ample and satisfactory account given of the work by Dr. Pauli; yet a few words may not be deemed superfluous.

The reasons for ascribing the Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius to Alfred, are, if not incontrovertible, at least of sufficient weight to justify us in concurring in the general belief. That such labours were not foreign to his studies, may be seen in the Preface to his version of Boethius: Ælfred kuning wæs pealhstod þisse bec. ⁊ hie of bec-lædene on englisc wende: *King Ælfred was the interpreter of this book (Boethius), and turned it from book-Latin into English.* Though referring to another work, this passage, in combination with the Introduction of the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan,† seems strongly to favour Alfred's claim. We have, besides, the positive, though later, testimony of William of Malmesbury, who, speaking of Alfred's literary labours, says: plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit, opimam prædam peregrinarum mercium civium usibus convectans, cujus præcipui sunt Orosius, etc.; *a very great part of Roman literature he gave to English ears, conveying a rich booty of foreign wares for the use of his countrymen, the chief of which are Orosius, etc.*

* The Anglo-Saxon Version from the Historian Orosius. By Ælfred the Great. Together with an English translation from the Anglo-Saxon. By the Hon. Daines Barrington. London. MDCCLXXIII.

† See p. 248. Ohthere sæde his hlaforde Ælfrede kyninge, etc.

With respect to the version itself, it is in general paraphrastic, and in many instances inaccurate, evincing, on the part of its author, but slender acquaintance with the language of the original. Indeed, from the date of the subversion of the Roman republic, Alfred's work is only a meagre epitome, exhibiting little more than the heads of the several chapters.

The only ancient manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius known to exist, is in the Cottonian Library, marked Tiberius, B. 1. As far as penmanship is concerned, it is unquestionably a precious and beautiful volume, though manifestly the handiwork of an illiterate scribe. On account of its antiquity (not later than the tenth century), it has, however, been held in a degree of estimation hardly justified by its intrinsic worth. This being the only source of the Anglo-Saxon text, it is difficult to account for the variations existing among the several transcripts.*

The attention of the student is directed to certain anomalies in the Anglo-Saxon text, occurring occasionally in the endings of nouns substantive, and the imperfect plurals of verbs and infinitives. These consist chiefly in the substitution of a for o, and *vice-versa*, as namon for naman, beꝼcuꝼon infin. for beꝼcuꝼan, ðẏðan, ꝼæꝼan, eoðan, for ðẏðon, ꝼæꝼon, euðon. Similar anomalies occur also in Alfred's Boethius. Are they West-Saxon?

The present text is founded on a careful collection of that of Barrington with the Cottonian manuscript. The translation is close and almost literal, though, at the same time, readable as an independent work. With the aid of the Outline of Anglo-Saxon Grammar (after Rask) and the Glossary appended to the Orosius, the volume will, it is hoped, render the acquisition of our noble mother-tongue a study as agreeable as it is valuable; for without a competent knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon, no one can be a critical English scholar.

Though here, perhaps, somewhat out of place, I must be allowed, in illustration of a long-disputed point in the geography of the North, to add a few words relative to what may justly be pronounced the most valuable portion of Alfred's work: the Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan.

* Of such transcripts Daines Barrington notes the following: 1. The Lauderdale, formerly at Ham House, but no longer to be be found there, marked M.L. 2. The Ballard, marked B.T. 3. The Hatton, marked M.H. 4. The Elstob, marked E.T.

Having doubled the North Cape and visited the countries about the White Sea, Ohthere (whose home was in Halgoland, the most northern part of Norway) proceeded southward to the port of Sciringesheal;* sailing whence, after crossing the Cattegat, he had Gotland (Jutland) on his right, and then Seeland. From the mention of islands on his left, it would seem that he sailed between Möen and Seeland; for I cannot agree with Dahlmann (Forschungen, Th. I. and Gesch. v. Dännem. I. p. 65,) and Pauli, in supposing that Ohthere passed through the Great Belt. The Gotland of Wulfstan is evidently the Swedish island of that name.

B. THORPE.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THIS translation is offered to the public with the diffidence which must ever accompany the attempt to render into one language, thoughts expressed in another. In this particular case, the difficulty of the translator's task has been increased by the peculiar nature of the author's style. In his love for his subject, and his eagerness to do it justice, and to establish facts hitherto considered doubtful, he crowds so much matter into his sentences as often to render them involved, and, in many cases, rugged and abrupt. But when the difficulties are once fairly mastered, our sense of perplexity is lost in admiration at the enthusiasm, patience, learning, and skill, with which Dr. Pauli, from such defective materials, has constructed a work so rich in interest.

The study of the biography of men, who, by their talents and virtues, have made for themselves a place in the world's history, has a value apart from the intellectual pleasure it affords. Longfellow says,

> Lives of great men all remind us
> We may make *our* lives sublime.

* Of this port Mr. Aall, the latest and best translator of the Heimskringla, thus speaks: "Skiringssalr, respecting the position of which so many of the most learned inquirers have been at variance and in doubt, and which has been sought for in Bahuuslehn, in Skåne, in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, and even in Prussia; although both Snorri and the authors of 'Sögurbrot' and 'Fagurskinna' expressly refer it to Vestfold," etc.

And surely the careful investigation of the records of the life of this great King cannot but be of peculiar interest in these days; for it will show us that true power and greatness arise from the practice of justice and morality; and that without these, skill, ambition, and courage, however specious and however brilliant, serve but as lights to dazzle and mislead. Above all, the History of Alfred's life shows that a firm religious faith beautifies the character in all its relations, and enables the mind to rise superior to all trials, however severe.

A. P.

Wareham.

DR. PAULI'S PREFACE.

THE plan of the following work was conceived at Oxford, in the November of the eventful year 1848, at a time when German hearts trembled, as they had seldom done before, for the preservation of their Fatherland, and especially for the continuance of those States which were destined by Heaven for the protection and support of Germany. That was a fearful winter! Various misgivings as to my abode in a foreign land arose on the receipt of such serious accounts from home. A daily visit to the venerable old Bodleian Library, with its wealth of literature, and especially its valuable manuscripts, could alone, for a few hours, dissipate my gloomy thoughts. In spite of these, and almost imperceptibly to myself, I took a growing interest in the history of the struggles and victories of Alfred of the West Saxons.

I resolved to select the Life of this most excellent King as a starting-point for my future studies in English History—to which I had lately received a fresh impulse on account of my project of continuing Lappenberg's "History of England," which the worthy Author was obliged to leave incomplete, owing to the serious disease in his eyes.

I was most eagerly pursuing my preparations for the Life of Alfred, when other engagements intervened, and prevented me from taking any steps towards its accomplishment until the commencement of the following autumn; and now, after various and frequently longer interruptions, the work is first completed. Nearly two whole years have passed, and the

eyes of the world are still, as then, fixed, but more earnestly, on the solution of things in Germany.

It has been my aim to describe the high moral position which Alfred occupies in the organic development of the history of the liberties of England, according to my best ability, and from that point of view which German historical research into the most authentic sources of information has established. After a thorough investigation, I am by no means certain that the paucity of material is one of the most serious impediments to the work. These consist partly in the difficulty which exists in combining original historical inquiry with the narration of past facts,—and partly in my own inability to compensate for poverty of resource by a fluent style of composition. Neither do I feel myself free from fault in the critical part of the work; but here the errors arise from my love for the subject, and not from the idle vanity of authorship.

I look, then, with confidence, to the sentence which strict and impartial judges may pass upon my work. It is written by a German, and for Germans; and, as it is hoped, in the spirit of German inquiry. What the author owes to the literature of his own country, is faithfully acknowledged in its proper place. The country of the Anglo-Saxons not only opened to him all its wealth of materials for his work, but he owes much gratitude for the personal friendship of the most able literary men of England—such as Kemble and Thorpe; and for the kind assistance rendered him by the officers of the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, and of other large collections of books in that country.

I have employed those authorities that have been published in England, or else gathered my information from manuscripts, whose confused orthography I did not attempt to arrange in consecutive order, as Jacob Grimm has done with respect to the German dialects. May the great master of this excellent system pardon me, when he learns that this disregard of his example was prompted by my desire of thoroughly understanding the originals, and that my frequent difficulty has rather been to rise above the idiomatic structure of the languages of the ninth century. And now let the book speak for itself.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
	INTRODUCTION—General Summary—Review of the Authorities from which Alfred's History is derived	1
I.	Rise of the West Saxon Kingdom—Descent of the Rulers from Woden—The Earlier Centuries—Egbert—Ethelwulf	16
II.	Alfred's Youth, from 849 to 866—The Commencement of King Ethelred's Reign	45
III.	The Time of Alfred's Education, from 866 to 871	67
IV.	The Time of Trial: 871 to 881	84
V.	Alfred's Efficiency in Church and State—Supplement to Section V.	116
VI.	Alfred as an Author, and the Instructor of his People in all kinds of useful Knowledge	164
VII.	Renewed Contest and successful Results—The Kingdom descends strengthened to Edward I.	198
VIII.	Alfred in his Private and Domestic Life	220
	Chronicle of the West Saxon History, from 838 to 901	236
	KING ALFRED'S ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF THE HISTORY OF PAULUS OROSIUS	238
	Contents of Orosius	514
	Notes	529
	Anglo-Saxon Alphabet	533
	Outline of Anglo-Saxon Grammar	534
	Glossary to Orosius	551

CORRIGENDA.

Page 254, l. 6,	for	huıȝn	read	hunıȝ
„ 264, l. 10,	„	pıð	„	ꝑıð
„ — III. l. 3,	„	ꝼꝓo	„	ꝼoꝓ
„ 266, IV., l. 2,	„	Lıaꝓꝼaꝺhı	„	Lıaꝓꝼaꝺhı
„ 268, VI., l. 1,	„	þæꝓe	„	ꝑæꝓe
„ 270, VII., l. 8,	„	æꝼꝺen	„	æꝼꝺeꝓ
„ 286, l. 13,	„	þæꝓe	„	ꝑæꝓe
„ 302, l. 16,	„	pıð	„	ꝑıð. L. 30, for ꝑolðe r. ꝑolðe
„ 304, l. 12,	„	ꝼeo mæꝼꝺa	„	ꝼe mæꝼꝺa or ꝼeo mæꝼꝺe?
„ 315, l. 10,	„	ninetÿ	„	nineteen
„ 428, l. 9,	„	ꝼæꝼꝺen	„	ꝼæꝼꝺen
„ 458, l. 3, from bot.,		ꝼoꝓ	„	ꝼoꝓ

INTRODUCTION.

GENERAL SUMMARY—REVIEW OF THE AUTHORITIES FROM WHICH ALFRED'S HISTORY IS DERIVED.

When Theodoric the Great established his Gothic Kingdom upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, his people had not attained those settled habits which are requisite for the firm establishment of a state; nor did they possess sufficient internal strength to make any lasting resistance against the preponderating influence of the still classic land of the South. The great migration of population from East to West had by no means ceased; and scarcely more than a quarter of a century elapsed after the death of Odoacer's conqueror, when with the independence of the Goths almost every trace of his operations disappeared. Charlemagne, at the head of his Frankish army, conquered the mighty Teutonic power, and won the imperial crown of the Western Kingdom. After him there never existed a leader amongst the Germans whose personal influence was sufficiently powerful to keep united under one sceptre a great nation composed of so many different races. Although the boundaries established by him between his kingdom and the Sclavonians, Moors, and Scandinavians, became in later times rather enlarged than confirmed, and although his great and powerful laws and institutions still continued for many centuries to be reverenced, especially amongst the Franks, still his kingdom always continued to descend in a divided form to his posterity. It was not so much the freshly-awakened influence of Rome, as an impulse originating from the German people themselves, which led them to endeavour to obtain a division of races, and a geographical distribution of the lands which had now become their own, and with the political knowledge communicated to them by Charlemagne, to form single independent states.

Alfred of Wessex, the only ruler of England ever surnamed the Great[1], had to endure infinitely greater trials, and during the principal part of his life, to wage a far more difficult war, than any of the other celebrated kings of the German race; notwithstanding this, with the most unwearied perseverance, he founded institutions which remain to this day, and constitute one of the most important links in the progressive political development of the powerful Saxon people on the British island. Without doubt, this was also essentially advanced by the peculiar character of his subjects, and the isolated position of the country where they had become settled. It seems almost as if the branch of Angles and Saxons which had separated itself from the parent-stem so firmly rooted on the continent, had in a short time put forth more vigorous shoots in the fertile soil of the island, than the Franks had done in conquered Gaul, or even the ancient Saxons in their own home. The priests and nobles of Charlemagne already attended the schools of the Anglo-Saxons, and the learned Alcuin was anxious to return from the Frankish court to the convent library at York. When Alfred died, his relation Henry, the father of Otho the Great, who brought the Roman Empire into Germany, was a young man, and Christian education was only in its first infancy amongst his Saxon people.

On turning our attention to the records of those three German princes who were called the Great, it seems as though their history was destined to the same fate—that of being early blended with popular tradition. And yet how much difference there is between them! Among the Teutonic people, the image of Theodoric was almost entirely merged in the indistinct form of a dark, gigantic hero, so long the theme of many a German song. Charlemagne became the hero of Europe, in Germanic and Celtic poetry and romances; notwithstanding this, the traces of his historical existence are clear enough, and Eginhard has left to all ages a faithful picture of his personal appearance. Alfred's name, on the contrary, lapsed into that myth which to this day obscures it, and which, to careless eyes, effaces the lives and deeds of celebrated men from the pages of history. Of him also his

[1] He was first designated thus in the sixteenth century.

people sung[1], but the old Pagan charm of those songs has long ago been broken; for the zealous Church, in her fervent gratitude to him, embodied him in her legends; and the greater part of the later stories of the monks may have frequently originated in their cells, and have been the result of pious fraud. Who can decide what traditionary husk is the easier to remove in order to reach the solid kernel of true history?

Although Alfred lived at a time when our perception of his individuality is not obscured by the shadowy clouds of tradition, and in a country where the sober prose of reality had early taken the place of all the poetry of more southern lands, yet he was never fortunate enough to find a Cassiodorus or an Eginhard amongst those by whom he was surrounded. At the first glance, indeed, Asser might be compared with the latter; but, if the Gesta Alfredi is somewhat more closely observed, one doubt after another will arise, whether, in the form which is preserved to us, this can really be the work of that bishop who was so trusted by his

[1] In the so-called "Proverbs of King Alfred," quoted by Kemble in his "Solomon and Saturn," 1848, p. 226, ff.

"Alfred
Englene herd
Englene darling
in Enkelonde he was King.
Alfred he was in Enkelonde a king
Wel swipe strong and lussum ping;
he was king and cleric
full wel he louede Godes werc;
he was wis on his word
And war on his work
he was þe wisiste mon
þad was in Engelonde on."

And Layamon's Brut. ed. Sir F. Madden, 1848, i. 269.

Seoððen þer æfter
monie hundred wintre
cone Alfred þe King
Engelondes deorling
And wrat þe lagan on Englis, &c.

Both poems originated in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Saxon feelings of the English people being revived in their first attempts at literature, hoyt doubtlessly remembered with gratitude him who had achieved their former greatness.

king. Criticism has been frequently employed on this little book, but it has never decided the important question. For my own part, I shall not undertake to solve such a problem in its full extent; and I doubt much whether it is possible to determine the point with absolute certainty. I find, so far, that, with the single exception of Thomas Wright, in the "Biographia Literaria Britannica, I., 405-413," no one has thought of denying the authenticity of the book; the best English and German authors rather maintain that it was really written by Asser, and is our best authority for the life of this great king[1].

I cannot altogether avoid considering it in this light; but I will bring forward those parts of the work which, after much attentive examination, I believe to be correct, as well as those which appear to be spurious or inaccurate.

Unfortunately, we possess no good manuscript of this biography. The most ancient, a Cottonian MS., Otho, A. XII., a relic of the tenth century, was lost in the destructive fire which so seriously injured Sir Richard Cotton's library, in the year 1731. Happily for us, however, Wise[2], in his edition of Asser, has preserved a copy of this manuscript, from which we learn that it did not contain many records which we find in other manuscripts, and especially in the latest and most doubtful ones. These are collected under the name of the Chronicon Fani S. Neoti sive Annales Johannis Asserii, which is nothing more than a bad compilation from the Saxon Chronicle, and from various unauthentic legends, and which has been received into the most modern MSS., executed so late as the sixteenth century, and also into the careful Editio Princeps of Archbishop Parker, in 1574, whether purposely or from oversight, it is impossible to say[3]. Wise's correct criticism has, however, preserved the text of the tenth century.

We also find that Florence of Worcester copied a large portion of the biography into his Chronicle. It is, therefore,

[1] Pertz Monum. Hist. Germ. i. p. 449, n. 34, where Asser is quoted as "vitae Ælfredi auctor coaevus." Vide Lappenberg's History of England, i. S. xlviii., 311; and latterly Kemble, "The Saxons in England," ii. 42, n.

[2] Annales rerum gestarum Ælfredi auctore Asserio Menevensi rec. F. Wise, Oxon. 1722, 8.

[3] Monumenta Historica Britannica, preface, p. 79, 80.

necessary at this stage of our inquiry to notice the latter historical work. When we consider its almost literal agreement with our biography, it is not a little remarkable that Asser is not once recognised as an authority. Florence casually mentions him only twice; once in the year 872, when, on occasion of Werfrith's elevation to the bishopric of Worcester, he includes him in a very incorrect list of learned men, although he flourished at a later period at the court of Alfred; and again, in the utterly inexplicable record of the year 883:

Assero Scireburnensi episcopo defuncto succedit Suithelmus, &c.:

whereas we learn from Asser himself, that he was not known or confided in by the king until 885.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle likewise informs us, that Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, died in 910; and we find his signature, "Asser episcopus," affixed to authentic documents so late as the year 909[1]. We have, then, nothing to do with the above-named record, except simply to reject it[2].

We look in vain for the reasons which induced Florence to conceal the name of the author from whose work he literally copied large portions; perhaps he thought it superfluous to mention a book which must have been generally known in the beginning of the twelfth century[3], when he took the liberty of plagiarising from it at his own discretion.

But did he really take all his Chronicle from Asser? Might he not have had before him either Asser's Latin translation of the Annals from 850 to 887, or even the original Saxon Chronicle? This opinion has strong probability in its favour; but then the question arises, whether the strictly annalistic sections of Asser's work were not added at a later period to the biographical parts of the original Vita, in that episodical form which has descended to us. But, according to the lost Cottonian MS., we find them already in existence in the tenth century, long before Florence transcribed them; and this peculiar and strange mingling of annals and biography would seem actually to have proceeded from our Asser, and to have been the original form of his work.

[1] Kemble, Cod. Diplom. n. 335, 337, 1077, 1082, 1087.
[2] Vide Thorpe's New Edition of Florent. Wigorn. Chron. i. 98.
[3] Florence died July 7th, 1118. ii. 72, Ed. Thorpe.

Lappenberg[1], on various well-established grounds, inclines to the opinion that the Annals themselves—at least, those of the years 879, 884, 885, 886, and 887—are the work of Asser; but that the literal agreement of the rest with the words of the Chronicles, preclude the idea of their being his composition.

There are good reasons for believing that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles were first commenced under Alfred, and that, according to the oldest edition we possess, their reckoning began soon after 890. Composed on the Latin model, they consisted of materials of all kinds, and were originated at a time when Alfred and his contemporaries were actively engaged in improving their native language. Asser, the Welshman, must have understood Saxon: he had, undoubtedly, the Chronicle of 890 before him, when, in 893[2], he wrote the life of his king; but the continuation, which treats of the last years of Alfred's reign, and which was written in the following century, he could not have possessed. He might, indeed, have also had a Latin copy of the Chronicle, from whence he, and Florence after him, derived the dates of their general history. I perceive, with pleasure, that the annalistic dates of both these authors, with only few exceptions, agree literally with the most ancient MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which are also of West Saxon origin, and especially with the oldest Cambridge copies. The following are selected examples of this agreement:

	Asser. Florence.	Chron. Sax.
A. 860.	Loco funeris dominati sunt.	Wealstowe gewcald ahton.
A. 874.	Cuidam insipienti ministro regis.	Anum unwisum cyninges pegne.
A. 881.	Finito proelio pagani equis inventis equites facti sunt.	Wær wearð se here gehorsod æfter þam gefeohte.

Again Asser omits these records, which are also wanting in the oldest copies of the Chronicle:

A. 870. The Section: and fordidon ealle þa mynstre, &c., to—þa hit wearð to nan þing.
A. 871. And heora pær wearð oðer ofslegen. Wæs nama wæs Sidroc.
A. 877. And se sciphere segelode west ymbutan.

But we must confess that sometimes other elements in-

[1] Göttinger Gel. Anz. April 1st, 1844.

[2] Asser in Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 492, a vigesimo aetatis anno usque ad quadragesimum quintum annum quem nunc agit.

trude into the Chronicle of Florence which are not to be found either in the earliest Chronicles or in the "Gesta Alfredi;" for example, the Obitus Sti Swithuni, A. 862, which is only mentioned in the two latest Chronicles, and which, like the account of Asser's death in the year 883, is of no value. It is therefore difficult to decide whether Florence borrowed from Asser's work the Annals of the years from 850 to 887, and then augmented them from his own materials; or whether, which is quite as likely, he adopted Asser's authorities and manner, and compiled them himself.

We will now proceed to the strictly biographical parts of the work, which, as has been already remarked, consist of episodes of more or less length, but which seem, in many places, to have been much mutilated. The following are the principal:

A. 849. The genealogy and birth of Alfred, taken from the "Genealogical Register of the West Saxons."—Florent. A. 849.

A. 855. The strife between Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald; the fearful history of Queen Eadburga.—Florent. A. 855.

A. 866. Alfred's youth and love of study.—Florent. A. 871.

A. 867. The excursion into Northumbria, more precise than in the Chronicle.—Florent. A. 867.

A. 868. Alfred's marriage.—Florent. A. 868.

A. 871. Continuation of the description of the Battle of Ashdune.—Florent. A. 871.

A. 878. Continuation of the description of the Battle of Ethandune.—Florent. A. 878.

A. 884. The long account of the bodily sufferings, the family, and learned companions of the King.—Florent. A. 871-872.
Asser's own connexion with his Prince. Excursion into Wales.

A. 887. A long episode concerning Alfred's studies, sickness, mode of government, endowments, and administration, with which the book concludes.

It must be remarked, that the last section in the Cottonian MS., at least from the words "Ingeniosam benevolentiam" to "locupletatim ditavit" (p. 491-495), is written by a later hand.

All these sections Florence copies almost literally, but where, towards the end, they become more lengthy, he abridges them; sometimes, as we can see by comparing them, he substitutes one year for another; but he always omits the titles of the chapters, which are invariably written in a peculiar style; I hope, the genuine one of Asser.

P. 473 A. 866. "Sed ut more navigantium loquar ne diutis navim undis et velamentis concedentes, et a terra longius

enavigantes longum circumferamur inter tantas bellorum clades et annorum enumerationes, ad id quod nos maxime ad hoc opus incitavit nobis redeundum esse censeo; silicet aliquantulum autem meæ cognitioni innotuit[1]," &c.

P. 484 A. 834. "Igitur ut ad id, unde digressus sum redeam, ne diuturna navigatione portum optatae quietis omittere cogar, aliquantulum, quantum notitiæ meæ innotuerit," &c.

There is also completely wanting the account, in the year 877, of the king's shipbuilding, which is neither to be found in the Cottonian MS. And this circumstance casts considerable suspicion on the fact that Alfred, in the desperate state of his affairs at that time, seriously thought of undertaking a naval expedition against the national enemy. This may have originated in the record of a sea-fight which took place in the year 875, which is contained in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In the year 878, Florence omits the narration of Alfred's residence with the cowherd, which is given in the "Vita Sti Neoti," written towards the end of the tenth century, and of which only the introductory part seems to have been preserved in the Cottonian MS. Finally, Florence says nothing of the notorious clause respecting the establishment of the University of Oxford, in the year 886, taken by Camden from the MS. Savile only, in which either he or some other person, out of zeal for Alma Mater, has attempted a deception, and whose correctness, especially after the notice in Lappenberg's History of England, I., 339, no reasonable man will continue to believe.

With the exception of these three instances, I consider the remaining episodes, even in the larger portion of their details, to be the genuine productions of Asser. The History of Queen Edburga, doubted by Wright (p. 409), exists in the Cotton. MS.; the "multis habetur incognitum" may have been Asser's, who had then lived only a short time amongst the West Saxons, and could scarcely have known much of what had taken place amongst them more than eighty years before, and who undoubtedly took a greater pleasure in tran-

[1] There can be compared with this the similar passage introduced by Ethelwerd, iv. p. 514, Monum. Hist. Brit.: "Veluti advecta navis per gurgites undarum longinqua spatia tenet," &c. Both, as true sons of Britain, derive their comparison from navigation.

scribing the narrative, because, as he expressly says, he had heard it so often from his truth-loving king[1].

In conclusion, we may be allowed to mention a few other points. It is inexplicable that Asser should omit the account of the battle of Merton, in 871, and the entire year 885, or rather that he does not relate the events which in the Chronicle follow the year 884. In the year 883, there is wanting, not only the record of the death of Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, which omission explains itself, but even the narration of the Embassy to Rome, and to the East, which is confirmed by Florence and the most ancient Chronicles. These are defects which can only be accounted for by the damaged state in which the work is come down to us. The question will also present itself, why Asser, who himself tells us (p. 492) that he wrote in 893, in the forty-fifth year of the king's age, did not bring down the biography later than 887. I consider this circumstance rather as a further ground for believing in the authenticity of the work[2]; for there is no mention made of the renewed contests with the Danes, who, after the death of King Guthorm-Athelstan, of East Anglia, A. 890, again threatened to commence hostilities, and who were only finally and entirely subdued after the year 893. It is more than rash to suppose with Wright (p. 411) that the whole biography could not have been composed before the end of the tenth century, because the Translatio Sti Neoti took place in the year 974, after which the life of this saint must have been written, and thence proceeded the work attributed to Asser, whose real author was, perhaps, a monk of St. Neot, who assumed the name of the already celebrated friend of the great king. Such an opinion as this can have only the most unsatisfactory grounds to rest upon. We must also be very careful how we agree with Wright, in contemning the style of this little work; in some portions of which we recognise a rare beauty. I will only quote two instances of this, both treating of the industry of the king:

P. 486. "Veluti apis prudentissima, quae primo mane charis e cellulis consurgens aestivo tempore, per incerta aeris itinera cursum veloci volatu dirigens, super multiplices ac

[1] P. 471. A domino meo Ælfredo Angulsaxonum rege veridico.

[2] Lappenberg in d. Gotting. Gelehrt. Anz. April 4th, 1844.

diversos herbarum, olerum, fruticum flosculos descendit probatque quid maxime placuerit, atque domum reportat."

P. 491. "Velut apis fertilissima longe lateque gronnios interrogando discurrens, multimodos divinae scripturae flosculos inhianter et incessabiliter congregavit, queis praecordii sui cellulas densatim replevit."

Such passages as these are rarely to be met with in the dry monastic works of the middle ages; they contain words which could have sprung only from deep feeling; and from them, Asser seems to have been a man in whom were blended the pure vigour of a child of nature, and a true poetical spirit.

Finally, Thorpe, in his translation of Lappenberg's History, II., 326, N. 1, affirms that the sceptics as to the authenticity of the book may quote in their favour, the expression "vasalli" occurring in the year 878, but a striking contradiction of this opinion is furnished by a document in Kemble's Cod. Diplom. Anglos. N. 216. This document was undoubtedly written in the year 821, and contains these words: "Expeditionem cum XII. vasallis et cum tantis scutis." In a similar manner as "vasallus" (in the Cotton. MS. "fassillis") the thrice-repeated expression curtus regis (p. 473, 485, 488) must be considered, as well as some other instances of a peculiar Latinity, *e.g.* gronnius, p. 491; gronnosus, p. 480; cambra, p. 491. These words are to be found in Du Cange, and still older examples are extant of them. The expression "vasallus" occurs also in the Capitularies of Charlemagne. It is very remarkable to find a Welshman writing the name of our people, gentes Theotiscae, p. 471.

That a Briton (and who could it be except the Welsh Asser?) had a share in the work[1], must necessarily be inferred from the constantly recurring addition of Celtic names of places to the Saxon and Latin ones.

P. 470. The Isle of Thanet, called by the Britons Ruim[2].

P. 475. Snotengaham is called Tigguocobauc, in Latin, speluncarum domus, faithfully copied by Florence.

P. 477. Wilton is situated near Guilou.

P. 478. Thornsætan is called Durngueis.

[1] Thorpe, in his late preface to his Florent. Wigorn. p. vii. n. 3, also argues from this in favour of Asser.

[2] This may be taken from Nennius, "Ruichim," Monum. Hist. Brit. p. 63.

P. 479. Exanceastre is called Cair wise.
P. 480. Flumen quod Britannice dicitur Abon.
P. 481. Selwudu, silva magna Coitmaur.
P. 482. Circencester, Cairceri.
Asser wrote thus for his countrymen[1].

This may suffice for the present respecting this important little book, which unfortunately, owing to its deficiencies and peculiarities, is in many respects open to censure. We shall frequently, however, recur to it in the course of this work, in reference to various and often questionable particulars; such as Asser's own life, which must necessarily be connected with that of his king.

We may venture to treat much more briefly the remaining authorities, which entirely concern the Anglo-Saxon period, and whose value and mutual agreement are very properly brought prominently forward by Lappenberg in the introduction to his excellent historical work.

The oldest authority, and the most important for our purpose, is, of course, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. We have already seen that a part of the Gesta Alfredi was taken from it. The most ancient copy that we possess corresponds, in the form of its letters, with the other genuine books of Alfred's time; and this circumstance, together with the interruptions which occur in the manuscript immediately after the year 891, leave no doubt of its having been written during the last ten years of King Alfred's reign. It may therefore be reasonably presumed that transactions first began to be generally recorded in the language of the people at that time. Amongst the reasons for this presumption, by no means the least important is, that about the year 853, soon after the birth of Alfred, the records of each year increase in length, and begin to lose their original calendar form. The whole of that section which treats of Alfred's life is very similar in five of our manuscripts, which in other respects often differ from each other; and one of the most recent, Cotton. MS. Domitian, A. VIII., gives a very bad and inaccurate abridgment of events till about the year 1000, in the Saxon and Latin languages; and is especially

[1] Lingard, in his History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, ii. 426, brings forward good reasons for differing with Wright.

meagre in its details of Alfred's lifetime, which is the more remarkable as it is generally believed to have been written at Canterbury. The Cambridge manuscript, and the two MSS. Cott. Tib. A. VI. and Tib. B. I., which were all compiled within the bounds of the kingdom of Wessex, singularly coincide in all essential points of their accounts relating to the ninth century. The MS. Cotton. Tib. IV. presents, during this epoch, only very few deviations, and is almost similar to those preceding. But this MS., which originated in Worcester, always remains a year behind the three older copies in the chronology of the eighth and ninth centuries, agreeing in this respect, as originally our oldest MSS. seem to have done, with the Northern historians—as Simeon of Durham, whose chronology, as Kemble particularly remarks, differs from that of the South of England, which is generally correct.

The editions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, even that published by the Record Commission, in the Monumenta Historica Britannica, have by no means succeeded in indicating the minute details and relative value of each of the Year-books, written in various dialects, at different times, and in different places, so as to elucidate the text, and render it more intelligible to critics of the present day. We reserve, for a later opportunity, a more strict investigation into these remarkable productions of the early middle ages.

Ethelwerd's dry Chronicle is, in general, little more than an elaboration of the early Saxon annals, in barbarous Latin; here and there, however, it is evident that some other popular sources of information were employed by him. He rarely gives any particulars of Alfred's life; and it is peculiarly surprising that he, a descendant of the royal family of Wessex, should not have given a more circumstantial account of his great ancestor; considering, too, that only a hundred years had elapsed since he flourished. No part of his work is so grievously and hopelessly mutilated as the third chapter of the fourth book, which treats of Alfred. The latest edition is to be found in the Mon. Hist. Brit.

Mention has already been made of Florence; we possess an excellent edition, recently compiled with great care by Thorpe for the English Historical Society, in which also the most accurate text of Asser may be found.

Simeon of Durham, who, in composing his Chronicle, must

have referred frequently to Florence, occasionally mentions many details, particularly in 883, and when the subject relates to the North of England.

Ingulph, Abbot of Croyland, once secretary to the Conqueror, in the work attributed to him, and which chiefly treats of the history of his convent, relates various events that rest upon arbitrary assumptions or supposititious documents, and seem to have arisen from ignorance of the authorities above named. How could an Englishman, so imbued with the Norman spirit, in the first fifty or sixty years after the Conquest, avoid making some confusion in the accounts which were given him of the condition of the conquered country during the previous two centuries? It appears that he was acquainted with Asser's book, as he must have taken from it his description of Alfred's method of measuring time. We cite his work according to the edition, carefully prepared by Sir H. Savile, of the Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam praecipui, Francofurti, 1603.

Henry of Huntingdon has, unfortunately, never found an intelligent editor even in the Mon. Hist. Brit., though he merits one more than any other historian of the middle ages of England. The spirited manner in which he describes battles was, most probably, caused by his intimate acquaintance with the old songs of the people; and we shall often be indebted to it in the following work, especially for the account of the sea-fight in the year 897.

William of Malmesbury enjoys the reputation of being a more learned historian, and of endeavouring to invest the dry form of the Old Chronicle with a more attractive style; but his researches are often by no means correct, and his errors cannot be forgotten. The best edition of the Gesta Reg. Angl., is that of the English Historical Society, by Th. D. Hardy: London, 1840.

The old French rhyming Chronicle of Geoffrei Gaimar takes that part which relates to our subject chiefly from the Anglo-Saxon Year-books; the copies of these, which the poet had before him, differ in some points from those we possess. He used, also, other authorities. The first edition is to be found in the Mon. Hist. Brit.

The remaining historians who have treated of the Anglo-Saxons, as Ailred of Riveaux, Roger of Wendover, Matthew

of Westminster, &c., will be acknowledged in the places where they are quoted.

Two very important authorities for, and aids in, our undertaking, are the Laws of Alfred, in Thorpe's admirable edition, "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England:" London, 1840; and Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus, Aevi Saxonici, in which excellent collection the documents of the ninth century equal neither in number nor in authenticity those of the preceding and subsequent ones.

Amongst later works, I am most particularly indebted to the "History of England," by Lappenberg, in which, with the translation made by Thorpe, and enriched by both these learned men, the best and clearest directions are given whereby to penetrate the labyrinthine mazes of early English history. The Life and Times of Alfred the Great are by no means exhausted in the plan of this book; and the biographer is at liberty to glean any other information he can meet with for his purpose. We are in a similar position with regard to Lappenberg's predecessor, the diligent Sharon Turner, and to his successor, Kemble, who, in his latest work, "The Saxons in England," II.: London, 1848, considers, in a series of essays, written in a masterly style, the political and social condition of the Anglo-Saxons.

Modern historical literature possesses special Biographies of Alfred. The title of the first work of this kind is sufficient to show in what spirit it was written, and what is to be learnt from it: "The Life of Alfred, or Alvred, the first Institutor of subordinate Government in this Kingdome, and Refounder of the University of Oxford; together with a Parellell of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles, untill this yeare 1634. By Robert Powell. London: 1634."

The learned Spelman compiled a Biography of Alfred, during the Restoration, which Hearne published, in 1709, with his own annotations in English[1]. Both of these works are very unprofitable, in spite of the highly-meritorious industry displayed in them; and this fact is mainly attributable to the accumulation of quotations from a modern and second-rate

[1] Sir John Spelman, Ælfredi Magni Vita, fol. Oxon. 1678. Originally written in English, and first translated into Latin by Dr. Obadiah Walker, of unhappy memory. Spelman's Life of Alfred the Great, published with additions and remarks by Thomas Hearne, Oxf. 1709.

authority, who has never yet attained the honour of appearing in print, but who is placed in the same rank, and even sometimes above our best sources of information. Judging by this account of the sufferings of Alfred and his country, the same monkish spirit seems to have existed in the Oxford of the seventeenth century as was in operation there in the twelfth and thirteenth.

Albrecht von Haller was the first German who wrote on this subject, in his book entitled, "Alfred König der Angel-Sachsen, Göttingen und Bern, 1773." He faithfully took his materials from Spelman, and aimed at describing the limited monarchy; but, according to his usual custom, he has obscured his otherwise lucid work by a fanciful and poetical style.

A. Bicknell ("Life of Alfred the Great, King of the Anglo-Saxons: London, 1777") endeavoured to bring the numerous works of his predecessors before the public in a more intelligible form. He treats the ecclesiastical part of the subject in the very free and somewhat derisive manner which was characteristic of his time, whilst he evidently did not use any diligent research, and consequently his conclusions are capricious and incorrect.

F. L. Graf zu Stolberg has narrated the Life of Alfred in his own admirable manner. His materials for this work he obtained from Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," in which the subject was first treated with particular consideration.

A History of Alfred the Great, compiled from Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," and the "Lodbroker-Quida," with a metrical translation by Dr. F. Lorentz: Hamburg, 1828.

The last work on the subject, "The Life of Alfred the Great, by the Rev. J. A. Giles: London, 1848," also deserves to be mentioned in the last place; so defective is it in all its relations, so devoid of research into authorities, and so destitute of all interest in the style. Truly, it does not reflect much honour upon the English people, that a subject so important as the Life of "The Darling of Old England" should not have been treated in a manner proportioned to its value, up to the date of the Jubilee which commemorated the thousandth anniversary of his birth!

I.

RISE OF THE WEST SAXON KINGDOM — DESCENT OF THE RULERS FROM WODEN—THE EARLIER CENTURIES—EGBERT —ETHELWULF.

THERE is matter for peculiar consideration in that section of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which bears the date of the year 855; and whose contents, recited from the earliest times by the Scalds, were probably first reduced to writing in the reign of Alfred. They relate the genealogy of the royal family of the West Saxons, and trace it back to Woden and the highest Gods[1].

Alfred, who, more than any other king of the middle ages, was devoted with his whole soul to the belief in the eternal truths of Christianity, neither desired, nor was able, to prevent his people from still continuing firm in their old faith in the closest connexion between their own royal race and the ancient Pagan divinities. In the history of the origin of the Saxon, as well as of every other nation, the forms of Gods and heroes become blended in the same misty image, which at last assumes the character of an ancient traditionary king. It was only when the trust in the race of Cerdic, and with it the faith in the old traditions, were broken, that foreign conquerors could place themselves securely on the throne of England.

Those traditions were, in all essential points, the same amongst the Anglo-Saxons and all the rest of the German races. They all traced their lineage back to the Deity, and

[1] We find this interesting information given in its fullest extent, and in the least mutilated form, in the four oldest manuscripts of the Chronicle, where the table of descent is brought down to King Ethelwulf; and also in a fragment which is included in MS. Cotton. Tib. A. iii. and reaches as far as Edward II. (+ 978). Judging from this date, and from the form of the letters, this fragment must have originated at the same time as our two oldest MSS. (Cott. Tib. A. vi.) There is no reason for supposing it to have been of an earlier date, as is suggested in the catalogue to the Cottonian collection; more probably it is the remaining part of a lost copy of the Chronicle. From this, the register of descent is taken by Asser, Ethelwerd, and Florence. We possess also separate genealogies in the Chronicle of the latter. Later historians faithfully copy from these ancient authors, but continually increase the mutilation of the strange-sounding names, and often entirely omit them.

even called themselves by the names of the Gods. This firmly-rooted conviction concerning their origin we find amongst the Goths, as well as the Lombards and Scandinavians; and the family-registers, which were so carefully compiled and preserved, show the same names and descent amongst totally different races. The genealogy of the West Saxon kings is the most perfect of all, and it affords a convincing proof of the early importance of this race, and of the ancient prophecies and fulfilments which have been linked with it from the earliest ages.

Some late researches have shown us[1], that in this table of descent, Woden assumes the highest place as the chief God, and that by far the principal number of those remaining are but epithets for one and the same person. Yet some of these are of remarkable signification, when we are seeking for the root of that family from which King Alfred proceeded; and from which also, though in a very remote connexion, the present Queen of Great Britain is descended. Amongst them we find the mythical hero, Sceafa, who, on the burning of the dry land, was placed alone in a boat, exposed to the waves, and driven about by them, until he landed in the fabulous island, Scanzia. In Christian times, and probably first in those of Alfred, a place was found for him in a genealogical register of the Old Testament families, which trace back to Noah and Adam. We read again of the God Beowulf, who is a prototype of the hero of the great Anglo-Saxon Epic, the Beowulf Wægmunding. Then we find Geat, a primary God of the general German mythology[2]. In the book of Tacitus, the three principal German races are said to descend from the three sons of the divine Mannus; the Asen were the divine ancestors of the North. The people, as well as their kings and heroes, also traced their origin to the Gods, and the Saxons remained firmly convinced of their divine descent, long after the light of Christianity, so rich in blessings, had dawned upon them. Their Alfred, also, was divinely descended.

[1] J. M. Kemble in his interesting work written in German, Ueber die Stammtafeln der Westsachen, München, 1836, p. 9, 27. He has gone into all the details of the inquiry, in his preface to the second vol. of "Beöwulf," p. 3-29. Vide also J. Grimm, German Mythology, p. 340-342, second edition.

[2] Kemble, a. a. O. p. 15, 18, 22.

The first individual of this race, which dates from the most remote antiquity, whose existence, though still obscured by the dim twilight of tradition, is still of historical importance, is Cerdic, the founder of the West Saxon kingdom. Scarcely fifteen years had elapsed since the arrival of the two traditionary hero-brothers, Hengist and Horsa, when Cerdic, with his son Cynric, landed on the south coast of England, at a place called in the Chronicle, Cerdicesore[1]. The influx of hordes of kindred pirates continued, without intermission, for the next ten years. The spot on which Port, after fighting victoriously, first set foot on British ground, and to which tradition probably gave his name, has preserved his memory to this day, and is a palpable geographical proof of the small beginning of that kingdom which was destined, by degrees, to unite in itself the whole southern extent of the island. Conquering their way, step by step, and fighting many desperate battles, Cerdic, and his still braver son, took their country from the Britons, who in vain endeavoured strenuously to resist them; and their resistance became more useless still, when, in the year 514, two nephews of the first Conqueror, Stuf and Wihtgar, landed with reinforcements from their native country.

The founders of Wessex early distinguished themselves from the rulers of the rest of the Saxon and Anglian kingdoms by their fierce, wild recklessness. They attacked not only the common enemy of the Germans who came conquering to the west, the devoted Celts, now almost completely annihilated, but turned their weapons quite as unscrupulously against their own race and kindred. Amongst other tribes, the Jutes had landed in Kent, and also in Wessex and on the Isle of Wight, and had, as it were, laid the first foundation of a German settlement, on which the Saxon race now rested. Cerdic snatched from them the beautiful island which guards the largest maritime fortress of England, and gave it as a fief to his nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar, who, on the father's side, were perhaps Jutes themselves[2]. When Cerdic died in the fortieth year after his arrival, he had borne for sixteen years the royal crown of the West

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 494.

[2] Lappenberg, History of England, i. 112

Saxon kingdom[1], which at that time comprised the present counties of Hampshire, Dorsetshire, and part of Somersetshire; the heroic King Arthur even, after making a vain resistance against the valiant sons of Woden, had been compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of Cerdic.

These are facts whose reality cannot reasonably be disputed; they are sufficiently confirmed by the rapid rise of Wessex. Yet the hero form of Cerdic, as well as those of his British adversaries, has been absorbed into a myth, as the numerous traditions relating to them testify; and his forty years' residence on English ground, and his sixteen years' rule, afford an example of that chronological confusion in an age whose only history is poetry, which was characteristic of the days of Hengist and his descendants[2].

This is not the place to give a detailed account of the struggles on either side, or to distinguish the public and private legal relations between the conquerors and the vanquished Britons; all these points have been satisfactorily settled long since, by the distinguished historians who have treated the whole of this section of English history, as far as was possible with their limited sources of information. Our aim is, in conformity with them, to bring forward those eras in the history of Wessex, when that kingdom took a new direction in its development, significant of its future greatness.

Ceawlin, who assumed the government after Cynric's death, followed unweariedly in the steps of his predecessors, and, by his unusual skill in the contests with the Germans and Britains, he raised Wessex to the highest position amongst the neighbouring kingdoms. In the year 568, he contested the dignity of Bretwalda with Ethelbert of Kent[3]; he remained the victor on the field, and maintained his

[1] It was the battle of Cerdicesford (Charford) which established the kingdom. Chron. Sax. A. 519, "And siððan ricsadon Westscaxna cynebearn of þam dæge," and from that day the descendants of the royal race of the West Saxons held sway.

[2] Lappenberg, p. 72, f.

[3] This does not mean "Supreme King, Lord of Britain," as has been maintained in modern times. According to Kemble, "The Saxons in England," ii. 20, 21, it signifies the "powerful Ruler;" and according to five manuscripts of the Chron. Sax. is derived from the adjective bryten, fractus, dissipatus.

supremacy over the Germanic kings of the island. By perpetual combats he drove back the Britons to the opposite bank of the Severn, and to the Welsh promontory that rises behind it; and it would seem as though the bold conqueror of Wessex was already planning the union of the numerous small German principalities into one common monarchy. Among them the belief in the old Pagan Gods was in no way shaken, and if this most genuine descendant of Woden had fulfilled his scheme, if, supported by his personal influence, and the native strength of his firmly-united train of followers, he had stood forth in the same manner as the Frisian Radbod or the Saxon Witikind did in later times, who shall say that the fair Angles, effectually strengthened by union, might not have successfully withstood even the Apostle Gregory the Great? It was, therefore, of the greatest consequence for the History of the next century, that the Jutes of Kent, the Angles of Mercia, and the Christian Britons of Wales, should well understand from what side danger threatened them, and should form immediately a defensive alliance against their common enemy, who desired to bring them under the yoke of feudal service to him. In the year 591 followed the great battle of Wodnesbeorg, in Berkshire, which place was within the boundaries of Wessex. But the God under whose holy protection the battle was fought, turned his face away from his valiant descendant, who was completely defeated, and went into exile, where he died at the expiration of two years. The dignity of Bretwalda devolved upon Kent, and the diminished kingdom descended to one of his brother's sons.

This nephew was succeeded, in the year 597, by his brother Ceolwulf, a man who was thoroughly embued with the spirit of his uncle. The sceptre of the West Saxons devolved upon him at the time when Augustine landed on the Kentish coast, and when, after the baptism of King Ethelbert, the new doctrines of salvation commenced their victorious career, still taking a northern direction; until, in the course of a few years, the whole east coast of England, the east Anglian and Northumbrian kingdoms prostrated themselves before the cross. But not a single teacher of the new faith ventured into Wessex; the name of its ruler rang with a wild and terrible sound in the other kingdoms of the island, and Ceol-

wulf was willing and able to preserve to his race this character of fierce and stubborn Paganism. It is recorded of him in the Saxon Chronicles[1], that he continually fought against, and vanquished the kindred Angles, as well as the Welsh, the Picts, and Scots. In the year 607, we find him engaged in war with the neighbouring Sussex, which after a short time he reduced to subjection. But all his own bravery, and that of his immediate followers, was of no other avail than to protect the possessions they had hitherto acquired; for the supremacy of Wessex had long since departed, with the lost dignity of Bretwalda, and danger threatened it at home and abroad.

Notwithstanding the scanty records we possess, the unsettled state of the royal succession is perfectly evident. Under similar circumstances, this was the case amongst all the German races; the hereditary descent of the monarchy from father to son had not then become the rule, and it has been merely the result of time. Many centuries elapsed before a strict line of succession was observed in the different continental countries, and before the people ceased to choose for their ruler the strongest or the comeliest, without regard to the closer or more remote degree of relationship he might bear to his predecessor. This was especially the case with the West Saxons, who clung so tenaciously to a royal lineage descending from Woden, and amongst whom, brother and cousin, son and nephew, followed each other indiscriminately; different individuals frequently bearing the title of king at the same time. We have seen that, although Ceawlin had many sons, he was succeeded, after his complete overthrow, by his brother Ceolric, who, although he was not childless, was followed by his brother Ceolwulf. After the death of the latter, in 611, the kingdom passed again into his elder brother's line; still it was split into a great many portions, for Cynegils by no means reigned alone. Cwichelm and others were quite independent of him; each ruled a part of West Saxony, and only united in enterprises against the common foe, as they did in the battle of Beamdune[2]. This division of the same nation, under different leaders, must have seriously

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 597.

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 614.

impaired the national strength, and its effects are soon perceptible. The same evil consequences that precisely at the same time attended the division of the kingdom of the Frankish Merovingians, also affected the West Saxons, but in a much less degree; for their state, as we have seen, bore within it from the first the germs of union and centralisation. It was owing to this splitting asunder of their own strength, that the danger which now menaced from without assumed an aspect which became more and more serious.

It seems as if the West Saxon kings, the true descendants of Woden, never, until their final conversion, abandoned the idea that they ought to stand forward as champions of the old Teutonic Paganism. Animated by his hatred of the Christian faith, Cwichelm despatched a murderer to the court of King Edwin of Deira (Northumbria), where already the Gospel had found access. But the malicious scheme failed; King Edwin's servant Lilla saved him with his own life. Edwin, now justly enraged against the West Saxons, attacked them, and slew five of their kings[1], and then became a convert to Christianity in the year 626. Penda, a powerful heathen prince, began to reign in Mercia in the same year. In an inconceivably short time he raised his kingdom, which included Christians and heathens, Germans and Welsh, to a high state of importance. In 628, he entered into an alliance with the West Saxons. Cynegils had resisted him most desperately at Cirencester, so that the battle remained undecided, and the two commanders concluded a treaty. A faint glimmering of the old Paganism long remained among the Mercians, but the apostles of the true faith soon dispersed the light of the Gospel among the West Saxons. Their close family connexion with Oswald, King of the Northumbrian Bernicians, might have been the chief cause of this. It further appears, that Bishop Birinus, the delegate of Pope Honorius, and fully commissioned by him to preach the Gospel to the uttermost limits of the island, at this time also passed the boundaries of heathen West Saxony. And he was not mistaken in his judgment of the moment when the disputed supremacy of the sons of Woden seemed to be declining. In the meagre records of the Chronicle, we read

[1] Bede's Ecclesiastical History, ii. 9; Chron. Sax. A. 626.

that Cynegils was baptized in the year 635[1], and Cwichelm in 636. Cuthred, the son and successor of the latter, also embraced Christianity, and established Birinus at Dorchester in the first West Saxon bishopric. As it happened in all the newly-converted Anglo-Saxon countries, a reaction now ensued in favour of the old faith amongst the West Saxons. Kenwalk, the son of Cynegils, had scarcely assumed the kingdom when he openly professed heathenism, and married a sister of Penda, the mighty Pagan monarch. But his own rashness proved his ruin; he repudiated his wife, and Penda invaded and drove him from his kingdom in 645. It is probable that many of the West Saxons were already zealous disciples of the preaching clergy, and therefore lent no aid to Kenwalk. During his three years' exile, which he passed with King Annas of East Anglia, he also embraced Christianity. It seems that he brought down that destroyer of all weak states, the wild Penda, on the head of his Christian host; but Kenwalk himself returned to his home, and received a fraternal welcome from his relation Cuthred, whom he rewarded for this conduct by conferring on him lands and the title of viceroy. For the next twelve years, Kenwalk seems to have been chief ruler of West Saxony; and the period during which he reigned is, on many accounts, not without importance.

In the first place, he may rightly be considered as the founder of the ecclesiastical constitution of Wessex. It here manifested an endeavour to assume a national character before it did so in any other part of the island. After Birinus, a foreigner named Egilbert was appointed bishop; he was a Frank, and it was soon asserted that the strange prelate could not speak to the people in their own language. At the same time, King Kenwalk proposed, on account of the great extent of Wessex, to divide it into two dioceses—he elevated Winchester to be a new episcopal see, and placed there as bishop, Wini, a Saxon who had been educated abroad. The Frankish bishop was bitterly aggrieved at this; he resigned his office and went back to his own country, where he was shortly afterwards created Archbishop of Paris[2]. But the capricious king

[1] Bede's Ecclesiastical History, iii. 7, asserts that King Oswald of Bernicia was his godfather.

[2] Bede's Eccl. Hist. iii. 8; Chron. Sax. A. 660.

did not long keep on friendly terms with Wini; at the end of three years he deprived him of his situation, which was once more occupied by a foreigner, Leutherius, a nephew of Egilbert, who himself recommended him.

Besides this first ecclesiastical perplexity, Kenwalk had to contend with difficulties in his secular affairs. Although the Mercian kingdom had at length become Christian, the hostile position it occupied with regard to Wessex remained the same. Penda's Christian son, Wulfhere, repeatedly attacked the neighbouring country; he even once took the Isle of Wight from Kenwalk and gave it to the King of Sussex[1]. But on the whole, Kenwalk knew how to protect his kingdom; in the contests with the Britons he was always victorious, and thus strengthened and established his northern and western boundaries. When he died in 672, his energetic wife Sexburga held the reins of government for the space of a year, which proves to us that at that time the royal race could furnish no more worthy successor. This queen, whose name is recorded as the pride and support of her nation, takes her place, and by no means the lowest one, in that wonderful array of rare women, who, from Boadicea to Elizabeth, have from time to time passed over the pages of British history; and we cannot avoid joining in the praise and admiration which William of Malmesbury bestows on her[2]. Unfortunately, at the expiration of a year Sexburgha again disappears from the scene. She left the kingdom in a great state of confusion as regarded the succession, in which it continued for fifteen years.

According to the scarcely more than genealogical records of the Year-books, Cenfus, a great-grandson of Ceolwulf, possessed the sovereignty for the next two years. We may venture to place the more reliance on this fact, as King Alfred himself mentions it, probably in his Manual, from which William of Malmesbury and others were sometimes accustomed to copy[3]. From 674 to 676, Cenfus was

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 661. Christianity was first preached here to the Jutish inhabitants.

[2] William of Malmesbury, Gesta Reg. Angl. i. 32; Ed. Hardy, Chron. Sax. A. 672.

[3] Florent. Wigorn. is the authority for this; Geneal. p. 693. Deinde Kenfus duobus annis secundum dicta regis Ælfredi, juxta chronicam anglicam vero filius ejus Æscwinus fere tribus annis regnavit.

succeeded by his son Escwin, who, like his predecessors, fought with Wulfhere of Mercia. After his death, or perhaps whilst he was yet reigning, Kentwine, the brother of Kenwalk, assumed the title of king. His attention was especially directed towards the south-west boundaries of his kingdom, where the Britons of Cornwall, incited and supported by their brethren in Armorica beyond the sea, profiting by internal dissensions among the West Saxons, were endeavouring by force of arms to make good their old claims to the possessions which had been torn from them. They were, however, subdued by the courage and skill of the German warrior; and we do not hesitate in attributing to Kentwine the merit of laying the first foundation of the submission of the counties of Devon and Cornwall to the West Saxon crown[1].

The numerous connexions with the Celtic principalities of the West, and even the influence which their national character had at this time on that of the Germans, become particularly evident through the frequent mixing up of events and names in the history of both which appears in the Annales Cambriæ; this has long since been skilfully pointed out[2]. The similarity of names between Cædwalla, a relation of Kentwine, who revolted against him, and Cadwallader, the Welsh prince, is no mere accident.' Certainly the British annalists may have taken pains to transfer the deeds and history of the Saxon to their own similarly-named hero; the Celtic sound in the name of the former cannot be denied. He and his brother Mul were sons of the inferior King Cenbert, most probably by a British mother[3]. Their own history must bear witness to this. The youth Cædwalla, the last Saxon who adhered to the old idol-worship, was outlawed after the failure of his ambitious designs on the throne, by King Kentwine. He secreted himself in the Andredswald, which marked the

[1] Chron. Sax. A.682. Centwine geflymde bryt-we-alas op sæ. Florent. Chron. A. 681, i. 37. Occidentales Britones.

[2] Lappenberg, p. 250, f.

[3] I here adopt the opinion indicated by Kemble in a work "On the names, surnames, and nicknames of the Anglo-Saxons: London, 1846, p. 4, 5;" according to which the name Mul signifies nothing more nor less than "mule," ἡμιονος, the "half-bred." May not the similar sounding names in Lappenberg, p. 252, of the Eburonen Cativulcus (Cæs. de Bello Gall. vi. 31), and of the Gothic Catualda (Tac. Ann. ii. 62), have their origin in the same mixture of Celtish and German blood? In the same manner I might call attention to the similarity of sound between the words Welsch, Walch, and Wallach.

boundary between Sussex and Wessex. Concealed by the thickets, he assembled a daring band, composed partly of real Britons, and partly of a mixed race, who had fallen back into the old Paganism, and who, as renegades, troubled themselves but little, if at all, about matters of faith. When we remember that, in the commencement of all Germanic states, the offspring of the marriages between the Germans and the people conquered by them enjoyed no perfect freedom, and if we assume that King Ina[1] was the first to make arrangements for this equality of rights among the West Saxons, we can no longer wonder that, in so short a time, Cædwalla took so threatening a position. His companions, who joyfully followed him as their leader, were in a similar condition with himself — their origin, their unbelief, the ban which succeeded their revolt, were all alike. With this band, who fought for life and honour, Cædwalla kept the South Saxons, whose land was an established apple of discord between Wessex and Mercia, in a constant state of fear and terror, until, after the death of the reigning king, the Ealdermen Berthun, and Ethelhun, succeeded in driving him from his fastnesses. But his power was not yet subdued; he still continued as before to strive for the royal crown of Wessex. Then, without our being able to assign any particular reason for the step, Kentwine abdicated, entered a monastery[2], and Cædwalla took his place as King of the West Saxons. Still he was not baptized, although he had been already favourably disposed towards Christianity by the zealous Bishop Wilfrith of York (who, exiled from his own church and office, then dwelt in Sussex), and by his own Christian mother[3]. But inspired by the old wild fury, he first took fearful revenge upon his enemies amongst the South Saxons; and then, in conjunction with his brother Mul, a beautiful and athletic youth, he made a fierce attack on the Jutish inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, who were also still heathens. At last he yielded to the entreaties of Mul, who was animated by as obstinate a spirit as his own, and invaded Kent with

[1] Lappenberg, p. 258.

[2] Lappenberg, p. 253, n. 2, most probably takes this information from an ancient poet in Alcuin's works; who, according to May (Auctores Classici e codd. Vatic. v. 387), is no other than Aldhelm.

[3] According to Kemble's supposition in the last-quoted passage from that author, with which may be compared Bede's Ecclesiastical History, iv. 16.

fire and sword. Mul, who in his excessive rashness ventured too far into the enemy's country, was, with twelve of his companions, surrounded in a hut by the men of Kent, and burnt alive[1]. For this deed his brother took terrible revenge by blood and rapine. But suddenly he abandoned all, relinquished the crown in favour of his kinsman Ina, and, impelled by an irresistible inward impulse, departed for Rome. There he was baptized by Pope Sergius in the Easter of the year 689; and eight days afterwards, April 20th, he died, still clothed in the white robes of baptism[2]. Is not this like reading a Welsh or British legend? Thus, like a fiery meteor, which, presaging war and desolation, burns brightly for a moment, and then suddenly disappears, Cædwalla, more Celt than German, flashes across the History of Wessex.

Ina's descent and degree of relationship to his kinsman Cædwalla[3], are not easily traced, on account of the contradictions in the only genealogical table which we possess; his rule, which lasted six-and-thirty years, presents a great contrast to the other governments of the little state, which were rendered so unsettled by perpetual feuds and changes of their supreme head. But contests with the neighbouring kingdoms were by no means wanting during his period of power. The same warlike relations subsisted as before with the Britons; the historical records of the Welsh have connected Ina with their own Ivor; but according to some Saxon genealogies, Ina was a brother of the Saxo-Britons, Cædwalla and Mul. For the murder of the latter, he, at any rate, required additional satisfaction from the King of Kent, whom he compelled to pay a heavy were-geld, which the Chronicle indicates as a very considerable sum according to the standard of coinage at that time. There were continual contests with the hated Mercians; in the year 715 another battle was fought at a place called Wodensbeorg (Wenborough in Wilts). But it is gratifying to find this prince,

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 687; William of Malmesbury, i. § 35; Henry of Huntingdon, lib. iv. 722.

[2] Bede's Ecclesiastical History, v. 7; Henry of Huntingdon, iv. 723; Paul. Diac. Hist. Longob. vi. 15. The pilgrim found a hospitable reception from Eremelinde, the Kentish Queen of Lombardy.

[3] His father Cenred appears as sub-regulus, and according to the most credible testimony, was descended in a direct line from Ceawlin. Lappenberg, p. 256.

the first of all the Saxon kings, active in the civil affairs of his state amidst the constant din of war. According to the example of the King of Kent, he caused the laws of his people to be recorded; and these we still possess, as they were collected and revised by Alfred. We shall consider the tenour and importance of these laws in a suitable place.

We might naturally look, during his life, for a rapid rise in the development of the Church in Wessex, and of that civilisation which was so intimately connected with it; and this rise assuredly could not have taken place without the sanction of the sovereign. The strife between native and foreign influence in the young Church had continued uninterruptedly since the days of Kenwalk. We have already spoken of Cædwalla's intercourse with Wilfrith. This restless man had been banished from his diocese at York on account of his enthusiastic zeal for the extension of the national Church, in opposition to the wish of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore the Greek. For many years, incessantly brooding on his wrongs, he wandered from one diocese to another, and came into Wessex, in company with, and under the protection of his yet unconverted patron. His mind was still busy and restless there, and after some time he was invested with one of the two bishoprics. There is no further mention of the foreigner Leutherius, and we find Hedde, a native, at the head of this diocese towards the close of the seventh century. After his death in 703, Ina was advised to separate another see from Winchester, and to establish it at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire. He placed there, as the first bishop, a highly distinguished man, whom we may, with good reason, suppose to have been personally intimate with him, the learned priest and poet, Aldhelm. It is well known[1], that he, a youth of high rank, and probably even of the royal family of the West Saxons, was led by his desire of learning to Canterbury; that there, where alone they were to be learnt, at the feet of Theodore and the Abbot

[1] Besides Bede's Eccl. Hist. v. 18, the chief authorities on the subject of Aldhelm, are William of Malmesbury, a pupil and monk of his monastery, in his Vita Aldhelmi; and that MS., generally known as Lib. v. of the Gesta Pontif.; and also Wharton, in his Anglia Sacra, p. 2, 599. Some old MSS. of these differ slightly from the text, but all contain the accounts which William took from King Alfred's Manual.

Hadrian, he attained perfect mastery over the classic languages of Greece and Rome,—and then returned home to the solitude of the forest by the Avon, and to his cloister at Malmesbury; and from thence, by word and writing, by ballads in his native tongue, and by Latin poetry, he influenced, instructed, and improved his countrymen and the Church, both at home and abroad. The same undertaking, namely the protection of learning and education, both threatened with destruction, which his great contemporary Bede by various means attempted to achieve in the North of England from his tranquil cell at Wearmouth—an undertaking whose consequences soon became evident with the diffusion of his works throughout Europe—Aldhelm perseveringly carried on in the South, only in a different and somewhat more practical manner. His Latin writings and poems were of much value to the Catholic Church, the lever and prop of all education in those times; and we learn from our Alfred himself, that Aldhelm preached on the high-roads and on the bridges to the people, and sang Christian hymns, whose old poetical form and familiar tones must have produced a wonderful effect on the sturdy, half-barbaric audience. If Bede penetrated into a different and more speculative field of knowledge, Aldhelm possessed a pure lyrical nature, which by its energy and deep German earnestness could not fail in making an impression on the most rugged characters. Of the good he effected as Bishop of Sherborne, until his death in 709, we know scarcely anything; but he must have sown many of those seeds which, in Alfred's days, bore such glorious fruits.

That Ina, in his endeavours for the good of the Church, was also intimately connected with Winfrid, the subsequent great Apostle of North-West Germany—and that, indeed, he made him his deputy to the Archbishop of Canterbury—we learn from the biography of this celebrated man[1].

The last years of the king's reign were disturbed by internal dissensions, and by the conspiracies of the two presumptive heirs to his throne. But he withstood these difficulties also, chiefly strengthened by the courageous support of his consort Ethelburga, a woman of a masculine spirit.

[1] Willibaldi, vita S. Bonifacii ap. Pertz Mon. Germ. SS. ii. 337.

Soon afterwards, in the year 725, weary of the burden of sovereignty, and in compliance with the wishes of his queen, he abdicated the throne, and made a pilgrimage with her to Rome, where they both closed their lives in prayer and penance[1].

Ina was succeeded by Ethelherd, the brother of his wife. It seems that the passing of the crown into the female line, although the present king belonged to the royal race of Cerdic[2], entailed many internal strifes and sufferings of a serious nature on the kingdom; which, at Ina's abdication, ought to have passed to a male relation of his own, and all the succeeding kings had to contend against the insurrections of princes of the royal blood. During the first years of his reign, Ethelherd had to struggle against the pretensions of the Atheling Oswald. It is no matter of wonder therefore, that encouraged by discords of such a nature, the so-often vanquished Britons sought to free themselves from their bondage; and they actually gained some victories over Ethelherd[3], who was only able by great efforts to protect himself and his boundaries against another enemy, whose power was continually on the increase—King Ethelbald of Mercia. After the death of Ethelherd in 739, Cuthred, a prince of his family, assumed his difficult and responsible position. At first he could alone obtain the ascendancy over the neighbouring Britons by an alliance with his hereditary Mercian foe. But the Mercian soon proved a more dangerous adversary than before; for the Angles, the South Saxons, and the Welsh, became willing followers of his conquering army. Almost at the same time, a still worse enemy arose in Cuthred's immediate vicinity, the overbearing Ealderman Ethelhun[4]. According to a credible account, this most valiant warrior of his time was only subdued after a desperate conflict, and when a severe wound compelled him to lay down his arms; soon afterwards he performed a service to his king, whose consequences were of incalculable value to Wessex. It was

[1] Bede's Eccl. Hist., v. 18; Chron. Sax. and Florent. i. 51, give this date 728.

[2] Ethelburga is called "filia regii generis et animi," by William of Malmesbury, lib. i. § 35.

[3] Florent. Chron. i. 52.

[4] He is thus named in the Chronicle, A. 750; Henry of Huntingdon, iv. 728, styles him "audacissimus consul."

to Ethelhun that, in the year 752, was intrusted the supreme command of the Saxon troops against Ethelbald of Mercia. At the head of his warriors, with the banner of the kingdom on which the golden dragon shone, in his hand, he rushed into the midst of the enemy's army at Burford; the Mercian standard-bearer fell beneath his sword, and Ethelbald, who had never before met his equal in the field, trembled at the sight of such valour, and by his sudden flight decided the issue of the contest[1]. This day, on which the West Saxons fought for their independence, also bestowed on them the so-long contested supremacy of which the Mercians were deprived; and which from this time exalted Wessex, in spite even of an Offa, to be the first state in the island.

Two years after this victory, which had decided so important a point, Cuthred died, leaving no direct heirs, to the great disadvantage of his country. His successor, who on account of the similarity of his name, seems to have belonged to the royal family of Essex, and not to the race of Cerdic, was so intoxicated with the pride of his power, that he was guilty of cruel tyranny towards the free-born West Saxons; and soon afterwards, driven by them from house and home, he perished as an outlaw in the Andredswald. His short reign, as well as that of the Cerdician Cynewulf, who was raised to the throne in his stead by the assembled nobles, and which lasted three-and-thirty years, show us in a striking manner that the internal affairs of the state were not well arranged for a long period, and that the succession especially needed a fixed arrangement which might secure the kingdom from tyrants, and the princes from usurpers. Only very slight information remains to us of the last ruler, with the exception of some casual mention of his campaigns against Wales and Mercia. His violent end is almost the only circumstance which the native Year-books relate with unwonted circumstantiality. The narrative is as follows: Cynewulf was prosecuting a secret

[1] The best account of Ethelhun and his heroic bravery is given by Henry of Huntingdon, iv. 728, who must have taken his materials for the description of the battle of Burford from some old war-songs, which here and there seem to flow in Latin rhythm, and which undoubtedly were much superior in language and poetic diction to the far more modern, but to us invaluable poetical descriptions of the battles of Brunanberg and Maldon; Lappenberg, p. 220, 264, also relates these circumstances in the very words used by the battle-delineating chronicler.

amour at Merton, in Devonshire, not suspecting that the Prince Cyneard, a brother of the Sigebert whom he had dethroned, was plotting against his life and his crown. The traitor, with his adherents, surrounded the castle where the king was staying; and when the latter was about to place himself at the gates to defend them against the assailants, Cyneard perceived him, and he was immediately disarmed and slain. The shrieks of the women roused the few attendants from their sleep: bravely fighting, they also fell, disdaining Cyneard's offers of life and reward. One Briton was kept in Merton as a hostage. This man, though grievously wounded, summoned, probably on the following morning, a royal troop which had been left in the neighbourhood under the command of some nobles. As they rode up to the place, they saw the corpse of their king lying before the closed gates. The prince began to treat with them for the crown, and made them the most advantageous offers to gain their favour. But they were inflexible, and declared, that since their beloved king was slain, they would neither now nor at any time follow his murderer. A summons to their relations within the castle to return home and leave the cause of the rebel, was met with the answer that their own people the day before had refused a similar proposal. Then beneath the castle walls there once more ensued a desperate conflict. At length the adherents of the murdered king forced an entrance, and slew all whom they found within, eighty-four in number, with the exception of one man, who was the godson of the prince[1].

By election, the crown now devolved on Bertric, who belonged to another branch of the royal race, passing over those who had better-founded claims to the sovereignty. For example, there was in existence a great grandson of Ingild, King Ina's brother, whose name was Elmund, and who had obtained possession of the kingdom of Kent, we may suppose, by force of a similar enterprise to that by which

[1] I take this relation from the somewhat confused account given in the Chron. Sax., which is erroneously placed under the year 755 instead of 783, and which Thorpe, Flor. Wigorn. i. 61, n. 5, considers as a modern interpolation. It is without doubt a fragment of an old song, whose antique form may be occasionally recognised by the traces of alliteration, and in the conversation of the two bands of warriors which is carried on in the first person; Florent. i. 60; Wilh. Malmesb. i. 42; and Henric. Huntingd. iv. 731, must however be compared with Lappenberg.

Cædwalla had formerly attained Wessex. Elmund's son Egbert, a daring and ambitious young man, remembered his old rights to the crown of his hereditary lands; the new ruler could only maintain his power by forcing the pretender to leave the kingdom, and even the island; and Egbert did not venture, during Bertric's life, to make any attempt in favour of his claims. Meanwhile, the West Saxons had not been deceived in their choice of a sovereign; for the reign of Bertric, unlike that of either of his predecessors, was throughout peaceful and prosperous. It is true, however, that at this time, harbingers of evil days appeared on the coast of Dorsetshire—the first three ships of the pirate Northmen, who, in the course of a few years, were destined to overwhelm the whole fertile island; but they committed then no further outrage than some robberies, and the murder of the chief officer of the king and his people, who had gone to meet them from Dorchester, in order to oppose their landing unless the customary toll was paid[1].

There now existed a lasting peace with Mercia; for, immediately after his accession to the throne, Bertric had married Eadburga, the daughter of the great King Offa. The sword and spear now had a long resting time, and the hands which had wielded them found more useful occupation in holding the plough. But in his wife, the king nourished a viper in his bosom. She came from a mother who had once plunged a dagger into the heart of her own son-in-law; and imagining that her influence over her husband—which she well knew how to turn to the advantage of her native land—was decreasing, she did not hesitate to mix poison in the drink of the Ealderman Warr, a young and talented favourite of the king. But Bertric also drank of the cup, and died a victim to the crime of his wife[2]. Eadburga fled, laden with treasures; and after a long and restless life, met a miserable and ignominious end in Italy[3].

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 787; Ethelwerd Chron. iii. prooem. p. 509; Florent. i. 62.

[2] Not before 801. According to the Cod. Dipl. No. 180, all this happened in the year 802.

[3] Asser, Gesta Alfredi, p. 471. As was remarked, p. 9, Asser relates the history and fate of this unfortunate queen from the information received from his royal friend. Florent. Wigorn. i. 76, and Simeon Dunelm. Chron. p. 672, copy from Asser.

Bertric ended his life exactly at the time when Charlemagne set off for Rome to claim the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope. During his absence, Egbert, who had passed his thirteen[1] years of exile in the Frankish camp, complied with the summons of his adherents, and resolved to return home with all speed, to take possession of that throne which in future no one dared dispute with him. His long residence in the immediate neighbourhood of Charlemagne had not been without the most decided and lasting influence on the development of his own personal character, and on the history of his government. There had for a long time existed an extensive commerce between the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, but the two nations not only exchanged their productions in a trading intercourse, they had also many political relations of a friendly nature, and were bound together by common spiritual interest. Both fought against the same enemy: for the continental Celts maintained unbroken their ancient connexion with those of the Island of Britain; and it also seemed probable that the Christian Germanic tribes, on both sides of the Channel, would be threatened by the dangerous foe which now first began to appear on the seas. The requirements of the Church and her ministers also induced Charlemagne, as they had done his forefathers, to remain in a close alliance with the learned and zealous islanders, and not to allow the ties of friendship which bound him to the different courts of Mercia and Northumberland to be loosened. The Franks always bore in mind what they and their mighty state owed to a Bonifacius; after him, they had seen what had been effected by Willehad; and now they followed their teacher Alcuin, full of astonishment at the extent of his learning. When Charlemagne, animated by a feeling of gratitude, willingly afforded an asylum to the fugitive prince, the latter was also indebted to him for much instruction and many benefits. The rough, honest Saxon not only learnt from the more refined Frank a greater dexterity in the use of arms, and a more polished demeanour, but he marked attentively

[1] The No. III. instead of XIII. is a clerical error of the Chron. Sax. A. 836, which has been adopted also by Florent. Wigorn. i. 69; and Henric. Huntingdon. iv. 733. According to these authorities, it was Offa who persuaded his son-in-law, on his accession, to take this measure against Egbert.

what was passing before his eyes; he saw how, in a skilful hand, the reins of government might be made to unite and hold in a straight course the numerous Teutonic races, between whom, originally, no political connexion subsisted; he learnt the means by which the most obstinate enemy was inspired with terror and dismay, even at the furthest extremities of the kingdom; and he could not but have admired the care and ability by which the greatest ruler of his nation endeavoured to maintain order and lasting peace.

Egbert did not neglect to profit by these excellent and important lessons. From the moment when he set foot on his native land as its king, the idea was uppermost in his mind of forming one entire kingdom which might be able to keep its enemies in check, and effect much internal good, out of the numerous small states, which, in their present state of isolation, had the greatest difficulty in maintaining their existence. Directly on his arrival, however, his northern neighbours endeavoured to place difficulties in his path; a band of Mercian Hwiccas passed over the boundary river, the Isis, but this attack was defeated by a brave troop of Wiltshire men, and a treaty was provisionally concluded with King Cenwulf of Mercia[1]. No opposition was raised to Egbert's accession, and thus, after many unquiet reigns, during which one descendant of Cerdic strove against another, the sceptre at last devolved on the true heir, who was able to ensure its succession to his own family. That he closely followed the example of the emperor, and was anxious to bring into operation those plans which he had already matured abroad, is clearly evident from the fact, which, however, rests on somewhat modern authority, that one of the first acts of his reign was to bestow the name of England upon his kingdom and those provinces over which his influence extended, at a Witenagemote held at Winchester.

Assuming that this account, in its present form, is merely a confused fabrication of the following century, we cannot doubt that it contains a germ of truth. The Chronicles agree unanimously in calling this king the last of the eight acknowledged Bretwaldas. When the connexion of different

[1] Lappenberg, p. 271.

states under one inefficient power ceased, this title also became extinct, and Egbert substituted for it something far more definite. Without doubt, the new name of Anglia was bestowed on the kingdom, and that of King of England on the sovereign, during his reign, and by his express directions. Although the Saxons constituted the chief strength of the kingdom, we cannot wonder that its name should have been founded on that of the Angles; for the Anglian colonists had always been the most numerous, and among them the Church had first taken a decided form, and unfolded its blessings. Gregory the Great had already met with Angles in the slave-market at Rome; but he sent his apostle equally to them and the Saxons. Abroad, the name had always borne the most honourable sound; and at home there were sufficient reasons why the Saxon conquerors should readily adopt it[1].

We perceive, by Egbert's own actions, in what manner he conducted his state to the desired goal. In the first place he never for a moment lost sight of the task which had descended to him from his heathen and Christian ancestors, that of extending the Germanic rule in the West, and of taking more and more land and influence from the Britons, who now again began to stir themselves on both sides of the water. About the year 809, we find him completely victorious in campaigns in Cornwall, as well as in Wales. He chastised the Northern Britons with fire and sword; from those in the South he levied tribute, as a mark of their dependence; and the inhabitants of Devonshire and the extreme south-west point of England became still more firmly bound to his dominion[2]. According to one account, the Saxons at this time also took possession of the kingdom of Powis[3].

His position, however, with regard to the other neighbouring German states was of infinitely greater importance to the success of his plans. The power of Mercia was still not to be despised, although, soon after Offa's death, disputes had arisen respecting the succession, which in no small degree contributed to the impending downfal of this kingdom. Eg-

[1] Lappenberg, p. 272; Translation, ii. 3.

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 813, 823; Florent. Wigorn. i. 64, 65; Ethelwerd Chron. iii. 510; Caradoc, p. 25, 26.

[3] Brut y Tywysogion, Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 844; Annales Cambr. ib. p. 835.

bert had already reigned more than twenty years over the West Saxons, when he became entangled in a war with Bernwulf, who at that time aspired to the throne of Mercia. A king of the East Angles appealed for protection to the mighty Saxon monarch, and thereupon, according to their old custom, the Mercians made a wild incursion deep into the heart of the West Saxon territory, and were defeated with fearful loss at Ellandune (Wilton) in the year 832[1]. The consequence of this battle was, that the influence which Mercia had exercised over the small southern states of the island, for the last quarter of a century, was now entirely destroyed. We may remember, that Cædwalla once endeavoured to establish the supremacy of West over South Saxony, that Ina had done the same with regard to Kent, and that the successors of his brother had even enjoyed the title of king in that country; and on the other side, the cruel King Sigebert, and his nearest relations, seem, by the similarity of their names, to have been connected with the East Anglian monarchs. Moreover, Baldred, who was under the influence of Mercia, assumed the royal title in Kent after the ancient kingly line of the Æscingen had become extinct, and whilst the successor of Ingild sat on the West Saxon throne. After the subjugation of Mercia, Egbert sent his son Ethelwulf, accompanied by Bishop Ealstan of Sherborne, and the Ealderman Wulfherd on an expedition against Kent. Baldred fled immediately across the Thames into the north, and never again beheld his country or his throne. Sussex, Kent, and Essex, as well as Suthrige (Surrey), now entirely lost their independence; the several members of their royal families were either destroyed or degenerated, the small states felt their own powerless condition, and from this time we find them all united to the West Saxon crown, so that one or more of them might at any time be transferred to the reigning sovereign as a feudal possession. But within their several

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 823. Henric. Huntingd. iv. 733, says: "Ellendune rivus cruore rubuit, ruina restitit, fœtore tabuit." Robert de Brunne also says, in his Rhyming Chronicle:

Ellendoune, Ellendoune, þi lond is fulle rede
Of þe blode of Bernewolf þer he toke his dede.

King Bernwulf died two years later.

limits, laws and customs continued for a long period widely different.

In the year 825, Bernwulf lost the battle and his life in an engagement with the East Anglians. His successor, Wiglaf, after being defeated by Egbert, had much difficulty, first in concealing himself from his wrath and revenge, and then in becoming reinstated in his position as an independent sovereign. Egbert compelled the East Angles to recognise his authority, and then penetrated with an army into the districts beyond the Humber; whilst his troops in the west, after conquering the ancient Mona, bestowed on it the German name of Anglesey[1].

These submissions all took place in the course of a few years, although the results of the conflicts of some centuries had contributed towards them; and thus, at length, over the numerous petty states, a new sovereignty became established —more efficient and powerful than the old fictitious dignity of Bretwalda. Egbert's supremacy prepared the way for a far more extended union and centralisation in future times. This prince is generally pointed out and extolled as the destroyer of the Heptarchy, but incorrectly, for he annexed to his crown more than seven small kingdoms, and some of these also included many principalities; on the other hand, Mercia and Northumbria retained, for some time, a separate monarchy, although the latter was under the dominion of the Northmen, and the former was dependent on Wessex. But Egbert effectually prevented any other prince from attempting to rival him in his exalted position. The kingdom of Wessex now commanded the respect of all the remaining provinces by its geographical situation and extent; it embraced a number of districts lying contiguous to each other, inclosed by an unbroken boundary which extended southward from the Thames to the sea, and besides the ancient provinces, the counties of Hants with the Isle of Wight, Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Berks, and the southern half of Oxfordshire, now included Devonshire, which was inhabited by a mixed population, and the greatest part of Gloucestershire. The small isolated principalities of the North and South Britons in Wales and Cornwall next be-

[1] Lappenberg, p. 276.

came subject to Wessex, as well as the German states of Sussex, Kent, and Essex. The inland Mercia, which had always endeavoured to gain an outlet by conquests in a south-east direction, and whose boundaries had latterly extended along the north bank of the Thames to its mouth, was, in consequence of its situation and hitherto important position, in a less subordinate condition; and the Anglian states on the east coast were still less subdued.

Egbert, nevertheless, succeeded in uniting all these separate districts by the ties of a common interest; and by that close union, after indescribable difficulty, he first enabled the whole German population to make a stand against the hordes of northern invaders.

And these scourges of nations did not delay their approach. The crews of those three pioneering vessels who had once landed near Dorchester, gave the first intelligence to their comrades at home respecting that glorious island where agriculture and commerce were in the first blush of prosperity. Even during the life of Egbert the Northmen paid many visits to his coasts. We cannot here enter into the historical reasons which induced this wild piratical race, afterwards so richly endowed, to leave their poor and desolate home, and trust themselves in bands to the waves in search of plunder on more highly-favoured shores, and when their destiny willed, or good fortune was propitious, to establish settlements. It may also be remembered that, probably for a long time past, the Scandinavians had established themselves firmly in the small islands to the north of Scotland, in Scotland itself, and in Ireland; but that in the beginning of the ninth century, important events in the north drove large masses of people from their ancient fatherland; and it is evident, that those who now began to disturb the whole of Europe, were Danes from the Scandinavian continent and islands. These events were undoubtedly similar to those which once compelled the Germans to become a wandering people. The voyages of the bold Vikings were in reality only a continuation of these expeditions, and in this case were not directed from the interior of the mainland towards the sea-shore, but were prosecuted by the heathen Northmen on their own element, and had for their object the attainment of a line of coast. They succeeded the most easily where

the Germans had settled before them, for instance, on the east coast of England and in Neustria; they even extended their march to the south of Spain[1], and far along the Mediterranean shore. These latest national wanderings were, indeed, calculated to bind firmly together the most extreme points of the world, and must have been equally felt by the Sclavonians in the north-east, and by the Eastern Emperors.

But to return to England. The Danes landed, in the year 831, on the Island of Sheppey. In the following year, they appeared with five-and-thirty ships off Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, and took King Egbert by surprise—and in spite of his commanding his people in person, they recoiled before the enemy. He immediately assembled his nobles in London, and deliberated with them on the means of defence; thus, when the Danes again returned in 835, they found the king and his people better prepared, and at Hengeston[2] especially, they were completely defeated and put to flight. This fleet, as well as most of those who attacked the south of England, probably came from Ireland, and was in league with the Britons in Wales; for it is recorded as Egbert's last act, that he inflicted severe punishment on, and threatened with utter extermination in his dominions, the Welsh who had formed similar alliances in the kingdom of the Carlovingians, and who had afforded assistance to the sea-robbers. This prince had, indeed, accomplished great deeds, when his career was arrested by death, in the year 838[3]; yet he could not bequeath the kingdom to his son without deep anxiety, caused by the approach of the new enemy.

This son Ethelwulf was, as our most authentic records assert, the only heir of Egbert, by his consort Redburgha[4]. His character and disposition were but too well calculated to

[1] In the year 843, fifty-four of their ships appeared before Lisbon, and from thence coasted along the shore farther towards the south, and went up the Guadalquiver as far as the walls of Seville. · Conde Historia de la dominacion de los Arabes en España Madr. 1820, i. 283, from Arabian sources.

[2] Chron. Sax. Flor. Wig. i. 69; Lappenb. p. 279, 287.

[3] He did not die in 836, as Lappenberg asserts on the authority of Chron. Sax. A. 836, for a document of his, dated 838, indict. i. is preserved in Kemble's Cod. Diplom. n. 239; and n. 240, in which Ethelwulf ratifies a donation of his father, dated A. 839, indict. ii. runs thus: "Primo videlicet anno regni Æðelulfi regis post obitum patris sui." Vide also Hardy on William of Malmesbury, ii. § 107.

[4] Caradoc ed. Wynn, p. 27.

strengthen his father's forebodings; for unwarlike as he had been from his youth, he early showed an inclination to resign himself to the influence of the clergy. If Egbert proposed to himself the Emperor Charlemagne as a model, and, in reality, attained it in many instances, his son imitated Lewis the Pious, who, by his subjection to the Church, let the power escape out of his hands, and nourished evil discord in his own house. We shall have another opportunity of pursuing this parallel. Devoted also to peace and its calm enjoyments, Ethelwulf found, in the protection of the Church, a refuge and a consolation under all the cares and struggles which were not wanting during a great part of his reign. To the gratitude of the clergy for so many marks of favour and rich donations, we may, with probability, attribute the singular account given us by some historians, that Ethelwulf had been originally destined for the Church, and, at the time of his father's death, had been already invested with her highest dignities, from which he had received a dispensation from the Pope, on account of the succession.

This sounds very strange and improbable. It seems, however, to agree with the contradictory notices, according to which Athelstan, the King of Kent, is sometimes called Ethelwulf's son, and sometimes his brother. If Athelstan were indeed a son of Egbert, of which we have not one certain proof, nothing would have prevented the eldest son from following the bent of his own inclination, and avoiding the burden of governing, by becoming a member of the Church. On the other hand, we see Ethelwulf sent by his father, in the year 844, into Kent to take possession there, and to rule and reign over it, invested with the royal title. In none of the documents that we possess do we find the slightest trace of his sacred office; we rather learn from them that he was King of Kent from 828 to 830, and without doubt remained so until his father's death[1]. Neither do we find Athelstan mentioned during Egbert's lifetime, either in historical records or in state documents. But after Ethelwulf's accession to the throne, both point him out as ruler of Kent. According to the Saxon Year-books, his

[1] Kemble Cod. Diplom. n. 223, pro remedio animæ meae et filii nostri Aethelwulfi quem regem constituimus in Cantia, A. 828, ind. vi. n. 224, also signed "Aethelwulf Rex Cantuariorum," A. 830, ind. viii.

father gave up to him that kingdom, and the possessions belonging to it, which, since their conquest, had always fallen to the oldest son of the king, or to the successor to the West Saxon throne; and the documents are always signed—"Athelstan Rex[1]." Ethelwulf, too, as crown-prince, had already been married, and could not, for this reason, have been either priest or bishop; and if he commanded an army in the four-and-twentieth year of his father's reign, his eldest son might very well be grown up in 838. But it is very probable that this son, who was so much older than all the rest of his children when Egbert died, was by another mother[2], and not by the Queen Osburgha. In this case, Ethelwulf must have been married three times, instead of twice, in the course of his life. After what has been now advanced, no one will hesitate in rejecting, as incorrect, both the assertion that Ethelwulf had entered the priesthood, and that Athelstan was his brother instead of being his son. And our view of the question is corroborated not a little by the fact, that both assertions are indifferently maintained by the same authorities[3].

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 836; Kemble Cod. Diplom. n. 241, 252, 254, 259, 264. Nos. 256 and 1047 occurs this: "Aetheluulfo rege presente atque Aethelstano filio ejus."

[2] Roger de Wendover Flores Historiar. i. 279, ed. Coxe, and Matth. Westmonast. A. 837, say of Athelstan: "Non de matrimonio natum;" but these authorities stand alone, and are too modern.

[3] Henric. Huntingd. lib. iii. p. 734, v. p. 737, is by far the most ancient; he makes Ethelwulf, Bishop of Winchester, and Athelstan, Egbert's son. Chron. Mailros. ap. Fell, i. p. 142, Roger de Hoveden Vei Savile, p. 412, 413, follows his authority. The old Rhyming Chronicler of the twelfth century, Geoffrei Gaimar, in his "L'Estorie des Engles," v. 2482 (in Mon. Hist. Brit.), also writes thus:

"Adelstan estait al rei frere
Li uns estait frere Edelwolf."

Joh. Brompton, according to Twysden, X. Scriptt. p. 802, calls Ethelwulf "Episcopus Wintoniensis," but also makes Athelstan his youngest son, who died in his earliest youth! Wilh. Malmesb. De Gestis Pontif. ii. 242, ed. Savile, asserts that Ethelwulf had taken priest's orders, and that the Pope, whose name truly is not given, absolved him from them; yet in the work De Gestis Reg. Angl. ii. § 108, Athelstan is called his son. One of the most modern copies of the Saxon Chronicle MS. Cotton. Domit. A. viii. styles Athelstan "his (Egbert's) oder sunu;" but it has been mentioned in our introduction of how little importance this copy must be considered. Lappenberg, p. 292, seems somewhat inclined to the opinion that Ethelwulf took priest's orders; in the translation, ii. p. 23, both accounts have doubts thrown upon them. It is very amusing, and characteristic of the manner of writing history in the middle ages, to find the various titles which the later

Let us now return from this digression to the history of Ethelwulf. From his youth, he always seems to have had two especial counsellors at his side, by whom the weak prince allowed himself to be alternately guided. One of these, Bishop Ealstan of Sherborne, was a man after Egbert's own heart; he was distinguished by a peculiarity which was rare among the higher Anglo-Saxon clergy, and which, when it appeared, was censured, but for which the Norman ecclesiastics had been always noted; and this peculiarity consisted in preferring the sword to the pastoral staff, and in finding his greatest pleasure in military employments. We have seen how he accompanied his prince to the field; he was in fact a warrior and a statesman. The other counsellor of the king, the learned Swithin, had been his earliest instructor, and it was he who chiefly strengthened Ethelwulf's predilection for the Church, and sought to turn his weakness to advantage[1]. Whilst Ealstan's activity shone forth conspicuously during the earlier years of the king's reign, in warding off his dangerous enemies, the influence of Swithin was paramount in times of peace, when the Church raised her head higher than ever; and whilst the memory of the former was never remembered with sufficient gratitude, the name of the latter was ere long enrolled among the saints in the calendar.

War-cries and preparations against the vile robber-hordes were resounding through the land at King Egbert's death. At Southampton, the Ealderman Wulfherd repulsed the crews of four-and-twenty ships in one day; but on the Island of Portland, the Danes, after a desperate conflict, remained masters of the field. In the next year, they attacked the country of the East Angles and Kent; and committed great slaughter in London, Canterbury, and Rochester. Not long afterwards, King Ethelwulf in person took the command of his army; but at Charmouth he was obliged, as his father had been before him, to leave the field to the crews of five-and-thirty ships[2]. The evil with which the land was plagued

Chronicles give to Ethelwulf, as collected by Spelman, Vita Aelfredi, p. 2, n.; he is called: "monachus, diaconus, presbyter, episcopus Wintoniensis, electus, oder consecratus." The Rhyming Chronicler, Harding, even makes him a cardinal!

[1] Gotselini Vita Swithuni in Actâ Sanct. Juli. 1, p. 327; Wilh. Malmesb. De Gestis Pontif. ii. 242.

[2] Chron. Sax. under the years 837 to 841.

took a more and more menacing aspect. On all the coasts of the island where the Germans were settled, terror became general: soon the wild navigators appeared to the north of the Humber, where their presence was especially favoured on account of the existing disputes respecting the royal succession.

The first complete victory over the enemy occurred in Wessex, in the year 845, when the Ealdermen Eanwulf and Osric, with their vassals from Somerset and Dorset, in conjunction with the brave Ealstan, defeated the Danes at the mouth of the little river Parrot. In the year 851, Ealderman Ceorl gained a second great victory at Wicgambeorg (Wembury), in Devonshire; whilst King Athelstan of Kent, whose country was particularly exposed to devastation, and his Ealderman Elchere, made the first attempt to engage the bold invaders on their own element. The first fortunate sea-fight took place at Sandwich—the Saxons captured eight ships, and repulsed the remainder with great loss of life[1]. Yet all these successes did not prevent other hordes, whose number seemed inexhaustible, from landing on the Isle of Thanet in the following winter, nor a formidable fleet of three hundred and fifty sail from appearing in the mouth of the Thames during the spring. The warriors from these ships immediately dispersed themselves over the adjacent shores, burning and plundering; they followed the course of the river, and advanced towards the north, where King Berthwulf in vain endeavoured to make a stand against them. But when the multitude were returning, laden with plunder, through Surrey, to their ships, King Ethelwulf and his son, with their followers, attacked them at Aclea, and after a desperate conflict gained a partial victory[2]. Two years afterwards, the men of Surrey and Kent, under their Ealdermen Huda and Eal-

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 845, 851; Asser Vita Ælfredi, p. 469; Florent. Wigorn. i. 73.

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 851, says: "And paer pæt maeste wael geslogen, pe we secgan hyrdon oppysne andwaerdan daeg." Can this notice be contemporary? It sounds as if the writer knew nothing of Alfred's battles, in whose reign two great attacks were made by the Danes on the country, and many fearful conflicts occurred. Asser, p. 469, and Florent. Wigorn. i. 73, copy this. Lappenberg, p. 291, translation, ii. 22, has shown us from the Annals of Prudent. Trecens. A. 850, ap. Pertz Mon. Germ. SS. i. 445, that this great fleet was a part of the expedition of Rörik, a nephew of the Danish Prince, Harald Klak.

here, fought on the Isle of Thanet; and though the victory at first seemed to incline towards them, yet, after their two generals were slain, and great numbers of people killed and wounded on both sides, they were obliged to yield to the stubborn foe. The latter remained all the winter on the Isle of Sheppey[1], but made scarcely any inroads on the English coasts. It has been remarked that their attacks always took place by fits and starts, and in the pauses which ensued, they were either obliged to rest, in order to repair their losses, or else directed their attention to the shores of the continent. Ever since the year 832, in which Egbert had first come into collision with them, they had for twenty-three years filled all his kingdom with war and terror; and during the next eight years there was peace.

Soon after the battle of Aclea, Ethelwulf acceded to the entreaties of Burhred, who had shortly before become King of Mercia, and lent him aid with his victorious troops, in an engagement with the Northern Welsh. The two kings penetrated into the Isle of Mona, and forced King Roderic Mawr to acknowledge their supremacy[2]. This was the last warlike deed of Ethelwulf's reign; the rest of his life is closely bound up with that of his illustrious son, and therefore belongs to the following section.

II.

ALFRED'S YOUTH, FROM 849 TO 866—THE COMMENCEMENT OF KING ETHELRED'S REIGN.

As our sources of information either relate to the warlike expeditions and bloody combats of each succeeding year, or confine themselves to dry documentary evidence, it is very difficult to get an insight into the internal state of the country, and the social condition of its inhabitants, during these early centuries. Still more difficult is it successfully to investigate the private life of any one individual, and to distinguish his birth and position from among the rest of the people. Only a name here and there, and a few happily-established facts, serve, in such researches as these, as beacons

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 853; Florent. Wigorn. i. 74; Asser, p. 470.
[2] Lappenberg, 293.

and landmarks to light the weary wanderer through the desert and the darkness. These embarrassments in which the historian finds himself, and which border so closely on utter perplexity, must indeed fill him with sorrowful and despondingconsciousness of his own weakness, when he attempts to write of England as she was in those days when her first hero and deliverer was born. And as the sailor uses each beacon to guide his vessel on a prosperous voyage over the pathless ocean—but when driven by necessity, steers for the nearest haven on a dangerous, but what may possibly prove a fortunate course—so hope guides the author in his undertaking; and being compelled to throw himself on the indulgence of his readers, he yet trusts to obtain their approval.

We have already seen that Ethelwulf was little equal to the difficult task of protecting a flourishing country from the general ruin which so suddenly threatened it. In the mean while, the first attack of the barbarians was passed, without their having gained any firm footing among the German inhabitants of the island; indeed, a great part of the native population had scarcely learnt to know them. Besides, the Anglo-Saxons were skilled in the Germanic mode of warfare, on which their very existence as a people depended—at least in a country where their enemies were descended from the same race as themselves. Neither were leaders wanting among them, who, after bravely fighting with the conquering barbarians, would either leave their corpses on the battle-field, or by their skill and courage gain a brilliant victory. We see how Ethelwulf even roused himself to do battle with all those oppressors who would have laid a fresh yoke upon Britain. So the people had again a short breathing-time; the peasant once more could follow his plough unmolested; in churches and cloisters holy men might sing and read as before, to the glory of God, and instruct the people in their faith and in all kinds of useful learning; although, in that century, not one remained of all the great masters who had taught in the preceding one, and intelligence had begun to decline considerably even before the invasion of the Danes. Since the important reign of Egbert, the old partition-walls between the many individual states and forest districts had been constantly decaying; instead of a number of petty princes, there was now one who ruled all the rest; and nobles,

freemen, and serfs, in all the hitherto separate districts, formed part of one community. They had all contributed to the last struggle in defence of their country; and between Angles and Saxons became apparent their common bond of union—that of descent and of faith.

The king, who in war was the commander-in-chief, in time of peace the richest and most powerful landowner in the country, lived like his subjects, according to the old customs; he took counsel with his nobles and freemen on the general affairs of the kingdom, and assured himself of their aid in case danger threatened from without. He only administered his private affairs according to his own judgment, and for his own advantage. We find that Ethelwulf, out of the number of his extensive possessions, was accustomed to make rich donations, sometimes to a faithful follower in his train or some valiant and victorious general, sometimes to churches and cloisters for the sake of his own salvation, and sometimes he commanded through the assembled Witan that recently acquired territories should be absolved from the customary taxes. In time of peace he took great pleasure in the chase, and in the exercise of his functions as chief magistrate—the only occupations of princes in those days as of the other owners of the soil. The arrangements for the defence of the country, for the well-being of Church and State, and of his own possessions, requiring in unquiet times his presence in every part of his dominions, he led principally a wandering life among all the inhabitants of his kingdom. An ancestral castle, or a capital city, where he might feel himself surrounded by his family and court, was as little to be found among the Saxons as among the Franks; and the travelling court was received in royal dwellings in the different parts of Wessex, and the states that were subject to it. Accordingly, we find Ethelwulf, in the first year of his reign, residing in a Kentish mansion on the river Stour; in the next year he was at Southampton, occupied probably with the preparations for his first expedition against the Danes. In 845, he was again in Kent, at a place called Weg; two years afterwards, at the city of Canterbury; and in 854, at Wilton[1]. Together with

[1] These documents are to be found in Kemble, n. 241, 246, 259, 260, 272, where the above-mentioned donations are also to be met with.

the seat of the archbishop, he may have honoured with his presence both the cathedrals of his ancestral domain, whose bishops were his first ministers, in whose precincts were the tombs of his ancestors, and where his own body would some time or other find repose in death.

Wherever he went, he was followed by his family, his official attendants, and his domestics. His eldest son Athelstan, the child of his youth, ever since his father's accession to the throne, had governed independently in Kent, and the districts belonging to it. Ealdermen ruled over the small isolated states in the rest of the kingdom.

We must next occupy ourselves with the family of the king. About the year 830, soon after he had become King of Kent, Ethelwulf had married Osburgha, the daughter of his cup-bearer Oslac. She and her father sprang from a highly-honoured race; their ancestors were Jutes, the descendants of the brothers Stuf and Wihtgar, who had received the Isle of Wight as a fief from their uncle Cerdic. The names alone of father and daughter betokened their unbroken German, and, according to the then general idea, divine descent. Oslac probably held possessions in Kent, on some of the old Juten lands and heritages. The young king appointed him to one of the first dignities of his court, that of cup-bearer. Thus he married Osburgha at a time when he had already assumed the royal dignity, and it is therefore certain that Athelstan, who so soon afterwards sprang to manhood, could not have been her son. History has preserved to us but little information concerning this remarkable woman, and her ultimate fate is unfortunately shrouded in a veil of poetical mystery. Of noble lineage, she was noble also in heart and spirit; of extraordinary piety[1], she always fulfilled her duty to her children in the best manner. She must, in fact, have been the ideal of a true German mother. All her energies were devoted to her household; we find no trace of her having taken any part in public affairs; she never even affixed her signature to any document, which queens and princesses so often did before, and have done since her time. According to Asser's ac-

[1] Asser, p. 469, has traced her descent, and calls her "religiosa nimium fœmina, nobilis ingenio, nobilis et genere."

count, in consequence of the fearful catastrophe of Eadburgha, she took no other title among the West Saxons than that of the wife of their king. So history is almost silent respecting her, and does not penetrate into her quiet domestic life; but that she lived and laboured in the usual circle of home duties, may be inferred from the little which a faithful friend learnt from her son.

Osburgha bore to her husband a number of children, soon after one another, all of whom undoubtedly passed their early years by their mother's side. Ethelbald, the eldest, had already attained maturity in the year 850; for he accompanied his father to the assembly of the great men of the kingdom[1], and even to the field. He was present at the overthrow of the Danes at Aclea. The two next sons, Ethelbert and Ethelred, were only a few years younger, and appear, according to the most genuine records, to have taken no part in public affairs during their father's lifetime. The next child was a daughter, Ethelswitha; after the fortunate issue of the expeditions against the Welsh, she married Burhred of Mercia, although, as so frequently occurred in those times, she could hardly have attained her fifteenth year. It was at Easter, 853, when the two kings met at Chippenham, where Ethelwulf had a royal mansion, and celebrated the marriage with all due solemnities[2]. Ethelswitha accompanied her husband into his kingdom, and soon appeared as Queen of the Mercians, who never objected to the participation of women in affairs of state, as was the case, not without good reasons, with the West Saxons.

Scarcely four years before this marriage, in 849, Osburgha gave birth to her youngest and last child, Alfred. The precise day on which the boy first saw the light is not recorded; it must, however, have been in the first half of the year—probably, soon after Christmas or New Year's-day[3]. The place of his birth was Wantage[4], a royal residence in

[1] In Kemble Cod. Diplom. n. 264, there is a grant of land in Kent to the valiant Ealstan, signed "Æthelbald filius regis." A. 850, ind. xii.

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 853; Asser, p. 470.

[3] Asser, p. 467, begins, "Anno dominicae incarnationis 849, natus est Aelfred Angulsaxonum rex." Florent. Wigorn. i. 70; Simeon Dunelm. de Gestis Reg. Angl. p. 674; Roger de Wendover, i. 264; and Matth. Westmonast. follow him.

[4] Asser, p. 467, in villa regia quae dicitur Wanating in illa paga, quae nomi-

Berkshire, where, at that time, a thick forest covered the gently undulating ground, but where now the traveller flies by on one of the great iron roads of England, through smiling meadows and clumps of trees rich in foliage, to the pleasant little town which, since the days of the Saxons, has given its name to a hundred.

What were the first impressions which must have influenced the spirit of this child? Surely they were the invigorating pictures of surrounding nature, the verdant woods and fields, the blue sky with its clouds driven over the island by the fresh breezes; and when his father broke up his household, and removed to another far-distant domain, the illimitable, ever-magnificent ocean, where "the whale reigns among the rolling waves, and the sea-mew bathes its wings[1]." But on this ocean also floated at that time those ungovernable hordes at whose approach all flew to arms, and whose fury and cruelty must have formed the theme of the earliest-comprehended tales of his childhood. The boy throve visibly in the free air and amid the din of war, more beautiful than either of his brothers, more loveable in speech and demeanour. His gentle disposition lent a singular charm to his innate desire of doing honour to his noble descent by the culture of a noble spirit[2]. That there could then be no education in the modern sense, is self-evident. The Church, the sole instructress in that day, cared only for the enlightenment of those who were especially dedicated to her service. It was seldom, and only an exception, when a distinguished layman, a king or nobleman, impressed with the importance of knowledge and the consciousness of its necessity, learnt to read and write. The culture of youth consisted only in the strengthening of the body by warlike exercises and the chase, and in all Teutonic nations the mind was early quickened by the songs and poems of the fatherland. It was the mother or the nurse who first spoke to the little one of the heroes of past days, and of their

natur Berrocscire; quae paga taliter vocatur à berroc silva, ubi buxus abundantissime nascitur. We shall see how affectionately Alfred remembered this place in his later years. In Doomsday Book, i. 57 a. it was called a domain, until Richard I. made it a fief for his vassals; Lyson, Magna Britannia, i. 405.

[1] The Anglo-Saxon poets term the sea, "hwæles ēðel," Andreas, v. 274, ed. J. Grimm, and ganotes bæd, Beowulf, v. 3719.

[2] "Ab incunabulis," says Asser, p. 473, who is the only authority on this point.

battles with men and monsters. If any mother could do this, Osburgha was eminently qualified for the task, for she was well acquainted with the whole poetical treasure of her people, which still lived entire on all lips and in all hearts. And of this her Alfred could never hear enough, and his young heart rejoiced, day and night, in those powerful ballads which sang of his ancestors and of his people.

It was from Osburgha that the boy, in his earliest childhood (he could scarcely have been four years old), learnt the first of these ballads, in the manner so touchingly related by Asser[1]. One day, his mother showed him and his brothers a beautiful volume, filled with Saxon poetry, and said, "The one among you children who can first say this book by heart, shall have it." Inspired by an almost divine instinct, and allured by the richly-decorated initial letters, and the binding painted in various colours with all the skill of the period, the little Alfred came forward before his brothers, who were only his superiors in age, not in mind, and eagerly asked his mother, "Wilt thou really give it to the one who learns it the quickest, and repeats it to thee?" Osburgha smiled for joy, and said, "Yes, to him will I give it." So he directly took the book out of her hands, went with it to his teacher and read; after he had read it, he brought it again to his mother, and repeated it to her.

Who would dare to doubt the authenticity of this narrative, in spite of all the objections that have been raised against it? But we may undoubtedly wish, with reason, that the proof of its being a genuine one, as well as of its occurrence so early in Alfred's life, could be placed on a more solid footing. The first difficulty arises, manifestly, in the damaged text of our biography. In the pages which im-

[1] Asser, p. 474. "Cum ergo quodam die mater sua sibi et fratribus suis quendam Saxonicum poematicae artis librum; quem in manu habebat, ostenderet, ait, 'Quisquis vestrum discere citius istum codicem possit, dabo illi illum.' Qua voce, immo divina inspiratione instinctus, et pulchritudine principalis litterae illius libri illectus, ita matri respondens, et fratis suos aetate quamvis non gratia seniores anticipans, inquit: 'Verene, dabis istum librum uni ex nobis, scilicet illi, qui citissime intelligere et recitare cum ante te possit?' Ad haec illa arridens et gaudens atque affirmans: 'Dabo,' infit, illi;' tunc ille statim tollens librum de manu sua magistrum adiit, et legit, quo lecto matri retulit et recitavit."—Flor. Wig. i. 86, and Sim. Dunelm. p. 676, give the same account.

mediately precede the anecdote, it is said that the boy, in his twelfth year, first satisfied his thirst after knowledge by learning to read; and that his parents, and the persons who had charge of him, had taken no pains with his instruction or mental culture[1]. And yet it was certainly his mother who promised him the book, and thus awakened in him the desire of learning. We also find that a tutor was in the house. Now it is undoubtedly an established fact, that only detached fragments of the true biography have come down to us, and the mutilation in this case is especially evident; for past and present events are confusedly mingled together, and the whole episode is placed in the year 866, when Alfred was not twelve, but eighteen years old, and had begun to think of founding a house of his own. The carelessness of the parents does not relate to Osburgha; it might be correctly related by Asser of King Ethelwulf, and his later wife, the Frankish Princess Judith.

That this foreign step-mother (and this is the second point in favour of our theory) cannot, as some have maintained[2], have taught Saxon poetry to the boy, is apparent on the most hasty investigation; for she herself was scarcely thirteen years old at the time of her marriage, and would hardly have taken much pains with the instruction of her grown-up step-children, some of whom must have been older than herself[3]. It may, therefore, be considered as certain, that Alfred was still living with his mother and his brothers, at least with Ethelbert and Ethelred; perhaps too, his sister was not yet married. The children could not have lived with their mother Osburgha later than the year 853, in which year the youngest was sent away from home. We must conclude, that soon after this the faithful mother herself died. No historian of the period relates anything further of her; only some modern authors[4] have asserted that Ethelwulf put away

[1] "Indigna suorum parentum et nutritorum incuria;" and shortly before we find Asser saying: "Cum communi et ingenti patris sui amore."

[2] Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, book iv. ch. v. and Petrie, the editor of the Corpus Historicum, preserved by the Record Commission. She is undoubtedly called "Mater sua" by Asser; and Sim. Dunelm. p. 676, evidently copying from Asser and Florence, says: "Dignissima ejus genitrix."

[3] Thorpe, Florent. Wigorn. i. 86, n. 3.

[4] Even Lappenberg, p. 296, 311; Th. Wright Biog. Brit. Liter. i. 385. Thorpe's translation, ii. 41, places this opinion in a more probable light.

the mother of his children, and renounced all care of their education, when, as a grey-headed old man, he took a young princess for his wife. We cannot fancy this prince to have been so heartless, notwithstanding his known weak character; it is also very questionable whether he would so far have put himself in opposition to the Church and her ministers, to whom in all other cases he paid so much deference—or whether Swithin, in particular, would have connived at such a proceeding. It is inexplicable that Asser, Florence, Wilhelm, and others, should have known nothing of so flagrant an act. In all probability, Osburgha died before her husband set out for Rome. Her death was quiet, as her whole life had been: she had lived as the mother of her children, and not as a queen, and therefore our sources of information take no note of her. But that Alfred thanked her alone for his love of the national poetry, inspired in his earliest youth by the songs in that first book, he himself undoubtedly confessed to Asser, whose account of the matter has come down to us indeed, but in a mutilated state, and diverted from its proper situation.

Finally, one more observation must be made on the subject. The mother did not desire the book to be *read;* the songs were to be learnt by heart—and so the little one understood the wish. He went to his teacher, probably his own and his brothers' attendant, and read, that is to say, had the book read to him, and repeating after the reading, learnt to recite the songs[1].

In the year 853, the young boy, who, more than all the rest of their children, had won his parents' hearts by his amiability and brilliant qualities, was sent over the sea to Rome. It is difficult to say what may have been his father's motives for this proceeding; we can only suppose that his veneration for the capital city of Christendom, and for the representative of Christ upon earth, made him hope to re-

[1] Thorpe remarks, in Florent. Wigorn. i. 86, n. 3, that in those times this was the usual mode of teaching and learning. I may here call attention to the different uses of the following words, which are similar in their etymology: The old northern ræda; the Gothic rôdjan, loqui; the Anglo-Saxon rêdan, legere; in which, according to J. Grimm, Gramm. i. 469, n. 2, ed. iii. "the meanings of 'loqui' and 'legere' are confounded with the idea conveyed in 'recitare.'" Neither must the Greek λέγειν nor the Latin legere be forgotten.

ceive the same gifts from the Holy Father which the earlier popes had bestowed on the sons of Pepin and Charlemagne—namely, their holy unction and benediction. He wished his favourite child, whom he secretly desired might succeed him on the throne, to receive, in the blessing of the Bishop of Rome, a kind of prophetic authorisation of the succession. Alfred made the long and difficult journey, accompanied by a great number of his father's retainers, both noble and commoners[1]. When he arrived in the Eternal City, the Pope, Leo IV., received him in a manner befitting his own rank and the consideration which his father enjoyed: he anointed him king, and adopted him to the place of a child, as his spiritual son[2]. It seems, however, that the young prince did not remain long in Rome, but that after the wish of his father had been fulfilled, returned with his followers to his own country. But he was destined soon again to take this toilsome journey, accompanied by his father himself.

It will be well in this place to speak somewhat more at large of Ethelwulf's position with regard to the Romish Church. In the foregoing pages, we have twice incidentally had occasion to consider the development of ecclesiastical influence in the West Saxon kingdom. We have seen that the Church endeavoured to make itself an important element in the national constitution; but in the time of Ina it had not attained much power, on account of the isolated position of the State, which numbered no primacy among its bishopries, for from the time of the first conversion, Kent had been the seat of the archbishop, who copied the decrees of the Synod for the whole south of the island, appointed the bishops to their dioceses, and Ina sent to him the young Winfrid as his plenipotentiary. As long as the kingdom of Kent belonged to its own hereditary princes, the influence of even the more

[1] "Magno nobilium et etiam ignobilium numero constipatum." Asser, p. 470. That Bishop Swithin accompanied the prince is not certain.

[2] So Asser, p. 470; and Chron. Sax. A. 853 (in the three oldest MSS.), against which no historical reason can be adduced. Hearne (Spelman's Life of King Alfred, p. 17, n. 2) shows us what absurdities have passed current on this point; for he says, on the authority of some obscure manuscripts of the later middle ages, that Alfred was not alone the first and only King of England who received the Papal unction, but that after his father's victorious return from battle as King of South Wales, he was anointed the first Prince of Wales.

powerful states in ecclesiastical matters was insignificant. Mercia had early endeavoured to assume the supreme authority: the powerful Offa and King Kenulf had even attempted to establish an archbishopric of their own at Litchfield; but their plan did not succeed, owing to the steadfast opposition of the then archbishop[1]. When Egbert, some ten years later, finally subdued the Mercians, they were deprived, at the same time, of all participation in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of Kent. Their shadow-king, Baldred, fled precipitately before the advancing Ethelwulf, who lived probably for fourteen years in the immediate vicinity of the archbishop. Kent remained attached to Wessex, and by this union of the whole southern states of the island, that most distinguished of all the primacies once founded by the great Gregory must also have been strengthened. During the next century we learn nothing more of a collision between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. The synods, which had been frequently held under the Mercian kings, were, in the reigns of Ethelwulf and Alfred, almost discontinued—a circumstance which indicates friendly co-operation between the two powers, although it may have been caused in part by the severe sufferings which then weighed down the whole country. Until towards the end of the next century, we never even hear that an Archbishop of Canterbury distinguished himself, either in his private character or by his public actions. Only the name and the year of the death of each succeeding prelate are recorded. Of infinitely more importance than the archbishop, in Ethelwulf's reign, were two men of whom we have already spoken: Church and State at that time depended on their management. As Ealstan strove in the battle-field for the protection of the united provinces, so Swithin laboured at the king's side for the increase of the spiritual power. Although few authenticated incidents in the life of the latter are preserved, we must not fail to attach due importance to the great influence which he exercised over the weak administration of Ethelwulf. He constantly endeavoured to confirm the mind of this prince in the idea that his sovereignty was closely bound up with the glory of the Church. Perhaps Swithin held up before him, for this purpose, the example of Charlemagne, in whose kingdom

[1] Lappenberg, p. 228, 233.

the strict bond of union with Rome rendered essential service to the temporal ruler in the preservation of his authority. A precisely similar result might take place at that time in England.

Since the arrival of Augustin, the dwellers in the island had held uninterrupted communion with Rome; and this had not long existed before a house was established there for the reception of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, and the instruction of the clergy. We have seen that two kings of the West Saxons went there to die, and the English archbishops received the pallium, and many English bishops their consecration, from the hands of the pontiff at Rome. Offa's name was not less known at St. Peter's than at the court of Charles. In the year 799, the Primate Ethelheard went with Cynebert, a bishop of West Saxony, to Rome[1]. In the first year after his father's death, Ethelwulf was eagerly desirous of undertaking the pilgrimage; and it is said that a vision which appeared to and much disquieted him, prompted him to demand of Lewis the Pious a free passage through his dominions[2]. For the son of Egbert was animated by the same longing which formerly had not allowed his ancestors to rest in peace on the throne, and Swithin would certainly not be silent on the great advantages which would accrue from such an undertaking. But the doubtful position of his realm chained the king at home for a long while; and it was only when it first appeared probable that the Saxons would master the Danes, that he sent his favourite son into Italy, and soon after made magnificent preparations for his own journey thither.

Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 855, after he had, at an assembly of the states, made over more than the tenth part of his private income in favour of the Church, and for the salvation of his own soul and those of his ancestors[3], he set out from home, accompanied by his darling son and a

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 799.

[2] Prudent. Trec. A. 839, ap. Pertz. Mon. Germ. SS. i. 433.

[3] I cannot make more than this from Asser's words, p. 470; but that Ethelwulf endowed the Church with the tenth part of the whole revenue of the kingdom, is an early invention which has also been adopted in the following documents of Kemble's Cod. Dipl. n. 270, 272, 275, 276, 1048, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1057, in which the fraud is most obvious. Vide Thorpe, Florent. Wigorn. i. 74, n. 1, and Kemble's profound researches into the subject from collected documents and authorities. Saxons, ii. 480-490.

magnificent retinue. His road lay through the country of the friendly King of the Franks. Charles the Bald received him on his passage with all honour, bestowed on him everything that he needed, and lent him his royal escort as far as the boundaries of the kingdom[1]. Over the Alps and through Lombardy the pilgrims went on their way to Rome, where they sojourned for a whole year[2]. The boy, who had been there so short a time before, but who had grown older and improved in mind and intelligence, must have been struck with astonishment at the sight of the magnificent capital of the world. He saw and learnt to comprehend all the great results which had been effected by a nobly-gifted people and the emperors in former days, and in the present by a flourishing Church. The impressions which at this period his susceptible spirit received, proved indelible; we recognise them in later days influencing the Saxon king, who, next to the love for his own people and their language, which he inherited from his mother, cherished an affection for those we call classic, and who steadily endeavoured to cultivate his desire to become familiar with them, in spite of the greatest obstacles.

In the mean while, Alfred's father improved his time also —but after his own fashion. Freed from the burden of sovereignty, he seems to have devoted himself exclusively to ardent exercises of devotion, and to have displayed his great affection for the Romish Church by liberal offerings. By these means he succeeded in appearing as a very different and much more powerful prince than either of his ancestors, Cædwalla and Ina, who both made pilgrimages to Rome, died there, and were buried in holy ground.

He left so many brilliant tokens of his presence behind him, that they were judged worthy of being held up to the grateful memory of posterity in the annals of the popes. The king, whose strange-sounding name is never once correctly written, bestowed gifts, consisting of a gold crown of four pounds weight, two dishes of the purest gold, a sword richly set in gold, two gold images, silver-gilt Saxon urns, stoles bordered with gold and purple stripes, white silken garments

[1] Asser, p. 470, and especially Prudent. Trec. Annal. A. 855, ap. Pertz. Mon. Germ. SS. i. 449.

[2] Asser, p. 570: Ibique anno integro commoratus est. Chron. Sax. A. 855.

for celebrating the mass, decorated with figures, and other costly articles of clothing required for the service of the Church. He also, with the consent of Pope Benedict, bestowed rich alms in gold and silver on the temple of St. Peter, on the bishops, the clergy, and on the dwellers in Rome of every rank[1]. We cannot avoid feeling astonishment at the magnificence displayed by a King of Britain in the ninth century. The Saxon schools, which had already been twice destroyed by fire since their establishment, he rebuilt at his own cost, and further enriched them by the most liberal endowments. He determined, for the welfare of his soul, to send yearly to Rome, out of his private income, the sum of three hundred marks, one hundred of which were destined to fill the lamps of St. Peter's with oil, on Easter-eve and the morning of Easter-day, one hundred for the same service at St. Paul's, and one hundred were a present to the Holy Father himself[2]. From the annual donation proceeded the so-called Peter's penny, or Romescot, which in later times the island Saxons found so much difficulty in collecting, and which was never again paid willingly to Rome up to the time when she lost all power over England.

In employments such as these the year passed away, and the royal guest of Benedict III. thought of returning home. Once more Charles the Bald enacted the part of a host towards him. At the Frankish court Ethelwulf tarried many months, and in July 856 he was betrothed to Judith, the eldest daughter of Charles. On the 1st October, the marriage was solemnly celebrated at the royal palace of Verberie, on the Oise. Hincmar, the Archbishop of Rheims, espoused the royal pair, and placed the crown on the head of the bride—a ceremony which was not customary among the West Saxons, but which the proud Charles would not allow to be withheld from his daughter. Accompained by his richly-dowered young queen, Ethewulf set out once more, and crossed over with his retinue to England[3].

[1] Anastasius de Vitis Pontif. Roman. ap. Muratori Scriptt. rerr. Italic. iii. 251, 252: Hujus temporibus rex Saxonum nomine—causa orationis veniens—et post paucos dies vitam finivit et perrexit ad Dominum.

[2] Asser, p. 472.

[3] Prudent. Trec. Annal. A. 856, ap. Pertz. i. 450. Edilwulf rex occidentalium Anglorum, Roma rediens, Judith, filiam Karli regis, mense Julio desponsatum

Whatever may have induced the king, who was already advanced in years, to marry so young a wife[1]—whether it was the prospect of more heirs to his name, or the pride of being so closely connected with the King of the Franks—we have no reason to suppose that Osburgha was still living to be a witness of her husband's folly. But this folly must detain our history for a while from the son of that noble woman, and it must now relate the results of this marriage.

During the long absence of the king, a revolt took place in the kingdom. It originated in his own family, and was ostensibly caused by the intelligence of his second marriage and of Judith's coronation. Ethelbald had probably still deeper grounds than these, on which he endeavoured to justify not only a revolt against his father, but also a revolution in the nature of the government itself: he was now the eldest son; and as it is recorded that he had been king five years when he died, he must have begun to rule in Kent about the time that his father set out for Rome. At that time Athelstan altogether disappears, no mention of any kind being made of his death. It is probable that, as soon as Ethelwulf departed on his pilgrimage, that Ethelbald, supported by the bishops and other nobles, was appointed regent over the entire kingdom.

As far as may be gathered from the scanty records we can collect, the designs and inclinations of this young man seem to have been completely opposed to those of his peace-loving father, who was such a devoted servant of the Church. This revolt was an audacious and foolhardy step on his part. All our accounts of it are known to proceed from clerical authors: all, without exception, treat the prince in the severest manner, not one of them makes any excuse for his conduct, scarcely one ventures to speak a good word for him at his death. In spite of this unanimity of opinion against

Calendis Octobribus in Vermeria palatio in matrimonium accipit, ut eam, Ingmaro Durocortori Remorum episcopo benedicente, imposito capiti ejus diademate reginae nomine insignit, quod sibi suaeque gente eatenus fuerat insuetum; patratoque regiis aparatibus utrimque atque muneribus matrimonio, cum ea Britanniam regni sui ditionem, navigio repetit. Chron. Sax. A. 855. Asser, p. 470. Vide Hardy, Wilh. Malmesb. lib. iii. § 109, n. 1.

[1] Charles the Bald married Ermenherde, about the end of the year 842; Prudent. Trec. Annal. A. 842, ap. Pertz. i. 439. Vide Thorpe, Florent. Wigorn. i. 86, n. 8.

him, the very weighty motives by which he may have been actuated must not be overlooked. He perhaps drew the sword against his father, not only because he desired to obtain the sovereignty,—the weakness of Ethelwulf was openly manifested to the world by this second marriage, which repeated the sad farce the world had once before seen when Lewis the Pious allied himself with the elder Judith. The son feared, in case of more offspring, a partition of the dominions in favour of the younger children; he also especially dreaded that the ecclesiastical power, so full of avarice and pretension, would act now as it had formerly done when it stood by Lewis and his latest-born children. Ethelbald may for some time have been prepared for all contingencies, but first openly assumed an hostile position when the news of the betrothment of Judith reached him[1]. The names of his adherents speak loudly in favour of his cause, and lead us to infer against what party the movement was really directed. They were Ealstan, Bishop of Sherborne, always on the side of valour and temporal power, and the no less warlike Eanwulf, Ealderman of Somerset; both ranked next to the king in their hereditary Saxon lands, and both highly reverenced and feared by the people[2].

According to the account given by Asser and his copyists, which was probably founded on information supplied by Alfred himself, Ethelbald and his companions took no more decided step than to bind themselves by a common and secret oath, in the thick forest of Selwood, on the borders of Somerset and Wilts. This proceeding is designated by the biographer as an unheard-of crime, repugnant to all just feelings, originating in the bad, audacious mind of the prince alone; although his counsellors confirmed him in the idea of depriving the king of his throne, contrary to all law, human and divine.

Such was the tempest brooding over England when Ethelwulf, still glowing with the pleasure of his journey to Rome, and delighted with his new marriage, landed on his native shores. It is said that on his arrival the whole people received him gladly, and expressed their willingness to banish

[1] This seems to me to be indicated by Asser's twice-repeated introduction to the narrative of the revolt: "Interea tamen Aethelwulfo rege ultra mare tantillo tempore immorante," p. 470; und "Nam redeunte eo a Roma," &c.

[2] Asser, p. 470; Florent. Wigorn. i. 75.

from the kingdom the false son and all his confederates, and that all the Saxon nobles espoused the father's side[1]. It thus seemed inevitable that a struggle would ensue between father and son. In what German state has this never been the case? The entire nation took one side or the other, and such was the violent party-spirit prevailing, that civil war seemed ready to burst forth[2]. But through the inimitable mildness of Ethelwulf and the wise counsels that were bestowed on him, it was agreed that the leaders of each party, with the consent of the assembled nobles, should meet together in a convention, in which the quarrel might be accommodated before swords were drawn on either side. But the arrangement there entered into proved once more with what views the son had raised the revolt, and that certainly all the Saxon nobles and freemen had *not* gone to meet the father on his landing with greetings of welcome and intentions of following his banner. A division of the country was decided on. Ethelbald received Wessex, the principal part of the kingdom, and to his father were allotted Kent and the hereditary crown-lands, over which he had already ruled in the time of Egbert. Without doubt the mere name of the crowned queen was obnoxious to the West Saxons, and they therefore willingly sided with Ethelbald; and both prince and people carried their point. That Ethelwulf, on the other hand, was welcome in Kent appears certain; for according to Asser's account, he placed his consort on the throne by his side until his death, without any opposition from his nobles. From the nature of the circumstances, the agreement could have taken no other form, although by it the rebellious son ruled where the father, by law and justice, ought to have held sway[3]. Nevertheless, we must allow that Ethelbald, by his conduct, averted still greater mischief from the country; he

[1] Asser, 471; Florent. Wigorn. i. 75. Even the Chron. Sax. A. 855, says: "And æfter pam to his leôdum com and hie paes gefaegene waeron." MS. Cott. Tib. B. iv. only has "gesund ham cum."

[2] Quin immo tota cum gente ambobus rebellante atrocius et crudelius per dies singulos quasi clades intestina augeretur, &c.

[3] Asser, p. 471: Ubi pater justo judicio regnare debuerat, ibi iniquus et pertinax filius regnabat—et Judithum—juxta se in regali solio suo sine aliqua suorum nobilium controversia et odio, usquè ad obitum vitae suae contra perversam illius gentis consuetudinem sedere imperavit. Asser joins to this the so-often mentioned History of Queen Eðburgha. Vide also Thorpe, Florent. Wigorn. i. 75, 76, n. l.

preserved the supreme power to Wessex. Although Swithin's name does not appear, he undoubtedly had a great share in inducing the other side to give way so wisely.

Ethelwulf did not long survive his return from Rome and his quarrel with his own son. The last months of his life wore away in outward peace, but his heart must have been broken at what he had lived to see. Before his death he drew up a testamentary provision respecting the succession of his sons and the inheritance of his private fortune. Besides this, he provided richly for what, above all, lay nearest his heart—namely, the poor, the church, and the salvation of his own soul. In order to prevent any strife after his death among his children, he willed that the kingdom should remain divided between his two eldest sons; that Ethelbert should receive Kent, but be excluded from the West Saxon kingdom; and if Ethelbald should die childless, Ethelred and Alfred should follow him in succession. His estates were divided between his sons, daughter, and other kindred; the ready money was devoted to the use of his children and the good of his soul. On all his extensive estates he ordered that one poor man in ten, whether native or foreigner, should be provided with meat, drink, and clothing, by his successors, until the day of judgment. It was only stipulated as a condition, that the land should be inhabited by men and cattle, and not be allowed to lie fallow. The sum of money to be sent annually to Rome is also mentioned. At a general assembly of the kingdom, this will was signed by the Witan[1]. Soon afterwards Ethelwulf died, January 13th, 858, and was buried at Winchester[2].

[1] We do not possess the testament itself. Asser, p. 472, has drawn from it to a great extent; and Florent. Wigorn. i. 77, has copied from him. King Alfred gives the item respecting the division of the kingdom and the landed property, in the preamble to his own testament. Saxon, Kemble Cod. Diplom. n. 314. Latin, ibid. n. 1067. In spite of Asser's high estimation of the good intentions of the old king, it is difficult to believe that he intended to found a succession in Kent for the second son. Ethelbert's decision, and other important causes, saved the south of England in after-days from a lasting division from the rest of the kingdom.

[2] Florent. Wigorn. i. 78: Defuncto autem Idibus Januarii, Prudent. Trec. Annal. 858, ap. Pertz. i. 451; Ethelwerd's Chron. iii. 512, post annum; Henric. Huntingd. v. 737, decimo nono anno regni sui. Vide Hardy, Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 117, n. 6.

He left no children by his young queen, but she is still connected for a short time with the kingdom of Wessex; for in the same year that her first husband died, she gave her consent to a deed unexampled in either Christian or Pagan annals, and became the wife of her eldest step-son Ethelbald. So little did she remember the solemn words of Hincmar, with which the primate of the kingdom of the Franks had blessed her former marriage[1]. The clergy, who were already displeased at the unnatural spite of the son against the father, were still more enraged at such a scandalous act as this; the contemporary accounts of it were in later times eagerly gathered together, and again handed down with still severer censures[2]. In every point of view this was a bold, bad deed of Ethelbald's: he was already hated, and stood in a position which rendered it difficult for him to win good opinions, and then, without further scruple, without reverence for his father's memory, and in defiance of religion, he took to himself the daughter of the Frank, who willingly rushed into sin at the sight of a more youthful spouse. Yet Ethelbald had dared still more —he had married a queen[3]. It is not precisely known whether the Saxons raised their voice against this latter crime as they had done not long before, but we may assume with certainty that Swithin[4] was courageous enough to oppose the criminal pair, and urge their separation; and the disgust of the whole kingdom, in which at that time an active Christian spirit

[1] The forms of Betrothment and Coronation, vei Bouquet Scriptt. rerr. Gall. vii. 621, 622, ut non videas alienum virum ad concupiscendum eum et non moecheris in corpore vel corde tuo, etc.

[2] Prudent. Trec. Annal. A. 858: Relictam ejus, Judith reginam Edelboldus filius ejus uxorem ducit. Asser, p. 472: Juthittam cum magna ab audientibus infamia in matrimonium duxit. Vide Florent. Wigorn. a. a. O. Simeon Dunelm. p. 676; Ingulph, p. 863 (ed. Francof.); Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 117.

[3] Very worthy of note is the undoubtedly authentic document by Kemble, Cod. Diplom. n. 1058; it is dated A. 858, and signed Aedelbald Rex, Judith Regina, Swiðun Episcopus.

[4] This opinion rests alone on the authority of Matth. Westmonast. A. 859, and of Thomae Rudborn Annales Eccles. Winton. ap. Wharton Anglia Sacra, i. 204. Vide also Hardy, Wilh. Malmesb. Roger de Wendover, i. 295, indeed, says also: "Athelbaldus ab errore resipiscens dimissa Judetha, noverca sua, cujus torum foedaverat, peracta poenitentia tempore quo supervixit regnum cum pace et justitia, temperavit;" but no earlier Chronicler says anything of the sort. Vide Kemble, the Saxons in England, ii. 408.

prevailed, must have been excessive. But Ethelbald's was a headstrong character; he ruled in an arbitrary manner and governed by fear; it is therefore probable that he never parted from Judith, and that she did not return home to her father[1] until after her husband's death, and she had sold all her possessions in England. In the year 860 an early death snatched away the crime-laden and much-hated Ethelbald; with all his audacity he had only won the scorn of posterity. But in spite of all this, the people of Wessex had to mourn the loss of a brave and energetic king, for they were now again obliged to take up arms against their cruel foes[2], who had remained quiet during Ethelbald's time. He had only reigned over his country for five years, and two and a half of these were after his father's death. He was buried in Ealstan's cathedral at Sherborne[3].

As there was no direct heir by Judith, the younger son Ethelred was appointed to succeed by his father's will, which had been universally recognised; yet his brother, the King of Kent, succeeded in uniting the hereditary crown with his own realm, which consisted of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex[4]. Whether this union resulted from the desire of the West Saxons, we do not know, at any rate endeavours after centralization are once more evident. We perceive them more particularly when, soon after Ethelbert's establishment on the throne, all

[1] Probably not earlier than 861. Annales Bertiniani (Hincmari), A. 862, ap. Pertz. SS. i. 456. She married a third time, and by this marriage became the ancestress of Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror; Warnkönig Hist. Fland. i. 144.

[2] Asser and Florence call him "iniquus et pertinax." William of Malmesbury styles him "ignavus et perfidus patri." Only Henric. Huntingd. v. 637, writes to this effect: "Morte immatura praereptus est planxit autem omnis Anglia Adelbaldi regis juventutem, et factus est luctus vehemens super eum et sepelierunt eum apud Scireburne. Sensitque posthac Anglia, quantum amiserit in eo."

[3] Asser, p. 473. The day of his death fell probably in July, 860; that of Ethelwulf on 13th January, 858. Vide Hardy, Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 117, n. 6.

[4] Asser, p. 473, omits Essex; it is possible that the Danes may have already obtained possession of that country. Geoffroi Gaimer, "L'Estorie des Engles," v. 2534 (Ed. in Corp. Hist.), says of Ethelred, that he ruled over "Kent e Suthsexe e Hestsexe e Sudreie." Animated by his dislike of Ethelbald and by his clerical prejudices, Asser says of the union of the kingdom, "Ut justum erat." Chron. Sax. A. 860: þa feng Æþelbriht to eallum þam rice his broðor and he hit hold mid gôdre gepwaernesse. (Consent.)

the states were obliged, by the danger which threatened from abroad, to seek protection for their country in better means of defence.

It is said that in Ethelbert's days the great heathen army first came over to England from the land of the Franks, which they had ravaged under their leader, the Viking Weland. They seized on Winchester, and destroyed the city[1]. As they were returning to their ships, laden with their immense booty, Osric Ealderman of Hampshire, and Ethelwulf of Berkshire, advanced to meet them, and slew many of the Danes; the rest "fled like so many women[2]." In the fifth year of Ethelbert's reign, a Danish army wintered in the Isle of Thanet. The people of Kent knew no better means of protecting themselves against it than to purchase the security of their possessions with money, and accordingly an agreement was entered into. But these robbers knew nothing of truth or good faith; they were well aware that they should obtain a much larger sum by pillage than by treaties of peace. Scarcely was the league concluded before they again broke it, and "like cunning foxes," secretly and by night left their camp and ravaged all the eastern side of Kent[3].

Ethelbert does not seem to have met these attacks with any vigour; during his short reign we never once find him taking the field in person, and nothing of the least importance is recorded of him. It appears from some documents placed before him for ratification, that Swithin must have been at his court until 862, when this bishop died; the father's most faithful servant remained at the side of the more obedient son; and probably, as he had once been dismissed by Ethebald, gave a willing consent to the assumption of the West Saxon crown by Ethelbert. But a far more important circumstance for us is, that Alfred at this time was residing with this brother, some of whose documents are signed by him[4].

[1] Prudent. Trec. Ann. A. 860; Hincmari Annales, A. 861, ap. Pertz. SS. i. 445, 456; Asser, p. 473; Chron. Sax. A. 860; Lappenberg, p. 298.

[2] Muliebriter fugam arripiunt. Asser, p. 473. Two copies of the Chron. Sax. in MSS. Cotton. Tib. A. iii. and Tib. B. i. give Wulfherd instead of Osric.

[3] Asser, p. 473: Vulpino more. Chron. Sax. A. 865: Se here hine on niht up bestael. Florent. Wigorn.; Simeon Dunelm.

[4] Kemble, Cod. Dipl. n. 285, 287, 288, 293, 294, 1059. Ethelbert generally signs "Rex occidentalium Saxonum seu Cantuariorum;" Alfred signs simply

Among the documents of Ethelbald, we never meet with the names of either of his brothers; they remained together in Kent during the lifetime of their father, and until their eldest brother died. The young men maintained truly fraternal relations with Ethelbert; they followed him into Wessex, and with the unanimous consent of the West Saxons, divided with him their inheritance, and the land which they possessed in common, placing it all under his control[1].

Whatever sorrows may have befallen Alfred's youth, they were alleviated during Ethelbert's reign; for after he had attained his twelfth year, his intense desire of learning to read and write was, with much difficulty, gratified[2]. According to Alfred's own account, there was no qualified teacher in the whole Saxon kingdom at the time when Swithin, his father's instructor, died, and when the tumults had already begun. We are scarcely able to form an idea of the difficulties that must then have beset all attempts to attain even the first elements of knowledge. Undauntedly, but with much toil, the boy overcame all obstacles; he began to read in his mother-tongue what he had already learnt by heart, and the old poetry became all the more dear to him as he understood it better. He soon began to turn his attention to the writings and songs of the Church. He collected into one book the services of the hours, and many psalms and prayers, and always carried it about with him in his bosom. In later times he never parted with this book by day or night, and as Asser himself saw, he derived strength and consolation from it in the most severe vicissitudes of his life. This information properly relates to a later period of his life, but we find it also recorded that during his youth he assiduously exercised and strengthened his body by the chase. He followed the wild animals, boldly and untiringly, through field

"filius regis;" in the earliest documents, Ealstan's name stands next to Swithin's.

[1] And wyt Aeðered mit ealra Westseaxana witena gewitnesse, uncerne dâel oðfaestan Aeðelbyrhte cincge, uncrum mâege on ða geraedene ðe he hit eft gedyde unc swâ gewylde swâ hit ðâ waes ða wit hit him oðfaestan, and he ðâ swâ dyde, ge ðaet yrfe, ge ðaet he mid uncre gemânan begeat, and ðaet he sylf gestrynde. Alfred's testament by Kemble, n. 314.

[2] Asser, p. 473. At this time occur the first documents that are also signed by Alfred. Instead of "lectores," Florent. i. 87 gives "grammatici;" but his instruction in Latin cannot be meant.

and wood, until he had accomplished their destruction. He soon outstripped his companions in dexterity. Good fortune accompanied him in all things, like a gift from God[1]. He did not yet go out to battle against the heathen foe; his time passed on in harmless preparations for the approaching earnest work, until, in the beginning of the year 866, King Ethelbert died—it is said, after a peaceful, mild, and honourable reign, and when he was buried at Sherborne beside his brother[2], there was great grief in the land.

III.

THE TIME OF EDUCATION, FROM 866 TO 871.

In conformity with the ancient order of the succession, Ethelred, the third brother, now ascended the throne. Like his predecessor, he preserved the union between the royal dominions and the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex[3], although, according to the earlier usage, Alfred ought to have ruled in the latter. But the circumstances of the time imperatively required that this old arrangement should no longer be observed. The south-eastern coast of the island was especially open to an unexpected attack from the enemy, and nothing except a general union of all parts of the kingdom under one leader, could ensure a successful defence. It does not seem that Alfred put forward any pretensions; on the contrary, he clearly saw what course of action would be injurious, and soon found that the best service he could render to the king his brother and the realm, was to set an example of

[1] Nam incomparabilis omnibus peritia et felicitate in illa arte, sicut et in cæteris omnibus Dei donis fuit. Asser, p. 474.

[2] Asser, p. 473, designates his reign as "pacifice et amabiliter et honorabiliter." Florent. Wigorn. i. 69; Simeon Dunelm. p. 676; Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 118, follow his authority "strenue dulciterque." Ingulph. p. 863, gives an invention of his own: "Iste validissimus adolescens et Danorum triumphator invictus." Henric. Huntingd. v. 739, assigns him a rule of ten years in Kent. According to Hardy's supposition after Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 118, n. 2, he died somewhere in February. Wilhelm gives him a quinquennium, as well as his predecessor and successor, and, perhaps by a chronological mistake, does not include the two years and a half of his rule in Kent.

[3] He always signs himself "Ethelred Rex occidentalium Saxonum nec non et Cantuariorum." Kemble, No. 294, 295, 298, 1061.

submissive obedience. There is no record of any dissension between him and Ethelred. As second in power, Alfred occupied the highest position after the king, and was invested with a certain degree of authority over all the states. He was crown-prince, the acknowledged heir to the throne, and to all the royal property[1]. Soon after Ethelred's accession a general assembly of the kingdom was held, and the manner in which this property should be treated was decided. Alfred wished that the inheritance left by his father and his two brothers might be divided, and that he might manage his share independently. Ethelred replied that he had entered into his inheritance so long before his younger brother, and had added so much to it, that a just partition would be very difficult; but that, after his own death, Alfred should be the sole heir. With this Alfred willingly complied; but some years later, when the kingdom was threatened with destruction by the heathen enemy, both the brothers were obliged, for the sake of their descendants, to make a different arrangement[2].

The time is now arrived when the History of England takes a more general and connected form, for the country was threatened by a common danger.

Before we proceed with our immediate subject, the Life of Alfred, we must cast a glance beyond the boundaries of the West Saxon kingdom. Towards the end of the year 866, the Danes made a more furious and terrible attack than ever they had done before on the whole Germanic east coast of the island. As commanders of the fleets there now appear kings, the accounts of whose gigantic stature and ferocity still savour somewhat of tradition; but with every record in the English annals these plundering and conquering people stand out more clearly from their northern obscurity. Some method now was visible in their hitherto apparently unconnected campaigns, for they established settlements on the coast, from whence they could, without opposition, ravage

[1] He is called "frater regis" by Kemble, No. 298, "filius regis" (prince), No. 1061. By Asser, p. 475, 476, 477, he is always styled "Secondarius" during his brother's lifetime.

[2] Alfred's will: Kemble, No. 814—which, according to its historical preamble, can scarcely have been made earlier than the years 880 or 885.

the interior of the country, so rich in cattle and agricultural produce.

But the lives and actions of individuals are yet by no means clearly distinguishable. It is a fruitless undertaking to attempt to unite in one continuous history, the poetical traditions of Scandinavia, founded on the exploits of the conquering heroes, with the short sketches of their names and deeds given in the English Chronicles, which, at a later period, were in a great measure mingled with the northern myths. Events and names are confusedly and incorrectly stated. It is recorded that the dark and fearful King Regnar Lodbrok fought in Northumbria during the preceding century, and met his dreadful death in the Serpent tower of Ella; and that the brothers Hingwar and Hubba appeared in Northumbria to avenge their father; but according to history, they first came over with the great fleet, and landed in East Anglia. It is also said, that in order to be revenged on the adulterous King Osbert, the nobleman Biorn Butsecarl summoned Guthorm the Dane into the country; whereas, this warrior first appears on the scene in the country south of the Humber[1]. The real cause of these attacks, and of the successful results which crowned them, is not to be found in narrations of this kind, which, in spite of their historical basis, belong to the region of poetry. The simple fact is, that the rapacious people soon learnt by experience which was the weakest point of their opponents; and at the period of which we write, they attacked with all their force the two kingdoms which were least able to make any defence.

At that time, as we have seen, the supremacy of Wessex was much less recognised in the north than in the south of the island. If the Scandinavian pirates had delayed their advent for a few years longer, it might have been easy for the successors of Ethelwulf to put an end to the perpetual struggles for the throne between the Northern Angles and the weaker ones of the east. The West Saxons might have asked then, to some purpose, which were the stronger, the Pagan or Christian Germans; but profiting by the dissen-

[1] The narrative and the sources of both accounts may be found in Lappenberg, ii. 30-32.

sions amongst their adversaries, the Pagans succeeded with inconceivable rapidity in gaining the ascendancy.

A brisk autumnal east wind now carried a fleet, which must have been a very considerable one, straight from its island-home to the Wash, whose broad shallow bay presented no obstacle to a landing. The East Angles did not attempt to enter into any contest with this great body of Pagans, as their most celebrated leader, Hubba, appeared at their head, but rather offered them shelter and support, provided them with a winter residence, and furnished them with horses for their march in the spring[1]. As soon as the weather became milder, the Danes set out northwards, and entered the district around York. Here, for five years, a powerful usurper, Ella, who did not belong to the royal Bernician family, had deprived the rightful prince, Osbert, of the throne. The weaker party still kept up the feud, and the whole province was therefore in the most disastrous condition[2].

When the great Pagan army crossed the Humber, spreading desolation around its path, the two opposing kings, at the instigation of the nobles of the country, and inspired by terror, suspended their quarrel and united their forces for defence. By the first of November the Danes had made themselves masters of the city of York, and from thence had advanced as far as the Tyne. Wherever they passed, churches and cloisters were robbed of their treasures, and the buildings themselves set on fire. Towards the end of the winter the Northumbrians, commanded by both their kings and eight earls, made a stand against the plundering hordes, who with some difficulty collected their scattered bands, and made a hasty flight to York. They intended to defend themselves behind the city walls, although these, as Asser remarks, were far from being strong in those days. The Christians followed close upon the fugitives: a great number entered the town with them, and the rest commenced razing the walls. When the Danes found themselves threatened with such danger in their only fortress, they determined on making an attempt to

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 866.

[2] The chief authority for this is Simeon of Durham, Ecclesia. ii. 6. A. 867, by Twysden. Asser gives a striking account of it also, although in wrong chronological order, p. 474. Also Chron. Sax. A. 867, and Florent. Wigorn. i. 80.

fight a passage through the ranks of their valiant besiegers. This took place March 21st, 868[1]. The Northumbrians gave way before the impetuosity of the attack and the fearful havoc made by the Danish weapons. A great number of the Christians were slain, amongst others many nobles and both the kings, for whom the Durham Chronicler has no pity, for they had been the principal means of bringing this ruin on their country, and besides, had wickedly squandered the property of the Church.

This kingdom, sunk into a complete state of lethargy in consequence of long years of anarchy, was not entirely in the power of the Northmen. Those amongst the inhabitants who had escaped destruction were compelled to submit to a disgraceful peace. It pleased the Danes to appoint a creature of their own to be king of the lands north of the Tyne. They kept the southern part of the district as a point of egress for their further enterprises. It soon became evident in what direction they intended to commence their ravages; for at the approach of winter they invaded the neighbouring district of Mercia, and took possession of the strong city of Nottingham.

They now rested during the cold season, as they had done at their first landing, and also at York; with the spring they renewed their attacks. But King Burhred was once more on his guard; he hastily summoned his Witan, and agreed to send messages to his brothers-in-law, the King and the Crown-Prince of the West Saxons, and to entreat them earnestly to levy troops without delay, and hasten to assist him in repelling the invaders[2].

It will be necessary to pause for a time in this narration of military affairs, in order to investigate the causes which first induced the West Saxons to co-operate with that army which they had so often met in battle; and to consider also the close connexion now formed between them and the Mercians, with the events which resulted from it in the life of Alfred. Hitherto no hostile ship had arrived on the coast of Wessex, and during the first two years of King Ethelred's reign no man had been compelled to take up arms. In con-

[1] Palm-Sunday, Florent. ed. i. which day fell in 867 on March 21st.
[2] Chron. Sax. A. 868; Asser, 475.

sequence of this deficiency of martial subjects, our authorities have recorded but two events. The first is the death of Bishop Ealstan, which took place about the same time that the Danes, those ancient foes of this valiant prince of the Church, made themselves masters of York. This remarkable man had attained a great age, and had been bishop for fifty years. He resolutely maintained his position amidst all the storms of life, and now he died in peace, at Sherborne, and was buried in the royal vault[1]. The defence of the kingdom was now left to younger hands. Next in rank to the king, and destined soon to distinguish himself by skill and courage, stood his brother Alfred, already arrived at years of manhood. He, who as a child had delighted his parents' hearts by his beauty and amiability, as a young man was now the pride and hope of the people. We have to thank Asser also for this second account of him.

In 868, when he had reached his twentieth year, Alfred was betrothed to Elswitha, the daughter of Ethelred Mucel (the Great), Earl of the Gaini[2]. She was descended from the royal family of Mercia, through her mother Edburga, a woman worthy of all reverence, who, after the death of her husband, lived as a widow to the end of her pious life. This we learn from Asser, who had frequently seen her[3]. The father of Elswitha, who bore the honourable surname of the Great, was the chief of that district of the Angles, and appears to have taken an active part in the public affairs of the kingdom of Mercia[4]. The choice of the prince was a wise one. By the

[1] Asser, p. 475: Postquam episcopatum per quinquaginta annos honorabiliter rexerat, in pace in Scireburnan sepultus est. Chron. Sax. A. 867, Wilh. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif. ii. 247, give a similar account: Magnae in seculo potentiae. Simeon Dunelm. de Gestis Reg. Angl. p. 677, Henric. Huntingd. v. 738, Florent. Wigorn. A. 867, ed. i. enter at much length into his services to the State, rendered in battles against Kent and East Anglia, as well as into his participation in Ethelbald's revolt.

[2] Gainsborough in Lincolnshire still preserves the name of this district.

[3] Asser, p. 475, who does not here mention the name of Ethelswitha, says of her mother: "Quam nos ipsi propriis oculorum obtutibus non pauces ante obitum suum annis frequenter vidimus, venerabilis scilicit foemina," etc.—Vide Florent. Wigorn. i. 81.

[4] There is a Mucel who signs Burhred's documents from the years 864 and 866. Kemble, No. 290, 291, 292, Chron. Sax. A. 903, records the death of the Ealderman Athulf, the brother of Ethelswitha.

marriage of his sister an alliance with the Mercians had already been formed, and by this fresh union the two states were still more closely connected together.

The marriage was celebrated with all the ancient solemnities in Mercia, probably at the home of the bride. The guests, both men and women, were innumerable, and the banquet lasted day and night. It was in the midst of these festivities that Alfred was suddenly seized by a malady. The loud mirth of the guests was silenced at the sight of his sufferings, and neither they nor all the physicians of the day could assign any cause for it. Many suspected that some one amongst the people who surrounded the prince had bewitched him by secret magic arts, or that the devil himself, malicious at his virtue, had come to tempt him. Others supposed that it was an unusual kind of fever, or the unexpected return of a painful disease from which he had suffered much in his earliest youth.

It is not quite clear to which of these latter suppositions we must give credence, and the accounts we have of the matter are extremely vague[1]. It seems that as he entered

[1] The accounts of both maladies are to be found in Asser, p. 474, 484, 485, 492, and also in the MS. Cotton. Florent. Wigorn. i. 87, 88, follows these authorities, but places the events in better order, as do Roger de Wendover, i. 321, and Matth. Westmonast. A. 871. But it is worthy of notice, that the older chroniclers, as Ethelwerd, Henric. Huntingd. and Wilh. Malmesb. make no mention whatever of these bodily sufferings. The minute relation given in Asser's work appears suspicious merely for the following reasons: Why is not the narration given with the notice of Alfred's marriage in 868, where it chronologically belongs, or in the section, p. 474, which treats of his youth and education? We find it under the year 884, sixteen years after the marriage, and introduced in a description of the nuptial festivities. The whole passage is apparently torn from the earlier portion of the work, and very clumsily and injudiciously inserted in a wrong place by a later hand. The train of thought, too, is very confused in this narration, which does not proceed according to the sequence of events, but reverses them—relates them backwards: first mentions the marriage, then the sudden attacks of illness, then the ficus, and, lastly, the mysterious reason of the malady. The same words are likewise repeated twice, *e.g.*, "in primaevo juventatis suae flore." In the erroneous position, the incorrect tautology, and, indeed, in the whole tenor of the account, I cannot do otherwise than recognise a much mutilated part of the genuine Vita, into which many additions may have crept at a later period, especially those which treat of miraculous events, and of St. Neot. I maintain the facts related by Asser, and have preferred using them in the text unabridged, only making a new and better arrangement of them, to omitting the improbable portions of the narrative.

into manhood, he had to fight a hard battle with his animal passions. On one side temptation assailed him powerfully, and on the other his ardent love for all that was good and noble held him back from the paths of vice. He was accustomed to rise from his bed at the earliest dawn, and kneeling before the altar, pray there to God for help and strength. He implored that a check might be given to these desires, that some affliction might be sent him to keep him always armed against temptation, and that the spirit might be enabled to master the weakness of the body. Heaven granted his prayer, and sent this sickness to him, which Asser describes as a kind of fit. For many years he suffered excruciating pain from it, so that he often despaired of his own life. One day whilst hunting in Cornwall, he alighted at the chapel of St. Guerir, in the solitude of a rocky valley, where St. Neot afterwards took refuge and died. The prince, who from a child loved to visit all sacred places, prostrated himself before the altar in silent prayer to God for mercy. He had long been oppressed by a dread of being unfitted for his royal office by his bodily infirmities, or of becoming an object of contempt in the eyes of men by leprosy and blindness. This fear now inspired him to implore deliverance from such misery; he was ready to bear any less severe, nay any other trial, so that he might be enabled to fulfil his appointed duties. Not long after his return from that hunting expedition, an answer was vouchsafed to his fervent prayer, and the malady departed from him.

And now at the moment of his marriage, when the wedding-guests were feasting and rejoicing in the banquet-hall, that other trial came for which he had prayed. Anguish and trembling suddenly took hold upon him, and from that time to the date when Asser wrote, and indeed during his whole life, he was never secure from an attack of this disease. There were seasons when it seemed to incapacitate him for the discharge of any duty temporal or spiritual, but an interval of ease, though it lasted only a night, or a day, or even an hour, would always re-establish his powers. In spite of these bodily afflictions, which probably were of an epileptic nature, the inflexible strength of his will enabled him to rise above the heaviest cares that were ever laid on a sovereign, to wage a victorious warfare with the wildest enemies, and under

the pressure of corporeal weakness and external difficulties to forward with untiring zeal his own and his people's advancement to a higher state of mental intelligence. Thus Alfred had scarcely entered into public life, scarcely laid the foundation of his own household, when this burden also was laid upon him; how unweariedly and successfully he must then have striven to prepare himself for the coming days of misfortune, and to keep his courage and hope inviolate!

Only a short time could have elapsed after his marriage and the first appearance of his treacherous malady, when Alfred, with his young wife, returned to his brother's kingdom. Soon after, the messengers from Mercia arrived, entreating the speedy assistance of the West Saxons. On receipt of the serious news, the brothers did not delay for an instant; after summoning a large army from all parts of the kingdom, they marched with it straight into Mercia and joined the troops already levied there. Bishops, abbots, and many clergy, readily relinquished on this occasion their claim of exemption from military service, and armed themselves with alacrity to increase the defensive strength of the kingdom[1]. It was necessary to snatch from the enemy the very place from which Alfred had first led his young bride home. When the united army appeared before Nottingham with the unanimous wish of engaging in a pitched battle, the Danes shut themselves up within the city, trusting to the strength of its wall. A few slight skirmishes only took place, the besieged not being willing to engage in a decisive battle. On the other hand, the Saxons were not prepared for a systematic attack on the fortress, whose thick walls resisted any attempts they could make against them. Besides, winter was approaching; the short time of service for which the troops had been levied was nearly expired; and therefore, an agreement was entered into between the Mercians and the Pagans, by which the latter were to withdraw, and the two princes resolved to return home with their soldiers. According to one account, it was Hingwar who effected this arrangement by his fox-like cunning, and his hypocritical speeches[2].

[1] Documents of Ingulph. p. 863, Kemble, n. 297, whose genuineness, indeed, is not unquestioned. It is worthy of note, that Ethelwerd, iv. 513, says nothing of the aid afforded by the West Saxons. According to him, Burhred concluded an agreement with the Danes without any further contest.

[2] Asser, p. 475; Chron. Sax. A. 868: "and pone here paer gemetton on pam

This commencement of the struggle argued but badly for its result. The Danes truly, soon departed for the north, and again settled in York, remaining there longer than they had before done; but it was found impossible to eject them by force from the country, or to take from them the spoil they had already amassed. Neither did their absence in the north continue long. A part of the heathen army soon moved once more towards the south; it marched unmolested through the Mercian territory into the country of the East Angles; at its head appeared the terrible brothers Hingwar and Hubba, the bravest and most ferocious of all the sea-kings—Hingwar of powerful mind, Hubba of astonishing prowess[1]. Besides these, there were many other leaders in this army whose terrible names have never been forgotten. They encamped at Thetford, in the heart of the country[2].

About the same time, or perhaps rather earlier, another division of the Danish host landed from the Humber, in Lindsay (Lincolnshire); the rich cloister of Bardeney was pillaged and burnt, and its inmates were slain. The ealderman of that district, Algar the younger, who had won the admiration of the West Saxon brothers in their late campaign by his great courage, instantly assembled the valiant inhabitants of the marsh lands. Algar with his followers hastened to arm themselves, and even the rich cloisters of the neighbourhood furnished a great number of men. Those from Croyland were commanded by the lay-brother Toly, whose warlike fame had long been known throughout Mercia.

On the day of St. Maurice, 21st September, 869, they met the Danes at Kesteven, and a desperate battle took place—three of the heathen kings fell in the first onslaught, and when the enemy took flight, Algar pursued them to the very entrance of their camp. But during the following night, there came to the Danes' assistance the Kings Guthorm, Bagseg, Oskytal, Halfdene, and Amund, and the Jarls Frene, Hingwar, Hubba, and the two Sidrocs. As soon as the

geweorce and hine inne besaeton, and paer nan hefiglic gefeoht ne wearð and myrce friðð namon wiðð pone here." Henric. Huntiogd. v. 738: "Vulpeculari astutia verbisque delinitis inducias ab Anglis impetravit."

[1] Henric. Huntingd. v. 738: Hinguar erat ingentis ingenii, Ubba vero fortitudinis admirandae.

[2] Asser, p. 475.

news of their arrival was spread among the Angles, the courage of the greater number began to fail, and scarcely a fourth part of the warriors remained with Algar. Yet he and his faithful companions, ready to risk all in defence of their country, received the Holy Sacrament, and then prepared for the last desperate struggle. Toly and Morcar of Brunn led the right wing; Osgot of Lindsay, and Harding of Rehal, the left; the brave Algar himself took the centre. The Danes, who had buried their fallen kings in the early morning, now stimulated by revenge, rushed upon the scanty remnant of the Christians, who withstood the first attack, and remained the whole day firm as a rock, amidst a shower of arrows. But when in the evening the cunning enemy feigned a retreat, the Angles, disregarding the orders of their generals, impetuously pursued, and then their fate was sealed. The heathens turning suddenly, easily cut down the scattered troops. Algar, Toly, and a few others, defended themselves on a hill for a short time longer, and fought with true lion courage; then, covered with many wounds, they fell dead on the bodies of their slaughtered countrymen; a few youths alone escaped to tell the fearful tale to the monks in Croyland.

There was no longer any hope of saving the numerous cloisters, their inmates, or their treasures; the plundering hordes had already arrived, pillaging and burning all before them. Croyland shared this fate; four days later, Medeshamstede (Peterborough) was destroyed, and soon afterwards Huntingdon and Ely were completely ruined. Almost every living creature fell beneath the sword; a few individuals only were fortunate enough to escape from the general destruction; the consecrated buildings were consumed by fire, and nothing was saved but the gold and silver, which the robbers divided among themselves[1].

The East Angles seem to have made a less valiant resistance than their northern neighbours. It is true that the Ealderman Ulfketel made a fierce attack on the Danes whilst they were in Thetford, but after a short contest he was slain with

[1] See the detailed and very animated description of the battle, and the great devastation committed, by Ingulph. p. 863-868, to whom we may give credence, as he was Abbot of Croyland.

all his followers. In the winter of 870, the gentle King Edmund, the last of the old royal Saxon race, who had neglected to join his neighbours in their common bands of defence, attempted an engagement with the enemy, and fell into the power of the cruel Hingwar. The unfortunate king, during the painful martyrdom which he suffered, manifested the most unshaken courage and inflexible constancy. He died for his faith; though vanquished in life, he triumphed in death, and his royal name stands high in the roll of Catholic saints[1]. East Anglia now no longer belonged to the number of Christian states; Guthorm kept the kingdom for himself; but Northumbria was divided into several portions. As soon as the districts along the coasts were thus disposed of, and the last scion of their royal family destroyed, the interior of the island lay open to the heathen. Mercia was unable by itself to make any resistance, and all depended on whether the West Saxons were powerful enough to save the Saxon race and defend Christendom against the fierce Pagans.

The winter was not yet over when a large army of Northmen, headed by some chiefs, finding the east coast no longer sufficient for their maintenance, embarked for Wessex in search of land and plunder. The two kings, Bagseg and Halfdene, the Jarls Osbern, Frene, Harald, and both the Sidrocs, with Guthorm and others, thus departed to conquer the Saxon principalities. They entered the Thames in their ships, and before long the southern shores of the West Saxons were overrun by the Pagan hordes, who, like a mighty stream, carried all before them[2]. Their number was so great that they could only proceed in separate divisions. They soon arrived at the royal fortress of Reading, which is situated in Berkshire, at the spot where the little river Kennet joins the Thames from the south. Without the least opposition they made themselves masters of the place, from which they could conveniently carry on their plundering expeditions, for a navigable river extended from it to the sea, as was the case at York also at that period. On the third day after their

[1] Chron. Sax. A 870; Asser, p. 475; Florent. Wigorn. A. 870. The translation of Lappenberg, ii 38-39.

[2] Henric. Huntingd. v. 738: Exercitus novus et maximus quasi fluvius inundans et omnia secum volvens.

arrival, two of the jarls took horse, and, accompanied by a great number of warriors, left the fleet at Reading, and rode furiously through field and wood in search of intelligence and booty[1]. In the mean while, those who remained behind constructed a wall to the south of the town[2], between the Thames and the Kennet; so that being protected on two sides by the rivers, and fortified on the third, they might safely bring their plunder to the place and be ready for defence. The West Saxons were not prepared to receive a visitation of this kind at this early season of the year; however, Ethelwulf, the ealderman of that district, speedily assembled a small but valiant band, with which to make a stand against the outriding party. He met the Danes at Englafeld, attacked them courageously, and after a long and desperate conflict, in which one of the jarls and part of his company were slain, he put the whole band to flight[3]. Four days after this first engagement, Ethelred and Alfred appeared before Reading with the troops they had hastily collected; and all the heathens who ventured outside the gates were slain without mercy. The King and Prince of the West Saxons desired to rescue this place, one of the most important in the kingdom, from the hands of their cruel enemies. But these, ever ready for any cunning exploit, artfully took advantage of the moment when the Saxons were encamping on the plain, and rushed suddenly out of the gates upon them like wolves. A tremendous conflict now ensued. Victory inclined now to the Christian and now to the heathen arms; but at length the latter triumphed, and the Saxons, not yet accustomed to the furious attacks of the northern warriors, were obliged to retreat. The brave Ethelwulf was among the fallen; his followers were obliged to leave his corpse on the field, and the Danes afterwards

[1] Ethelwerd "obliti classe aut certe explorationis ritu tam celeres aut aeterni numinis (?) per arva sylvasque ferunter." Chron. Sax. A. 871; Asser, p. 476; Ethelwerd, iv. 513; Florent. Wigorn. i. 82, all relate the subsequent battles, and often elucidate each other.

[2] "A dextrali parte." Asser.

[3] Three MSS. of the Chron. Sax. (B. C. D. arranged according to their antiquity) erroneously call him Sidroc. Asser and the chroniclers give no name to this jarl, and by all accounts both the Sidrocs fell at Ashdune. Vide translation of Lappenberg, ii. 41, n. 1.

dragged it to Derby[1]. The two royal brothers were pursued as far as Wistley or Wichelet Green, near Twyfort, but they saved themselves by crossing the Thames not far from Windsor, at a ford which was unknown to the Danes[2].

But the Saxons were not to be daunted by grief or shame from defending their country; the Pagans must have also perceived that they had now to contend with more resolute adversaries than the Angles had been. Four days again elapsed, and then both armies mustered their entire strength, and encountered each other at Ashdune (Aston, in Berkshire)[3]; here they measured their powers. The Danes divided themselves into two companies—one commanded by both the kings, the other by the earls. When this was observed by the Christians, they acted in the same manner, and arranged themselves in two divisions. According to the old German custom in war, King Ethelred ought to have commanded at that point where generals of equal rank to his own were opposed to him, and Alfred's duty was to engage with the second division of the enemy; but on this day he was destined to perform a more important part, and to show, at his early age, that heroic deeds were natural to him. At the break of day the state of affairs boded little good. The Danes had taken possession of an eminence crowned with a short thick underwood, and from this leafy wall they directed well-aimed darts at the Saxons, who were endeavouring with difficulty to gain the summit. Asser relates that he learnt from credible eye-witnesses, that Alfred arrived early in the morning at the foot of the hill, whilst Ethelred was still in his tent hearing mass, and declaring that until the priest had ended, no human work should tear him away from fulfilling his duty towards God[4]. The old historian may attribute the victorious issue of that battle to the piety of the king; but it is clear that his delay would soon have

[1] Especially according to Asser and Ethelwerd.

[2] Gaimar, v. 2964, ff. Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 801, is the only authority for this.

[3] It is not clear what place is meant by Aescesdune. There is an Ashdown in Sussex and in Devon; but Berkshire was up to this period the scene of conflict, and we must look for this battle-field either in that county or in Surrey or Hants.

[4] "Sicut ab his qui viderunt veridicis referentibus audivimus." Asser, p. 476. His account of the matter is by far the fullest: he had seen the woody battle-field in later times, "quam nos ipsi propriis nostris oculis vidimus."

brought upon him a similar disastrous fate to that which in later times overtook a Saxon, who scrupulously awaited the conclusion of the sermon whilst, in spite of Sunday, the enemy overpowered his allies.

Happily for England, Alfred was in his proper place at the right time. For a while he waited most anxiously for his brother, to whom belonged the chief command, and who ought to have given the first order for battle. Still Ethelred did not appear, and the enemy pressed with all its force on the prince, so that he could no longer maintain his position without giving way or advancing against orders. So at length, confiding in God's protection, he gave the signal for attack, and at the head of his troops, rushed like a wild boar up the hill against the two hostile divisions[1]. The heathens repelled him from their coverts with their darts, but they could not force him to yield, and then a bloody conflict hand to hand ensued. In the mean while the king had arrived among the combatants, and placing himself at the head of his division, led it valiantly against the warriors commanded by Bagseg and Halfdene, who were opposite to him[2]. The battle raged along the whole line in the midst of the most frightful tumult, and the greatest courage was displayed on both sides. But the Saxons knew they were fighting for life and property, for all they loved, and for their fatherland. At last the heathens could no longer resist the repeated and close attacks made upon them, their ranks began to waver, a fearful slaughter took place, and the battle-field upon the wide large plain surrounding Ashdune was covered with many thousand corpses. King Bagseg was slain by Ethelred himself; amongst the dead were found Sidroc the elder, Sidroc the younger, Osbearn, Frene, Harald, and many noble youths[3]. From the time the Saxons first landed in Britain, says Ethelwerd, never was there such a battle known. The remainder of the army took flight in wild confusion. The Saxons pursued them during that night and the following day as far as Reading: a number of stragglers were slain on the way[4]. For the first time since the

[1] "Viriliter aprino more."

[2] Chron. Sax. and Henric. Huntingd. agree in saying that Ethelred carried out the pre-arranged plan.

[3] Henric. Huntingd. v. 738.

[4] All our authorities agree concerning the issue of this battle.

battle of Aclea, the Northmen sustained an entire defeat from the West Saxons. From this victory Alfred not only gained renown, but also a glorious and encouraging lesson for his future life; he felt that he had saved his country by his undaunted conduct in a decisive moment.

But the conquerors dared not resign themselves to careless repose, for the enemy still remained firmly ensconced in Reading. Fresh troops continually crossed the Thames to replace the losses they had sustained. Scarcely had a fortnight elapsed before the two brothers again placed their warriors in battle array near Basing, in Hampshire[1]. But this time the fortune of war was less favourable to them. As at Ashdune, the Danes occupied a more advantageous position, and they maintained the field after an obstinate conflict; but as we learn from Ethelwerd, the victors carried off no spoils[2]. Soon after their strength was considerably reinforced by the arrival of a fresh body of their countrymen[3]; so that, notwithstanding the victory which had lately been achieved, the danger which threatened Wessex took a more and more menacing aspect. An important part of the West Saxon kingdom lay open to devastation; and in the district where war raged two months later, we find a battle-field at no great distance from Ashdune. At Merton, Ethelred and Alfred once more engaged with two divisions of the northern army[4]. Both wings of the Saxons were victorious during the whole of the day; but they were obliged before night to abandon the field to the enemy, having lost many of their brave warriors, amongst whom was Heahmund of Sherborne, the worthy successor of the valiant Ealstan[5].

Thus, far from consolatory were the future prospects of the only German state in England which had carried on the war

[1] "Æt Basingum," Chron. Sax.; "Basengas adierunt," Asser; "in loco Basingon," Ethelwerd; "Apud Basingum," Henric. Huntingd.

[2] Especially Ethelwerd, l. c.

[3] Asser, p. 477: "De ultra marinis partibus alius paganorum exercitus societati se adjunxit."

[4] "Meretune," Chron. Sax.; "Meraptune," Ethelwerd; "Meredune," Henric. Huntingd. v. 738, and Florent. Wigorn. i. 85. It is not certain whether the place of this name in Oxfordshire, or that in Surrey, is meant. I am inclined to believe the latter. Asser does not mention this battle. Vide Introduction.

[5] Especially Chron. Sax. and Ethelwerd, l. c.

with indomitable courage against the barbarians, when, shortly after the defeat at Merton, King Ethelred died, April 23rd, 871[1]. Whether he sunk under the wounds he had received or died from natural causes, is not certain; he merited the esteem of posterity for his firm and admirable conduct throughout his reign. Alfred, the heir to the throne, who at this critical period assumed the government of Wessex, caused his brother to be interred with royal honours at Wimborne Minster, in Dorsetshire. It seems more than probable that Sherborne, which contained the vault appropriated to the West Saxon kings, after the heroic death of its last bishop, was either threatened or actually occupied by the Danes[2].

It is much to be regretted that, with the exception of Alfred's testament, we have no accurate information respecting Ethelred's last arrangements; and the commencement of the reign of his brother Ethelred left direct heirs, two infant sons, of whom the eldest, Ethelwald, appeared as pretender against his cousin Edward, at a later period when Alfred's career was nearly ended. The historian Ethelwerd was descended in a direct line from Ethelred, as, after mentioning the death of this king, he proceeds to relate in an apostrophe to the Princess Matilda, who traced her descent from Alfred[3]. But in those times of great and universal danger, none dared to venture on placing the crown of Wessex upon the head of a little child. In such a case as this the law of succession from father to son was by no means irrevocable, and we have seen that Alfred was destined by his father and his last brother to the sole inheritance of the throne. Ethelred, during the latter days of his life, made no provision for his descendants, except so far as regarded their private affairs. As the two brothers were in constant dread of the Pagan foe, and appre-

[1] Asser, p. 477: "Regno quinque annis per multas tribulationes strenue atque honorabiliter gubernato;" according to him and Ethelwerd, and Henric. Huntingd. he died, "post Pascha;" according to the Chron. Sax. "ofer Eastron;" according to Florent. Wigorn. i. 85, IX. Kal. Maii, three weeks after Easter, which in the year 871 fell on the 31st March.

[2] MS. Cotton. Tib. b. i. says, in opposition to all other authorities, "Æt Scireburnanmenster."

[3] Ethelwerd, iv. 514, and the dedication which introduces his work. Vide translation of Lappenberg, p. lvii.

hensive of great danger to property and life, they settled at a Witenagemot at Swineburgh[1], that in case of the death of either, the orphaned children should receive from the survivor a sufficient maintenance out of their father's estates. The entire inheritance, as well as the succession to the throne, was secured to Prince Alfred. There is no intimation that Alfred ascended the throne by usurpation, or by setting aside his nephews. He had been appointed King of the West Saxons, not only by the mystical anointing of Pope Leo IV., but he had long been acknowledged as crown-prince, and his people could make no other and no better choice. At the period of his accession, when it devolved upon Alfred to save Wessex and the Christian faith from destruction, he showed how he had profited by the education of his youth, and how capable he was, when supported by his faithful subjects who placed all their hopes upon him, of defending his beloved country by his heroic bravery and high-souled inspiration.

IV.

THE TIME OF TRIAL: 871 to 881.

A TRULY wearisome task lies before author and reader when they attempt to investigate Alfred's life, from the period of his accession throughout a great part of his reign, for its only interest consists in the narration of an unbroken series of battles with the Northern enemy. The tenor of this Anglo-Saxon history remains ever the same, its uniformity becomes at last confusing, and brings ennui with it; the only relief is, that situations vary, and time marches steadily forward, while two German races are constantly struggling for the upper hand, and alternately subduing and being subdued by one another. But to abstain on this account from giving a faithful historical relation of events, would be as unjust as to be content with jotting down the bare facts of each succeeding year. Our sympathy can only be kept alive by not losing sight of the goal to which all the struggles tend, by constantly keeping in mind at what price the conflict was carried on, what advantages the Danes strove to acquire,..

[1] On gemote æt Swinbeorgum. Alfred's testament, Kemble, n 314.

what treasures the Saxons had to protect, and finally, by endeavouring to gain an insight during the whole period into the heart and soul of the hero, who recognised as the problem of his life the defence of his people from the fierce heathen, and the preservation of their material and spiritual possessions[1].

In other cases, especially in early times, the solemn march of history halts for a moment at a fresh accession, and the historian takes advantage of the pause to do homage to the new monarch, from whom his contemporaries hope great things, and whom he has undertaken to follow faithfully through joy and sorrow, victory and defeat; but we look in vain for such a resting-point in Alfred's life. Not a single word is said of any solemnities attending his accession: it is evident that the condition of England in those days would leave no time for keeping holiday. The young prince had to fulfil immediately the most difficult duties of his station, and he hastened straight from his brother's grave in the cloisters of Wimborne, perchance to meet his own on the battle-field.

Soon after the fight at Merton, a large fleet, which had made a summer voyage from its own shores, landed near Reading[2]; with such a reinforcement the enemy penetrated deep into the heart of the West Saxon provinces. Alfred, sorely grieved at the sufferings of his people, enjoyed none of the pleasures of his new dignity; he only felt its heavy burdens, which now rested exclusively on his own shoulders. After his brother's death, his very confidence in God seems to have wavered; he began to doubt whether he should be able alone to make stand against and destroy the Pagan hordes. One whole month passed before he ventured to march against the enemy with a small army; probably from Wimborne, for at that time he must have been residing in the western part of the kingdom. He attacked the enemy

[1] That such a treatment is not to be found in Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 121, who, on similar grounds, rejects this wearisome task, is evident on the perusal of his work; he repudiates in boastful language the mode in which his predecessors and contemporaries handle the subject. It might be expected that the words "summatim igitur omnia exponam" would be followed by a pithy review of Alfred's eventful life; but instead of this, he relates at much length how St. Cuthbert appeared in a vision to the king in the Wilderness of Athelney.

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 871: "Micel sumor-lida com-to Readingum." Ethelwerd, iv. 514: "Advenit sine numero aestivus exercitus in loco Readingon."

in Wiltshire, near the fortress of Wilton, which stood on an eminence on the left bank of the little river Wily. Alfred and his few comrades fought valiantly with the overwhelming force opposed to them; the courage of despair lent strength to the little band, and the day seemed already won, when the foe suddenly took to hasty flight; but again the exulting conquerors were deceived by a northern war stratagem. In the heat of pursuit they were surprised by a new detachment of Danes, against whom they could not maintain the field, although the victory had been already their own[1].

This was a bitter lesson for the young prince; in spite of his most strenuous efforts, he was not destined to stay the wild career of the ravaging Danes, he rather found himself obliged to give way before them. The exhausted country was no longer in a condition to bear any heavy calls upon it, either for money or troops. In the space of one year no less than eight pitched battles[2] had been fought, without reckoning the numerous smaller conflicts that were continually occurring day and night. It is true, that during that time whole hosts of Northmen had been slain, besides one of their kings and nine jarls; but the Saxons had also lost many valiant warriors, and the terror of the constantly advancing masses of the enemy began to shake the courage of the industrial part of the population, as well as that of the warlike portion. So, before the expiration of a year, Alfred, with the concurrence of his nobles, found himself reduced to the humiliating necessity of concluding a pecuniary contract with the Danes, according to which they promised to quit all the land within the bounds of Wessex. As Alfred was not in a condition again to assist his brother-in-law, King Burhred, the Danes entered the territory of that monarch, and after crossing the Thames, took up their winter quarters in the neighbourhood of London. The feeble king could do nothing to oppose them; and both he and his people believed themselves saved, when about the end of the year 872, the enemy agreed to enter into

[1] Asser, p. 477.

[2] Asser, p. 477; Ethelwerd, iv. 514: "Certamina tria, excepto supra memoratis bellis," *i. e.* at Englafield, Reading, Ashdown, Merton, and Wilton; of the three others we know nothing certain. Chron. Sax. A. 871, Henric. Huntingd. v. 739, Matth. West. A. 871, speak of nine battles.

a treaty on payment of a tribute[1], and left the country as they came to it, by water.

But the Christian islanders were destined to learn by experience how little dependence was to be placed on the solemn promises and oaths of the heathen pirates. Their ships, indeed, left the Thames, and sailed along the east coast towards the north; but they landed in Northumbria, and reinstated Egbert, who had formerly begun his reign under their protection, and who had been dislodged from his insecure throne by a revolt of the people. As soon as this was accomplished, and the winter passed, the Danes again appeared in the Mercian territory, in the district of Lindsay, where they made themselves masters of a place called Torksey. Once more the Mercians willingly bribed them with a sum of money, and trusted that now the contract would be respected. Yet scarcely had a year expired when the Pagan army broke loose from Torksey, and, without scruple or resistance, plunged deep into the heart of Mercia. Hryeopendune (Repton, in Derbyshire) fell into their hands, apparently without a single sword being drawn in its defence. The highly-renowned cloister in which the ancient kings of Mercia were interred was razed to the ground. The unfortunate King Burhred, who, six years before, had not dared to attempt a courageous defence with the assistance of his own subjects alone, and whose liege and kinsman, the young King of Wessex, was now no less weakened and discouraged than himself, made a precipitate retreat. Owing to the wretched state of his native island, he dared not entertain a hope of winning back his kingdom, over which he had reigned two-and-twenty years. One consolation alone remained to him. As a Catholic Christian, he hastened over the sea, and wandered as a pilgrim to far-distant Rome. A similar fate there awaited him to that of Cædwalla two centuries before. After having surmounted all the difficulties of the long and wearisome journey, he had scarcely attained the goal of his only wish when he was summoned by death, in the year 874, far from his country and his lost throne. His countrymen who were dwelling in Rome interred him, with all the honours due to

[1] Ethelwerd, iv. 514: "Myrcii confirmant cum eis foederis pactum stipendiaque statuunt." To the same effect is Asser's "pacem pangere."

his rank, in the church dedicated to the Virgin[1] adjoining the Saxon schools. His consort, Ethelswitha, a faithful companion in sorrow and in joy, could not keep up with him in his hasty flight. In all probability she afterwards found a safe asylum with her brother, and in later times she travelled into Italy to visit her husband's tomb.

This was the end of a kingdom which for a long time had stoutly contended for supremacy with that of Wessex. Its sudden ruin, as well as the death of its last ruler, must have made a deep and sad impression on Alfred. The ancient foundations of his own house were also most grievously shattered, and he saw his only sister leading a wretched life, deprived of her husband and her throne. The fate of Mercia, as was to be expected, was the same as that of the eastern neighbouring states. It pleased the Northmen to set up in Mercia also a native tributary king. The restless conquerors themselves showed little inclination to settle down for any length of time; they preferred, as hitherto, to follow wind and weather, and any prospect of a rich booty, wherever these might promise fairly. The man who undertook this dishonourable charge was a weak-minded thane of the exiled king's[2], Ceolwulf by name. Faithlessly he swore the required oath, and gave the desired hostages. He promised to be ready at any time indicated by his capricious masters to lay down his indefinite power, and to advance, by every means at his disposal, the interests of the army. As long as, in the promised manner, he employed himself to the advantage of the Danes, and especially as long as he extorted the revenues of their acres from the landowners, and robbed of their treasures those monasteries which had escaped destruction, so long he was allowed to remain in his position. But in the course of a few years, his masters, thinking they perceived that his zeal in their service was cooling, made no further scruple of dethroning him, of plundering him of all his wealth, and leaving him to die in the extremest poverty[3]. A great

[1] Chron. Sax. Ethelwerd, Asser, and Henric. Huntingd. agree in their accounts of the events from 872 to 874. The two first are perhaps rather the most correct.

[2] "Hie saeldon Ceolwulfe ânum unwisum cinges pegae myrcna rice." Chron. Sax. A. 874, is the most correct authority in this case.

[3] Ingulph. p. 870.

part of the country was thus completely in the power of the Danes, who now settled down in a civilised manner in the cities and in large districts. It is known that some of these places in the course of time laid down their ancient names, and took Scandinavian ones instead; and that in these neighbourhoods, during a great part of the middle ages, many traits of language and customs betrayed a northern influence[1].

In the year 875, the great army divided. As soon as the spring arrived, the Danes longed once more for the excitement of their robber expeditions; besides, it was impossible that such an immense mass of people could any longer find support at Hryeopendune. One division, commanded by Halfdene, turned towards the north. He took up his quarters at the mouth of the Tyne, and his troop laid waste all the neighbouring districts. As there was little more treasure left to seek among the Angles, the foray answered better now among the Picts and the Celtish dwellers in Strath Clyde, a state which extended from the Clyde along the west coast to the south, and also included the present Cumberland. The poverty of the country compelled Halfdene to divide portions of it amongst his warriors, and also to depend for his own subsistence on agriculture[2].

The other division of the army, commanded by Askytel, Amund, and Guthorm, who had found neither peace nor quiet in his Anglian kingdom, turned southwards, and established itself at Cambridge for the winter. During their abode at this place, the crafty leader matured a plan for bringing ruin on his most determined foe, the King of the West Saxons, and seizing his far-extending possessions. In the spring of 876, the Danes suddenly forsook their quarters; secretly and by night they went on board their ships, which were always in sailing order, and landed unexpectedly on the coast of Dorset. By a sudden surprise they made themselves masters of Wareham, which at that time could scarcely be called a town, and consisted chiefly of the extensive buildings and estates of a nunnery. Still the place was peculiarly favourable to their marauding excursions, for

[1] Vide Lappenberg, p. 314.

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 815; Simeon Dunelm. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 681.

it lay between two small rivers, which fell into the sea at no great distance, and the water always formed the most secure ramparts for the pirates; it was only westward that the country lay open, where they might repulse the attacks of the Saxons, or commit their depredations. This last they did without delay; and a considerable portion of the neighbouring district met with a fearful visitation. The Danes experienced no warlike resistance from the inhabitants of that part of the country. Alfred, during the previous year, had frequently been out in the Channel with a small fleet; and had at one time engaged victoriously with seven ships, of which he had taken one and put the rest to flight[1], but was now compelled, by the exhausted resources and sinking courage of his people, to venture only small undertakings of this kind. He was no longer able to cope with the superior force of the enemy under their three sea-kings, and so he resolved once more to procure their departure by money. As soon as the avaricious heathen caught sight of the gold, they promised to comply with all his demands. According to the ancient custom among all the Germanic races, the king himself selected from the army those men as hostages whom he judged the most worthy to answer with life and limb for the faithful observance of the contract[2]. With the most solemn forms he personally received the promises of the assembled leaders. He first caused them to swear on the relics of the saints; an oath, says Asser, which, next to one by the Deity, Alfred, as a Catholic Christian, held in the highest estimation. But if the only king had attached importance to this oath, he might well be accused of a pious folly in thinking to secure the good faith of the heathen by such means. It is rather to be supposed that a holy and supernatural influence was ascribed to mortal remains by all the indo-European nations, and especially by the Scandinavians[3]; and therefore no one has any right to ridicule Alfred's credulity. He then caused the Northmen to perform a still more impressive ceremony, by which until

[1] Chron. Sax. and Ethelwerd, A. 875; Henric. Hunt. v. 739, mention seven ships; Asser, p. 478, and Florent. Wigorn. i. 92, speak of six only.

[2] Chron. Sax. Ethelwerd, Asser, Florent. Wigorn. A. 876, confirmed by a document of Kemble's, No. 1069.

[3] Vide J. Grimm, Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache, p. 150.

that time they had never pledged themselves: they swore once more, on a holy bracelet, which, smeared with the blood of the sacrificial animals, was laid on an altar; the highest and most inviolable form of oath among the northern races[1]. Thus the rites were radically the same on both sides, only the Saxons observed them as Christians, and the heathens according to the superstitions of their forefathers.

But Alfred must have already known how little binding were contracts with such enemies, who had so often broken their most solemn promises. Even in the night which followed this solemn ceremony the Danes left Wareham in large numbers, and a troop of Saxon horsemen whom they met with on their march was attacked and destroyed[2]. A considerable number of Danes being thus furnished with horses, they overran and pillaged the neighbourhood in their hasty flight, entered Devonshire, and made themselves masters of the city of Exeter. As this place was again not far from the sea, and on a navigable river, it was as advantageously situated for them as Wareham, which, however, they had by no means abandoned. Exeter afforded many facilities for their expeditions, which were connected in the closest manner with the ravages of their countrymen on the continent. The narrow Channel was no obstacle to the Danes in England; their ships occasionally plundered the Frankish seaports, and Rollo, in later days the conqueror of Normandy, appears to have rested from his wild ravages in England during one whole winter[3]. All along the coast, the sea swarmed with the fleets of the bold pirates, and wherever an attack was made on Christian states, fresh swarms thronged to the scene of conflict, allured by hope of participation in the booty. Traversing the wild ocean in their frail barks, these ungovernable hordes, by their valour in warfare, completely mastered their

[1] Examples of this form of oath may be found in the translation of Lappenberg's History, ii. p. 49, taken from Arngrim Jonas Rer. Island. i. 7, and from the Edda Torpe, Florent. Wigorn. i. 93, and in J. Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 50, 896.

[2] Henric. Huntingd. v. 739, states alone, that they left on the following night. The account of the Saxon horsemen is only to be found in Asser, p. 478.

[3] This information, given by Asser, p. 479, was added by a later hand in MS. Cotton. It is probably taken from the false Annals, which bear Asser's name, printed by Gale, Script. Rer. Angl. iii. 165. Or it may have sprung from Chron. Turon. by Du Chesne Scriptt. Norman, p. 26.

opponents, who were indeed more disciplined, but somewhat enervated by their peaceful habits. But Alfred was not yet conquered; as long as life remained to him, as long as one man stood by him, as long as he possessed one ship, he might venture to hope, and endeavour to defend his country. He had already directed his attention to the sea, and perceived that it was the principal stronghold of the enemy. As soon as he could engage successfully with them on their peculiar element, he felt that it would be possible for him to reanimate the drooping courage of his people on land, and to prepare some more effectual means of defence. When the oaths of the Danes were again violated, he did not for a moment delay the struggle, although the hordes of the enemy were inexhaustible; and if in one day thousands of them were slain, on the next a double number would, as it were, spring from the earth. After the winter of 876-7 was passed, he collected together all his remaining forces to the conflict. He himself hastened with one division of his army into Devonshire, and endeavoured to the best of his power to besiege and blockade the city of Exeter, then in possession of the Danes. He manned his ships with the boldest sailors, well accustomed to the coast[1], and gave them orders to cruise in the Channel, and to watch that no transports laden with provisions or troops came to the Danes who were in his dominions. If any appeared, they were to be driven back; and if the king's men felt themselves sufficiently strong, a sea-fight might be attempted.

Faithfully did they follow their king's behest. In the spring of the above-mentioned year, the remainder of the Danish garrison of Wareham embarked in a hundred and twenty vessels; the armed warriors trusted themselves to the waves, and took a westerly direction, to carry aid to their beleaguered countrymen in Exeter. But for once the element usually so favourable to them, proved adverse. A

[1] Or does the "piratis" of Asser, p. 479, really mean that Alfred set sea-robbers in his ships? For I doubt the credibility of "jussit longas naves fabricari per regnum," which, as I have already remarked in the Introduction, seems to have been diverted from its right place. Chron. Sax. and Florence, state that the shipbuilding took place in 897. It is impossible that Alfred could have had ships built in his kingdom; he must have had recourse to the most desperate means.

thick fog[1] lay upon the water, and violent spring storms had lashed the angry waves into fury; for a whole month the fleet was tossed about, and not able to land. In the midst of these perplexities Alfred's armament advanced intrepidly; the Danish fleet, scattered by a storm, could not defend itself. The warriors in some of the ships were slain by the Saxons, but the greater portion of the vessels struck on the rocks off Swanage[2], where they were beat to pieces, and with all they contained buried beneath the waves[3].

The Danes in Exeter were meanwhile reduced to the greatest extremity; and as no help appeared, they were obliged to request Alfred's permission to make a conditional retreat. They gave him as many hostages as he required, and swore many oaths besides. It was early in August, 877, that they left Exeter[4], and turned northwards; whilst one division went into Mercia, the other entered Gloucester, and left unmolested only the country lying immediately south of the Thames. In Mercia, Ceolwulf had, up to this time, retained his despicable situation; but the Danes now deprived him of a large portion of the kingdom, in order to settle in it themselves, and to divide it into small territories. In the meanwhile the Vikings, who had remained in Gloucester, entered into an alliance with another band of their countrymen, which, a short time previously, had landed in a little state of Demetia (South Wales). This fleet was commanded

[1] It is particularly said in Chron. Sax. A. 877: "ðа mette hiне micel myst on sae."

[2] On the coast of Dorset. A dangerous reef runs out into the sea, from a place called Peverel Point.

[3] Asser is our only authority for the sea-fight, all our other sources of information speak of the destruction of the fleet by a storm. Ethelwerd's peculiar account seems as if it were taken word for word from an old Anglo-Saxon song: elevant vela (dant vento carines), procella ingruit tristis (mergitur pars non minima) centum numero carinae (supremae juxta resperu), quae Suuanannic nuncupatur.

[4] Chron. Sax. A. 877: On haerfeste. All our authorities, with the exception of Henric. Hunt. are little to be depended on for the chronology of the events in the years 876 and 877; they go from one year to the other in the most unsystematic manner. This confusion arises from the incorrect conclusions which the later chroniclers drew from the short notices in the Chron. Sax. Asser twice relates the destruction of the 120 ships; and this repetition was introduced into the later MSS. from the so-called Annales Asserii. This is a fresh proof of the almost incredible mutilation of the text.

by a brother of Hingwar and Halfdene; his name is not mentioned, but we may guess it, without much doubt, to have been Hubba. The new comers, who expected booty in their plundering expeditions among the poor Celts in their mountains, and who soon found themselves disappointed in their expectations, incited the band so lately expelled from Exeter to join in a new attack on Wessex. The prospect of gain easily stifled any scruples of conscience on the part of the faithless Northmen in Gloucester; they troubled themselves as little about the fate of their hostages as about their solemn oaths. Accordingly, in the beginning of the winter, partly on the north-western borders of the kingdom, partly in Wessex itself, that fearful tempest began to gather, which, in the spring of the important year 878, was destined to burst so fatally over Alfred and all his dominions.

The attack was now carried on by land and water, as it had been a year before from Wareham, and was especially directed against the western districts of the kingdom, which, until this time, had been much less devastated than the rest. Whilst the unknown sea-king, after he had slain many of the Christian Welsh, and robbed the poor people of the few goods and chattels they possessed, put to sea with three-and-twenty ships[1]; the land army[2], probably much strengthened by reinforcements from Mercia, marched into Wiltshire, and took possession of the royal castle of Chippenham, lying on the left bank of the Avon. From this rallying-point their bands ranged the country, destroying everything with fire and sword. They overspread the land like locusts, and seemed, like them, to rise out of it[3]. The inhabitants, once so brave, but whom no hero-hearted ealderman now gathered under his banner, were seized with fear and terror; those who were able, took their few remaining goods, and hastened to the sea-coast, to find a passage to the opposite kingdom of the Franks, and there seek refuge. In particular, bishops, priests, and monks, endeavoured to convey to a safe asylum beyond sea the relics, precious stones, and ornaments, belonging to their

[1] Ethelwerd says thirty, "cum triginta moneribus."

[2] According to later authorities, this was at Christmas. Asserii Annales, p. 166, "post theophanium;" and Gaimar, v. 3125, "Puis ei Noel, li felon Daneis," &c.

[3] Henric. Huntingd. y. 739: "Operientesque terram quasi locustae."

monasteries. The people who remained were reduced to the condition of servants and beggars by their cruel oppressors[1], and both country and people were in the wildest disorder.

Some ships had meanwhile landed their troops in Devonshire. There many faithful followers of the king had thrown themselves into a fortress which bore the name of Kynwith. Under their count, Adda[2], they fought bravely with the heathen, and when forced to give way in the open field, they retired behind their walls. The place was (as Asser relates from his own personal observation[3]) well fortified by nature on three sides, the east being excepted; and here the rampart was but little fitted for defence, as, according to the custom of that time, it consisted merely of a wall of earth. The Danes, when they undertook the siege, thought they could force the inmates of the fortress to a surrender by starving them, but they were deceived; for, notwithstanding the beleaguered Saxons had no spring within their walls, and suffered bitterly for want of water, they held out courageously. At last they determined to make an attempt at victory, or else die the death of heroes; in the first dawn of morning they sallied forth, surprised the unprepared heathen, and destroyed the greatest part of the unknown sea-king's army. Only a few stragglers in a wild flight reached their ships, which were drawn up on the shore at no great distance. A thousand Danes lay slain at Kynwith[4]. According to a romantic tradition, there was found, among the trophies borne away by the victors, the famous war-standard of the northern heroes, called the Raven, woven in one morning by the three daughters of Regnar Lodbrok, for their brothers Hingwar and Hubba, and in whose centre the Sacred Bird fluttered its wings as if living when victory impended, but hung motionless and drooping when defeat was threatened[5].

[1] Asser, p. 480; Ethelwerd, iv. 515; Roger de Wendover, i. 329.

[2] Only mentioned by Ethelwerd.

[3] "Sicut nos ipsi vidimus." Asser.

[4] Asser, p. 481, gives this narration at full length, and says that 1200 Danes were killed. The Chronicle and Henric. Hunt. say 850; Ethelwerd, "80 decaden."

[5] In the worst copies of the Vita this is taken from the supposititious Annals; but four MSS. of the Chronicle, B. C. D. E., also contain a short notice of it:

But this brilliant success of a handful of brave men was the last courageous effort at resistance. As the country was overspread far and wide with the robbing and murdering hordes, all the valour of these Saxons was in vain; their king was not with them, and in no part of the kingdom did the warriors gather themselves together for the defence of their homes and goods, their wives and children. All the weak and timorous people bowed their necks to the yoke of servitude, and those who still had something left to hope for or to save, fled over the sea, to lands where Christian people dwelt, and would gladly extend protection to the oppressed exiles. But besides the general panic and emigration, there was yet another evil which flourished in the very heart of the unfortunate state, and aided the enemy in bringing it to the brink of ruin. It appears, not only from the general aspect of the affairs of the country and the sudden surprise of all the West Saxon district, but also from the testimony of an old historian[1], that in that time of great peril bitter strife reigned among the inhabitants themselves. The discords engendered by difference of race and descent broke out once more; the Celtic inhabitants of the west remembered that their ancient dominion had been torn from them by force, and now, when they saw their former conquerors threatened with a similar fate to their own, they were little inclined to make common cause with them. On the contrary, they rather leant towards the Northmen, as we have before remarked, with a kind of revengeful feeling; although they must have hated the robbers, and their treachery bore them bitter fruits. Whilst this insubordination among his British subjects clouded Alfred's prospects of resistance, he also saw among his German states disunion combining with fear to work their ruin.

By far the greater part of the German inhabitants who could not resolve on abandoning their homes, and who had taken refuge in forests and waste places there, to witness the destruction by the flames of those possessions descended to

"and paer was se guð fana genumen pie hie raefn héton." Vide respecting a similar standard: Encomium Emmae, by Maseres, p. 16; and Langebek Scriptt. Rer. Danic, v. 95.

[1] Ethelwerd, iv. 517, writes at a later period, A. 886: "Aelfredo, quem ingenio, quem occursu non superaverat civilis discordia saeva, hunc et redemptorem suscepere cuncte."

them from their ancestors, came forth from their hiding-places, to till the ground in the sweat of their brows for their greedy robbers. They saw their Anglian neighbours, after more years of oppression than they themselves had endured, still for the most part retaining their old property, and speaking their old language; and they saw how resistance and courageous revolts had in their own case brought down more complete ruin. No command, no prayer, no entreaties of their once-beloved king, could move them to sacrifice their small possessions and their own personal safety for the preservation of the whole state. In scarcely any of the districts was there an earl, a noble, or bishop, who would place himself resolutely at the head of his property or diocese, and set a bold example of venturing on one last and desperate struggle.

It is not probable that this general want of consideration and courage broke out so suddenly as to have brought on the crisis of the sad year 878? For ten years there had been almost continual fighting; the numbers of the enemy had been constantly increasing, and those of the defenders as constantly diminishing. It has been before mentioned, that from the time of his accession, Alfred had not been able to undertake any great enterprise; those means were no longer at his disposal by which the battle of Ashdune had been won, and of late years the strength of the country must have been greatly diminished by the above-mentioned causes. That is therefore an unlikely account given by a later chronicler, and eagerly caught up by a modern biographer[1], which sets forth, that when the last attack of the Danes by land and water took place (which all our authorities show to have been at two different times, but which is considered here as one and the same), Alfred assembled his remaining troops, and was defeated in a great pitched battle at Chippenham. Not one of the ancient histories gives any information of such an event; the narrative of Brompton rests, as is so frequently the case with him, on a confusion of events arising from a chronological error. The heroic renown of Alfred is by no means

[1] Dr. Giles, "Life of Alfred the Great," vii. 184, lays great stress on his discovery, in Brompton, p. 811. But would he really gain anything by the fact, even if he were able to prove it?

augmented by this story. On the contrary, his royal greatness was much more evinced by his conduct in the trying circumstances in which he was placed; for when all around him was falling into decay by a slow ruin, he earnestly endeavoured to restore it, and never lost the hope of success. That this is the concurrent testimony of all our oldest authorities, will be seen by the following pages.

At the time when the Danes, leaving Gloucester for the south, took Chippenham; when the northern standard was captured by the valiant defenders of Kinswith, of whose ultimate fate there is no further record; when the heathen overran all the West Saxon kingdom, and forced the inhabitants into subjection, there was only one[1] who did not abandon the cause and hide from the sight of his friends as well as of his enemies—Alfred, the king without a crown, but no less the stronghold and shield of his kingdom. At the moment when all seemed sunk in ruin, if he had lost hold of that trust in his God which had sustained him daily and hourly through a long series of trials; if he had sought and found a desperate death, or again relied on the word of the perfidious heathen; if he had gone quietly to die as a pious pilgrim in Rome, like the last King of Mercia—with him would have perished the hope that England would preserve the Christian faith. The British inhabitants would truly not have rescued Christianity; the monks, who, after the destruction of their monasteries, had either fled singly into foreign countries or taken up their abode in waste places as hermits, had made no impression by their preaching on the minds of the rough barbarians. These, brought up amidst ice and storms, held fast to their awful deities of Asgard and the Walhalla, and on the ancient sites the abandoned Saxon worship was again replaced by bloody sacrifices to Thor and Woden. The conquered Christians, who still retained many remnants of their ancient superstition, now, when their leaders and teachers were either departed or become powerless, forsook by degrees the blessings of their conversion, and turned anew to the idol-altars on which their conquerors sacrificed.

[1] Four words in Chron. Sax. A. 878, are very powerful in their plain simplicity: "And paes aðres (folces) pone maes tandâel hie geridon. And him to gecirdon. buton pam cyninge Aelfrede."

But Alfred lived, and in him the firm conviction that Providence had elected him as the protector and champion of the doctrines of the Cross, and the saviour and support of the Saxon race. It was only because he was inspired by this persuasion that he was able to suppress the desire he must have felt, of endeavouring to provide for his own safety and that of the few who were still bound to him by the ties of blood or fidelity. His just discrimination in the extremest need, when he saw his country devastated around him, and his people fallen and put under the yoke, enabled him to select the place where he might conceal himself with a few companions until the interrupted contest could be resumed. In the marshy lands, full of stagnant water, rushes, and willow-plantations, in the wild and barren districts of Somersetshire, where at that time agriculture had scarcely begun to redeem the soil from the wilderness, he sought an asylum, accompanied by some followers, among whom was Ethelnoth[1], the ealderman of the place. There followed him his wife and his children, perhaps also his mother-in-law and his sister, and all who still belonged to the royal house of Wessex, patiently to endure with him every privation and every grief.

In the history of the world there is one often-recurring fact, viz., that the saviour of a whole kingdom, and the repeller of its foreign conquerors, has sprung from some remote province left rude by nature, and uncultivated from its difficult access. From the unimportant mountain-ridge of Asturia, Pelayo, the last offshoot of the Goths, and the wonder-accompanied hero of Spain, took the first steps towards the expulsion of the Moors from the Peninsula, which was not completely accomplished for more than seven centuries[2]. From the eastern borders of Prussia resounded the first call to arms, which had for its result the driving of Napoleon's army from Germany. It is a beautiful trait in

[1] Ethelwerd, iv. 515, has preserved his name. He is the same man whom the Chron. Sax. and Ethelwerd, under the year 894, point out as ealderman of the district. Vide Lappenberg, p. 318, n. 3.

[2] I find this interesting narration in Mariana's Historia de España, lib. vii. c. 1: "Solo el infante Don Pelayo, como el que venia de la alcuña y sangre de los Godos, sin embargo de los trabajos que avia padecido, resplandecia, y se señalava en valor y grandeza de animo."

the character of a valiant nation when, after centuries have elapsed, it holds in grateful remembrance[1] the spot whence its salvation from great danger once proceeded, and which must ever be to it as the cradle of its freedom. And thus, to this day, when Alfred, his sufferings and his deeds, are the themes of conversation, the Englishman points out with pride to the stranger the low lands of Somerset.

In this inhospitable spot Alfred and his companions had to pass many winter months. We cannot of course, at this day, describe in detail the privations they endured; it is certain that but scanty sustenance could be found in the marshes; and Asser[2] relates, that the king with his little band, consisting of a few nobles, warriors, and vassals, were sometimes obliged to make a sally against the heathen, and even the Christian dwellers in the neighbourhood who had succumbed to the Danish authority, and, either secretly or in open contest, obtain something to eat and drink, and thus sustain their own lives and carry back relief to the women and children, who remained in the thickets. Alfred, whom the Danes and conquered Saxons must have thought entirely lost, lived such a needy and insecure life as probably never, to say the least, fell to the lot of any other king.

The interest that lies in these reverses of fortune afforded a wide field for fiction; and it is therefore not surprising that after their freedom was achieved, and the people were informed of the sufferings their king had undergone, that a series of narrations sprung up, which gradually took the character of traditions. Men, inspired by gratitude, delighted to embellish, in speech and writing, the history of the miseries that preceded their deliverance, by relating many exploits and mischances, and in adorning the simple beauty of the truth by the creations of a natural poetry. If in later centuries the English people, in its love for bodily courage and mental independence, found such rich material for poetry and romance in Hereward, the last Saxon, who so long bade defiance to William the Conqueror, from the marshes in the

[1] "Ostenduntur ab accolis loca singula, in quibus vel malae fortunae copiam, vel bonae persensit inopiam." Wilh. Malm. G. Reg. Angl. ii. § 121.

[2] Florence says, in the same words, that Alfred fought also with Christians. "Qui se Paganorum subdiderant dominio," seems to me to belong to an earlier occurrence.

Isle of Ely, and also in the bold yeoman, Robin Hood, who bent his bow in Sherwood Forest, and with it protected the poor man, and punished his oppressors, we can easily imagine that a similar poetical halo would surround the Saxon king when he emerged from the wilds of Somerset as a conqueror; especially when the dangers he had incurred became known. Posterity treated him as one of the heroes of all time[1]. The rich treasury of marvels belonging to the middle ages is still open to us, and a popular warrior takes as important a place in it as a saint. Amongst the narratives of Alfred's abode in the marshes, it is easy to make a distinction between those related by the people and those which the monks blended with the tales of their saints. Legend sprung from tradition, and these two different kinds of narration succeed each other in the order of their origin; and it is instructive to investigate their nature and development, even if we do not expect to discover any truth in them, and wish to see all fiction excluded from the pages of genuine history.

The following must be reckoned among the narrations of the traditionary series, and is first met with in the "Life of St. Neot," about the end of the tenth century, and is next copied into the "Annals," and from thence into the later manuscripts of the "Biography of Alfred[2]."

One day it chanced that the king arrived at the hut of one of his cowherds, who kept in his faithful heart the secret of his king's concealment. Whilst the man was gone to his daily labour, and his wife was occupied in baking bread, the stranger sat down by the fire, and began industriously to mend and make bows and arrows and other implements of warfare. The woman, who, from the stranger's poor and needy aspect, thought that he was a serf and one of her husband's companions, gave the bread in charge to him, and went out to see after the cattle. After a while she returned; and when she found her baking burnt and spoiled, she flew at him in a rage, and with abusive words cried out:

[1] We are led to remember Frederick the Great, and one of the numerous events of his life which have become traditional, related by Ranke: "Neun Bücher Preussischer Geschichte," ii. 246.

[2] Asser, p. 480; "Life of St. Neot," in Saxon, by Gorham; History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neots, i. 259.

86912

Holla, companion!
Dost not see that the bread there is burning? Why lazily sit, and not turn it?
Ready enough wilt thou be to take it from us and devour it.

The hexameters, which have crept into the prose narrative, cast suspicion on it, and serve to convince us that the whole had been a popular song. The pious reflections with which the anonymous biographer of St. Neot accompanies the story, do not add much to the evidence for its authenticity. According to him, the king, in the early years of his reign, was supercilious to his inferiors with all the arrogance of youth, and harshly rejected their complaints and petitions. Upon this his kinsman, the holy Neot, who was still alive, was much grieved, and in a prophetic warning unfolded to him the approaching period of misfortune. But Alfred did not heed this, until the Divine Disposer of all punishment visited his folly, and reduced him so low, that he was driven from his throne, deprived even of necessaries, and roughly treated under the roof where he had found shelter. In itself the tale is not improbable, and it may very well have been among the number of those which Alfred, in happier days, related to Asser and other friends[1]. But Florence says nothing of the occurrence, and this shows satisfactorily that it is not to be found in the genuine "Vita." Still it is worthy of note that Florence, in one of his narrations, seems to indicate the true foundation of the anecdote. In the account which he gives of the elevation of Denewulf to the Bishopric of Winchester, he says: "This man, if we may trust the report[2], at his advanced age was not acquainted with the art of reading, and in his early days had been a swineherd. When Alfred lived an exile in the forests, he became acquainted with Denewulf as he was driving his swine to the oak-woods to feed on acorns. The natural talent of the man interested the king, who took pains with his instruction, and afterwards

[1] "Solebat ipse postea, in tempora feliciora reductus, casus suos jucunda hilarique comitate familiaribus exponere." Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 121. Vide translation of Lappenberg, ii. 53, n. 2.

[2] Florent. Wigorn. i. § 97: "Si famae creditur:" but the "res digna miraculo" seems rather enigmatical, if Denewulf, after the lapse of some years, was converted from a swineherd into a bishop. The "vaccarius" of the Vita Sti Neoti, and of Asser, is also "subulcus." The "driving his 'porcos ad solita pascua,'" is from Roger de Wend. i. 330, who follows the pseudo Asser in the rest of the narration.

promoted him to a high dignity." We here have an example of how tradition sports with facts and persons, and so completely overpowers them that the rescuing of the simple truth is not possible.

In another narration, Alfred is said to have gathered together a band of fugitive and valiant comrades in his fastness at Athelney, and then to have gone disguised as a minstrel into the camp of the Danish king, accompanied only by one faithful servant. Alfred delighted the Danes by his skill in singing and playing the songs of his native land, and during his stay, which lasted many days, he penetrated into the privacy of the royal tent, where he saw and heard the plans and proceedings of his enemies. On his return from his reconnoitring expedition, he immediately assembled his people, made them advance silently on the Danes, and gained a brilliant victory[1]. This is all probable enough, and its probability is increased as we are aware of Alfred's love for minstrelsy; but the most ancient accounts drawn from Saxon sources do not mention it. Norman authors alone relate that the Saxon king performed a similar exploit to one achieved afterwards by the Dane Aulaf, who went as a harper into the camp of King Athelstan[2]. The spirit, too, which breathes in this romantic story, is more Scandinavian-Norman than Saxon.

Belonging to the legendary, or in other words, the ecclesiastical traditionary series, is another account, which proceeds from the north of England, and rather does honour to the wonder-working Cuthbert than to the person of the revered monarch. According to William of Malmesbury, Alfred himself related to his friends how the holy bishop appeared to him and aided his deliverance. The king was still dwelling at Athelney in great need. His followers had gone to fish in a neighbouring stream, and he was sitting in his hut, his wife only being with him. He was endeavouring to console his spirit, oppressed with the weight of cares, by reading the Psalms of David, when a poor man appeared in the doorway and prayed for a piece of bread. Full of true humanity, Alfred received the beggar as though he had been the Saviour himself, and divided with him the last loaf of bread he possessed, and the

[1] Ingulph. p. 869; Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 121; Guido, by Alberich. A. 880.
[2] Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 131.

scanty portion of wine that yet remained in the pitcher. The guest suddenly vanished—the bread was unbroken, the pitcher full of wine to the brim. Soon after the fishermen returned from the river laden with a rich booty. In the following night St. Cuthbert appeared to him in a dream, and announced that his sufferings were about to end, and gave him all particulars of time and place. The king rose early in the morning, crossed over to the main land in a boat, and blew his horn three times, the sound inspiring his friends with courage, and carrying terror into the hearts of his enemies. By noon five hundred gallant warriors gathered round him, he acquainted them with the commands of God, and led them on to victory.

This is the purport of the legend of St. Cuthbert, which, from internal evidence, seems to have been drawn up in the reign of King Edmund I. in the second half of the tenth century, soon after the monks of Lindisfarn and Durham, who had long wandered up and down the country with their sacred treasures and the miracle-working bones of their saints, had again found a quiet resting-place. How few correct historical accounts of Alfred were extant in the north of the island, may be learnt from the fact that Alfred was there considered to have passed three whole years in the marshes of Glastonbury[1].

William of Malmesbury[2] gives a somewhat different version of the legend of the Northumbrian saint. Cuthbert, according to him, merely appeared to the sleeper, and addressed him in a formal speech, to the effect that Alfred and his country had now expiated their sins, and that in a short time the exiled king would be restored to his throne, and his people would be free. As a token that God had not forgotten him, his companions who had gone out to fish should return with nets well filled, although the water was at the time covered with thick ice. On Alfred's awaking, he found that his mother[3], who slept near him, had dreamt the same dream; both were filled with astonishment at

[1] Hist. St. Cuthberti, Twysden, p. 71-72.

[2] De Gest. Reg. Angl. ii. § 121; also Ingulph. p. 869.

[3] This could not have been Osburgha, as Lappenberg states, p. 319: the older authorities suppose it to have been his wife. His mother-in-law Eadburgha, whom Asser had seen, may have been still alive.

the wonderful occurrence, when the fishermen soon after dragged in their heavy burden, which would have been sufficient to feed a large army. According to others, it was St. Neot who appeared to the king in a vision of the night, and who, after he had confessed his sins and undergone the Divine punishment, encouraged him to inflict a speedy and deserved revenge upon the enemies of his country and his faith.

The inquirer into history ought in justice to abstain from any decision on this variously-told legend; its priestly origin is evident. Founded on Alfred's distress, charity, and faith, it associates him with St. Cuthbert, whose renown then first penetrated into the south of the island. Perhaps the church of Durham thought in this manner to evince its gratitude for the donations by which at a later period it was enriched, and which, although provided for by Alfred, were first actually bestowed by his successor. But it is time that we leave this digression into the regions of fable, and return to history.

Easter[1] of the year 878 had arrived; nature, roused from her wintry sleep, began once more to live anew, and with her wakening, brave hearts beat higher, and believed more firmly in the possibility of freeing their fatherland. The king and his followers left their huts and hiding-places, in which they had taken refuge, from the cold of winter and the attacks of their enemies. With their united skill they constructed a fortification at a place which was very favourably situated for the purpose, and which, under the name of Aethelinga-Eig (pronounced together Athelney, *i. e.* the Prince's Island), has become highly renowned as the point from which Alfred sallied forth to reconquer his kingdom. This island lay in the neighbourhood of the present Somerton, east of the Parrot, at the place where it joins the little river Thone[2], and consists of an eminence rising high above the surrounding country, which is always damp, and frequently overflowed by the tide. This spot, owing to its difficulty of access, needed but little and light labour from human hands to render it impregnable. At the end of the seventeenth

[1] Easter, in 878, fell on the 23rd March. All our authorities take the following account from Sax. Chron. and agree unanimously on its principal points, as on the course of the events.

[2] Lappenberg, translation, ii. 53.

century even, the nature of the ground rendered it unfavourable for military operations[1].

That Alfred had chosen this place with the keen eye of a general, and that he remained there for a long time, is evident by the inscription on the famous jewel which in later times was found there, and which bears the name of the king, as well as from the monastery which Alfred piously caused to be erected out of gratitude to the place of his refuge.

From the stronghold of Athelney Alfred doubtlessly unfolded his standard — that golden dragon which once shone in battle against Mercians and Britons, and which, after a long resistance, had been forced to quail before the northern raven. As soon as the people in the neighbourhood saw it, and knew that their king yet lived, they all joyfully hastened to him, and courage began to return to the faint-hearted. The nobles of Somerset especially were among the first to join him with their followers, and to bring effective assistance to the enterprises which were now again actively carried on against the Danish hordes. The little army was kept in constant exercise, in order to form the solid germ of a larger one. And even now it was sufficient to show the enemy that they were not yet undisputed masters of the country; it was sufficient to proclaim to the dispirited inhabitants of the rest of the Saxon districts, that the time of their deliverance was at hand, and at the same time to summon them to arms. After a short respite had taken place, and his skirmishes had been crowned with success, Alfred thought that the moment was arrived when he might attempt an open attack. In the seventh week after Easter, between the 5th and 12th May, on a pre-arranged day, he moved from his fortress to Egbertes-stan (Brixton[2]), lying to the east of the forest of Selwood[3], which at that time formed a boundary between Devonshire and Somerset. To this place flocked, weapon in hand, the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties of Somerset, Wilts, and those dwellers in Hants who had not

[1] Vide Macaulay's History of England, i. 604.

[2] Now called "Brixton Deverill," in Wilts.

[3] Instead of "Sealwudu," the pasture wood, Simeon of Durham, de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 681, gives "Mucelwudu," which seems to be ratification of the false translation of Asser and Florence: Silva magna—the Welsh Coitmawr. Or is seal, sël an adjective meaning great?

fled beyond sea[1]. Rejoicingly they greeted their beloved king, who, after long suffering, stood before them as one risen from the dead. Alfred, who now first saw an army again gathered round him, enjoyed one night of quiet sleep, and the next morning, starting at earliest dawn, took a north-eastern direction, in order to reach the Danes, who still held their camp at Chippenham. The army rested the following night at Okely[2], and then, without further delay, marched till they came up with the enemy in the afternoon, at a place called Ethandune[3].

On the news of Alfred's reappearance, the Danes had here hastily assembled all their forces, and now they stood prepared to defend their plunder against its rightful possessors. A most desperate conflict ensued. Alfred made his warriors advance in a compact phalanx[4], and, thanks to these tactics, sustained without wavering the furious onsets of the Northmen, and finally gained a complete victory over the enemy. Many were slain during a hasty retreat; and before the conquered army could reach the gates of their fortress, which we may suppose to have been Chippenham itself, many prisoners were taken by the victors, as well as a large number of cattle.

[1] Guimer, v. 3168, mentions the names of some of the nobles:

Co est del hest de Selewode
Ceolmer vint contre le e Chude,
Od les barons de Sumersete,
De Wilteschire e de Dorsete.
De Hamteschire i vint Chilman
Ki les barons manda per ban;

but a confirmation of this is nowhere to be found, and the name Ceolmer, which immediately follows Selewode, seems very suspicious, as it may have originated in a misconception of the Celtic Coitmawr, which is found in Asser.

[2] Or Iglea. Supposed to be Leigh, now Westbury, Wilts.

[3] I have permitted myself to take the time of day from the Norman rhyming Chronicler, v. 3189:

E lendemain, a hure de none
Donc sunt venuz a Edensdone.

According to Simeon, Alfred arrived before Ethandune "post tertium diem," and fought from sunrise throughout a great part of the day. Ethandune, most probably, is Edington, near Westbury.

[4] Asser; Cum densa testudine atrociter belligerans.

The captives were immediately put to the sword, and Alfred began to lay siege to the place[1].

This was a very great and sudden change of fortune, such as rarely occurs in the life of man. A few days made a conquering general of the exiled and supposed dead king, and he who so shortly before had been obliged to hide in the wilderness, now saw his followers joyfully hastening to his banner, and held the flower of the enemy's strength, fast besieged in its fortress.

Fourteen days elapsed, and then the Danes, vanquished by hunger, cold, and misery, and reduced to the extreme of despair by their necessities, prayed Alfred to raise the siege. They submitted to him; he was at liberty to take as many hostages as he pleased from the army, while they did not require one man on his part; an unaccustomed concession, by which the Danes acknowledged themselves vanquished. They also promised to observe this contract more faithfully than they had done their former ones, which they had so frequently broken, and to quit the kingdom with all speed.

Alfred, pitying the wretched men[2], once more accepted their hostages, and received their oaths; but if other and much firmer security had not been given, it is probable that he would have had to rue, as bitterly as he had heretofore done, his confidence in the vows of the heathen. Guthorm, who commanded this army, and who was by far the most powerful Viking who had yet appeared in England, caused it to be notified to the King of Wessex that he was desirous of embracing Christianity. There is no reason to suppose that Alfred had made this step one of the conditions of the treaty; the first idea of it, even though insincere, and inspired alone by present necessity, seems to have arisen in the mind of the heathen. He himself ruled over Christian subjects, whose religious faith was stronger than their warlike courage; and there were already becoming evident the first signs of the victory acquired by the Christian doctrine over the arms of its oppressors, which, in the course of years,

[1] Later authors, as Brompton and Gaimar, make Hubba fall at Chippenham, but in the previous year—resting their opinion on the fact that a funereal mound existed there, bearing the name of Ubbelowe.

[2] Asser: "Sua ipsius misericordia motus."

so frequently occurred. To no one could such a conversion be more welcome than to Alfred. He fought not only for the restoration of his kingdom, but also for the national faith, and he joyfully took advantage of the circumstance, when the first Danish king declared his wish to embrace that faith. Alfred immediately ratified the treaty, and the Danes departed northwards. Seven weeks[1] afterwards, Guthorm, accompanied by thirty of his noblest warriors, appeared in Alfred's camp, which was again pitched in Somersetshire, at Aller, a place not far from Athelney. It must have been a proud and inspiring hour for Alfred, when, amidst all the solemnities of the Church, he presented Guthorm for baptism, and became sponsor for him, giving him the name of Athelstan: his country was free, his greatest enemy become a Christian, and his steadfast heart beat high with solemn triumph. Guthorm, with his companions, who had allowed themselves to be baptized with their prince, tarried for twelve days in the Saxon camp. On the eighth day the solemn ceremony of the chrism-loosing[2] took place at Wedmore. This was performed by the Ealderman Ethelnoth[3].

The meeting of the two kings in the beginning of July had yet another object. Not only in a spiritual manner through this baptism was a way to be opened for a reunion and peaceful intercourse between the two German races, but a worldly league had to be established in a political point of view. Wessex was freed from the Danes, but it had no power to drive them from the rest of England. It was therefore a wise step of Alfred's to leave the baptized sea-king in possession of those English lands that for many years he had called his own. This settlement of the Danes became in the end a real blessing to the island, for by degrees the two people became bound together by the bonds of religion and commerce. At Wedmore, where the first West Saxon Witena-

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 878, iii.: "Wucan" seems to be a clerical error.

[2] The clorismal was a white linen cloth, put on the head when the rite of baptism was performed, and taken off at the expiration of eight days.

[3] Asser, Octavo die; chrism-lising, Chron. Sax.; chrismatis solutio, Asser and Florent. Wigorn. are undoubtedly the same with Ethelwerd's "dux pariter Aethelnoth abluit post lavacrum eundem in loco Vuedmor," and Gaimar's "à Wedmor furent desaleez."

gemot[1] was held after the time of oppression, the following arrangements were entered into[2]. Alfred and the West Saxon Witan on the one hand, and Guthorm and the nobles and inhabitants of East Anglia on the other, agreed that the boundary of the two kingdoms should commence at the mouth of the Thames, run along the river Lea to its source, and at Bedford turn to the right along the Ouse as far as Watling Street. According to this arrangement, there fell to Alfred's share a considerable portion of the kingdom of Mercia, which was thereby protected from the invasions of the Scandinavians. The remaining part of this treaty comprehended the foundations of the laws of national commerce, which, derived from this source, were received in common by both nations; the Were-Geld, a fine for murder, was also confirmed, and a strict judicial inquiry instituted into other points of dispute; of which many must have existed among the colonised warriors. Under the successors of both kings, all treaties were subject to ecclesiastical control. On the twelfth day after his baptism, Guthorm and his companions took leave of Alfred, who loaded them with rich presents[3]. The Danish king led his people to Cirencester, where he remained quietly encamped with the largest portion of them during the year 879; but all those who refused to become Christians received warning to depart beyond sea under the command of the powerful Hasting[4]. Conformably to the tenor of the agreement, the whole army ought to have abandoned that part of Mercia; but Alfred seems to have had neither will nor power to enforce its instant removal. There was work enough for him at home in re-establishing all that had been destroyed; and the re-uniting of the many ancient bonds and relations which had been torn asunder, cost him more time and trouble than the fortunate reconquering of his country

[1] Kemble, the Saxons in England, ii. 251, assumes this as certain.

[2] "Ælfredes and Guðrumes frid in." Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ed. Thorpe, i. 151, ff.

[3] For Asser's "Multa et optima aedificia," Lappenberg rightly reads "in beneficia." The Chron. Sax. also says, "and he hine miclum and his geferan mid feo weortude." Henric. Hunt.: "Multa munera." Simeon Dunelm.: "Multa dona."

[4] Will. Malmesb. ii. § 121; and in the same words, Elinand, in Alberich's Chron. A. 880, ed. Liebnitz.

had done. Guthorm also, who had played so great and successful a part in lawless expeditions by sea and land, could not tame himself down immediately to lead a quiet life in his principality as a Christian ruler. The unappeasable longing after plunder and adventures tempted him as strongly as ever, and he still hoped to gratify it in some mode or another.

The mighty stream in which the northern sea-warriors at that time swept over the whole west of Europe was yet by no means passed by. Many bold Vikings, with their ungovernable hordes, filled the Christian states of the Continent, and their weak princes, with terror and dismay. Here and there, truly, the heathens sustained a complete overthrow; but experience soon showed that they were not to be driven away by one defeat. Although Alfred had chastised and chased them from his dominions, he was obliged to hold himself in constant readiness to meet fresh assaults. Yet it seemed as though he had inspired the enemy with a certain reverence for him by his speedily-won victory, for a large body of Danes, which in 879 had sailed up the Thames and settled at Fulham, at the end of winter returned to the Netherlands. Their leader, the terrible Hasting[1], who had already for many years filled the Frankish coast, the adjacent country, and even the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, with his terrible renown, thought it advisable to seek further plunder in the kingdom of the Carlovingians. With what interest the Saxons at that time watched the devastating footsteps of their adversaries, is, during the next period, evident by the short notices in the Chronicles. The land of the Franks suffered fearfully; beginning at Ghent, the ravaging army poured on along the banks of the rivers Maas, Scheldt, Somme, and Seine, towards the interior; Condé and Amiens were laid waste, and at Haslo and Saucourt decisive battles were fought[2]. At the same time pirates overspread the seas, and Alfred, anxious for the safety and defence of his

[1] The authorities for the history of his actions are collected together by Lappenberg, p. 321, n. 3. It seems very probable to me that Hasting had been at Ethandune and Chippenham, and came to Fulham from Cirencester by sea.

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 880 to 885; with which may be compared the Frankish Histories of Hincmar, A. 880, and Annal. Vedast. A. 880, Pertz M. G. S.S. i. 512, 518.

country, did not delay to set out himself, with the few ships he possessed, to protect his shores from robbery. In the open sea he met and gave battle to four Danish transports; the Saxons fought bravely, conquered two of them, and slaughtered their crews. The other two made a more desperate resistance, and only surrendered to the king when their defenders were no longer able, from the blows and wounds they had received, to hold their weapons[1].

How did the baptized Athelstan reconcile himself to his unwonted state of peace, when he heard the ancient battle-cry resounding over the sea? All connexion with his countrymen, whose principal strength was now swarming on the Frisian and Frankish coasts, was to all intents and purposes broken off by his adoption of Christianity. In the beginning of the year 880, he went with his army into East Anglia, and took possession of the dominions assigned to him by the peace of Wedmore, and divided the lands among his followers. But the change from a wandering to a settled life, and still more the transformation of the old sea-robber's nature, could not be effected all at once. Before he had surrendered to Alfred's victorious arms and abjured heathenism, Isembart, a near relation of the Frankish monarch, and who had been exiled, owing to a quarrel with his king, was received as a guest by Guthorm, and accompanied him in his incursion on the west of England. After the peace was concluded, and its arrangements put in operation, military affairs recalled Isembart, and Athelstan made no scruple of joining him in his expedition. The faithless vassal and the newly-baptized heathen devastated the country with fire and sword, as fiercely as the last-comers from the north, until at last they were most deservedly vanquished in the battle of Ludwig, near Saucourt[2]. Thereupon Athelstan probably returned at once to his own dominions; but when, a few years later, some of

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 882.

[2] Guido, by Alberich, A. 881, and Chron. S. Richarii, ap. Bouquet, viii. 273. The traditionary Gormo, of the Saxo-Grammat. lib. ix.; and, Gorm hin Enske, (Gorm the Englishman), who was baptized in England, Chronic. Erici Regis ap. Langebek Scriptt. Rer. Danic. i. 158; Gurmund, Wilh. Malm. ii. § 121, and Alberich; and Guaramund, in Chron. Rich. are certainly one and the same person. The Anglo-Saxon form of the name is Guthrum. I have employed, with Kemble, the complete Northern Guporm, *i. e.* the Battle-worm.

the vanquished Northmen appeared on the coast of Kent, Alfred suspected that the ruler of East Anglia made common cause with them. In the summer of 885 they landed near Rochester, and prepared to besiege the castle, whilst they surrounded themselves with a rampart. The ancient inhabitants of Kent suffered much from their attacks. They were still occupied with their fortifications when Alfred with his troops levied in Kent, which had returned to its old allegiance since the victory of 878, advanced to oppose these aggressions. The heathen did not venture to make a stand against him from their ramparts; but made a hasty retreat to their ships, and put to sea[1]. Horses and prisoners fell to the share of the Saxons. In the mean while Athelstan and his people had openly broken the treaty of Wedmore. Their perjury was shown by the fact that they neglected to fill up the vacancies which occurred, by death or other circumstances, in the number of hostages who were in Alfred's power; and when a part of the fleet vanquished at Rochester arrived at Beamfleot (Bemfleet), in Essex, they entered into alliance with it, and recommenced their former misdeeds[2].

Alfred, who still remained in Kent, assembled and manned all his available naval force to punish the faithless Athelstan, his godson and sworn ally, for his broken oath. The fleet received instructions to show no mercy to the East Saxon and Anglian shores[3], but to treat them as an enemy's country, and to do them all possible damage. At the mouth of the Stour, the Saxons met sixteen ships of the Viking; a desperate sea-fight ensued, and the Northmen were completely defeated and put to the sword. Their

[1] Chron. Sax. Ethelwerd, iv. 516, Asser, p. 483.

[2] Lappenberg, p. 326, n. has endeavoured to connect Ethelwerd, iv. 516, where almost every word presents an enigma, with Chron. Sax. A. 885: "Se here on Eastenglum braee frid wiþ Aelfred cyning." His judgment is far preferable to that of the editor of the Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 516, n. d. who thinks that doubtful period originally belonged to the year 894. Ethelwerd's Chronicle especially is come down to us in a most deplorable condition—it cannot possibly have been composed in such barbarous and unintelligible Latin.

[3] Chron. Sax. 885; Asser, 483; Florent. i. 100: the "praedendi causa" of the two last does not surprise me; Alfred had every right to allow the possessors of those provinces to be pillaged, as soon as they showed themselves inimical to him.

vessels, with the treasures contained in them, were carried off by the conquerors; but as they were about to leave the mouth of the river, on their return home, they were suddenly attacked by the East Anglian and other Vikings, with a naval force superior to their own, and saw their scarcely-won victory snatched from them. The results of this misfortune might have been very important to Alfred and his nation, for Guthorm seems to have called a mighty ally to his aid, the renowned Rollo, who without delay hastened across the Channel from the siege of Paris to his old companion in arms[1]; but we have no record to show whether or not the quarrel was once more decided by force of arms; according to contemporary history, England now enjoyed for many years the long-desired blessing of being free from the attacks of the Danes. Guthorm-Athelstan remained monarch of East Anglia to the end of his life, and conversion made rapid strides among his people Alfred lived to see those peaceful and civilising plans which he had endeavoured to set on foot by this arrangement carried out with success. But the king had to exert himself in another district also, to repair the mischief which the incursions of the northern barbarians had caused, and to endeavour as much as possible to secure to the original German inhabitants their material and spiritual possessions. That part of Mercia which, after the peace of Wedmore, the Danes had been forced to evacuate, was now much more closely bound to the kingdom of Wessex than East Anglia, yielded by Alfred to Guthorm under a very loose title. The boundary-line, with which we are already acquainted, left undecided where the independent Anglo-Christian population of the north of Mercia joined the Scandinavian heathen colonists. The strength of this district, which formed the heart of England, lay in the west, especially in the present Worcestershire, which since the time of their arrival had been inhabited by the powerful Anglian family of the Hwiccas. During the

[1] This account depends upon Norman authors alone. Dudo, p. 78; Will. Gernet. ii. 4 (both by Duchesne); Wace Roman de Rou, v. 1864, ff. ed. Pluquet Lappenberg, p. 327, was the first to throw light on the misconceptions of the historian of the middle ages, who asserts a treaty to have been concluded between Rollo and Athelstan, the grandson of Alfred, or even with Alfred himself. Alstern us, Alstan, Athelstan, mean no other than the baptized Guthorm.

sovereignty of the Mercian kings, which was founded on the union of many distinct territories, this district had often distinguished itself by the bravery of its people under the command of leaders from its hereditary royal family. To it was assigned the task of protecting the borders of Mercia from the Celtic Welsh, and it must therefore have been of the greatest use to Wessex also, until the time when Wales acknowledged the supremacy of Cerdic. Alfred willingly recognised this service as soon as he possessed the power to do so. He knew how to reward those men whose assistance had enabled his family to retain that country. Ethelred the Ealderman, and hereditary leader of the Hwiccas, was entrusted with the viceroyship of the whole of Christian Mercia, and became closely bound to Alfred by receiving the hand of his daughter Ethelfleda. A complete union of the Anglian and Saxon dominions was not to be thought of at that time; it remained for William the Conqueror and his successors to destroy, with an iron hand, the ancient barriers between the West Saxon and Mercian laws and customs. Ethelred, on the departure of the Danes in the year 880[1], began to work in his capacity of prince in the service of his liege. He assembled the Diet, and ratified its decrees, always subject, however, to the approval of the West Saxon king. Faithfully and steadily Ethelred performed his duties, and restored to the district placed under his command that peace and quiet which had long been strangers to it. At his side stood Werfrith, the excellent Bishop of Worcester, who laboured with equal fidelity in his vocation, and was bound to his king by the ties of a common love of activity. The indefatigable efforts of both these men are indisputably evidenced by the fact that the Scandinavian influence did not penetrate into the middle of England. Their endeavours to effect this end, form the subject of the following sections, as far as the scanty records we possess of their lives will enable us to investigate them; together with the relation of the different military events which followed the departure of the Danes, and an attempt to show in what manner our Alfred ruled in his kingdom, and lived in his home during the few happy years of peace.

[1] The documents are in Kemble, n. 311, A. 880, ind. v

V.

ALFRED'S EFFICIENCY IN CHURCH AND STATE.

"AMIDST the deepest darkness of barbarism," writes a great historian respecting Alfred[1], "the virtues of an Antoninus, the learning and valour of a Cæsar, and the legislative spirit of a Lycurgus, were manifested in this patriotic king." And we may truly look in vain, either in the history of ancient times, the middle ages, or modern days, for a similar example of all these beautiful features combining in such perfect harmony. Admiration rises to astonishment when we consider how this man, by his own unassisted efforts, acquired so many great and varied qualities, whilst during nearly the whole of his life he had to combat with the most adverse circumstances. On this account a comparison with Frederic the Great or Charlemagne does not go far in enabling us to form a correc idea of this distinguished King of Wessex.

We have already seen how, with the courage of a Cæsar, with true German endurance in time of need, and valour in critical moments, Alfred struggled, ventured, and won; how, when the days of trial and suffering were past, he laid with his sword the foundations of a happier future for his island. Now he opposed the enemy with totally different weapons: that which had been conquered by the sword could only be protected by a higher state of civilisation. There is much that is very appropriate in the comparison with Lycurgus, especially in reference to the political condition of England at that time; but the image is too vague and remote. We must rather, as we proceed, occasionally cast a glance at the connected and contemporary nations of the Continent.

As in the extensive territories governed by the successors of Charlemagne, a number of Teutonic families had united to form a great state upon the basis of a conquered people, so in England, after the lapse of centuries, the union of many German and Celtic tribes under one general head had been at last effected. But scarcely had the numerous small states

[1] Gibbon, in the "Outlines of the History of the World—Miscellaneous Works, iii. 3rd ed. 1814," written in his youth, and well worthy of attention.

entered into this union when they sustained a sudden and severe shock from barbarians allied to them by descent, whose long-continued hostility threatened them with destruction. That which had befallen the Franks, chiefly owing to the conquests of Rollo in Neustria, the dividing of their monarchy into many single governments under powerful dukes and barons, would unquestionably have followed in England, and centuries must have elapsed before the country would have recovered its unity. Nothing but Alfred's patriotism, courage, and foresight, joined to the brilliant successes of his heirs, would have sufficed to avert the consequences of the northern invasion from the Saxon people, until the period when the old Berserker fury, cooled by the influence of the Romish Church, admitted of a beautiful combination of the two elements.

What were now the principles which guided Alfred in his labours? He must have painfully experienced the collapse of that political fabric of which his grandfather had been so proud, and the stability of which his father's actions had tended to undermine. Was it not natural, now that the kingdom was placed in other circumstances, and rescued from its former evil condition, to hold the reins of government more tightly than before, and out of the loose political relations to create a well-compacted state? The scanty records that have descended to us through so many centuries show that Alfred did endeavour to take a step of this kind. Indeed, the hero has lately been reproached with having despotically attempted to narrow the ancient liberties of his people. This is not the place to refute such a charge, which must be met by remembering the higher necessity which at that time was at work in all the great Teutonic families, uniting and centralising them under one mighty leader. What in our time is comprehended in the term freedom, is indeed as far removed as heaven from earth, from the independence of a few half-civilised communities, and in the progress of history it has been frequently promoted even by tyrants. Did Alfred at any time act more despotically than Charlemagne, Otho I., or Henry III., whose judicious and stringent measures all admire? On the contrary, we recognise with pleasure the mild, but on that account not less effective method, by which he undertook to change the existing relations of men and

things, and thus to prepare for a better and totally different polity than that of his ancestors. His innovations were more of an ethical than of a political nature: it excites astonishment, that after the dissolution of all political ties he allowed the national constitution to remain so nearly in its former state; whilst, with a view to the welfare of his people, and with a correct perception of the dangers that threatened, he took that path of moral education in which no other prince, even amongst those called "the great," had ventured to tread with such decision and energy. But before this assertion can be verified, it will be necessary to glance at the condition of the country, and at Alfred's activity in its restoration.

We have already briefly considered the public condition of the Anglo-Saxons under Ethelwulf. By the attack of the Danes, the Cerdician kingdom had been brought to the very verge of ruin. After it was saved from annihilation by Alfred, but little change took place in its component parts.

He had indeed lost the supremacy over the states on the east coast; under Egbert it had never been very definite, but now by the conversion and settlement of Guthorm it was in some measure restored. The three other territories which composed the kingdom of Wessex remained as before. Mercia, which was the first to succumb to the northern hordes, had ceased to be an independent kingdom; and when a great part of the district fell again into Alfred's power by the treaty of Wedmore, he instituted a government differing essentially from that of his other provinces. Kent and its dependencies had become a prey to the enemy at the first attack—for the nature of the country presented no means of defence. But when the conquerors were obliged to cross the Thames, there was no question of again making this an independent state. The old traditions of the Jutish princes had ceased to be repeated by the people, but law and custom remained unchanged so long as one peculiar blood ran unmixed in their veins. Alfred did not think of interfering with this nationality: it had characterised his mother, and the rulers of the country had never made any stand against it.

The custom of appointing the Crown-Prince of Wessex to the sovereignty of Kent had been abolished in the reign of Alfred's brother; the annexation of this district to

Wessex was already much more complete than that of Mercia. The ancient provinces longest withstood the general ruin; and it was from the most westerly district, which had scarcely ceased to be Celtic, and where the Saxon plough had turned but shallow furrows, that the common deliverance proceeded. Wessex now once more formed the centre of the kingdom, the unstable Britons returned to their former allegiance, and never, so long as the Saxon hero lived, did they venture on an insurrection; never, by union with the Scandinavians, did they threaten to become dangerous to their conqueror.

Little is known of the mode in which Alfred governed these lands, where, although they were not extensive, and the nature of the country presented but slight obstacles, so much difference existed in origin, language, manners, and customs. The authorities mention many earls, as Ethelnoth, Ealderman of Somerset, Ethelhelm of Wilts, Ethelbald of Kent, but their activity is by no means to be compared with that of earlier rulers, who flourished in the time of Ethelwulf. They seem to have been merely officers of the court —their former hereditary sovereignty over their particular districts begins to disappear. No Ealstan is seen amongst the superior clergy; however distinguished some individuals may have been with whom Alfred filled his episcopal sees, he never allowed them any further participation in the actual affairs of state than appertained to their offices. These are sufficiently distinct indications as to the progressive state of the royal prerogative; as Alfred alone was able to free his country, so he was the principal also in reaping the fruit of his success.

There is nothing which implies any violent proceeding. It was natural that the common welfare should require a firmer bond, and this bond could only be cemented by those hands which had so valiantly wielded the sword. The people made no complaint of any infringement on their rights; they rather in later days, when the yoke of the haughty Conqueror weighed heavily upon them, remembered their "Darling" with undiminished affection, and gratefully ascribed to him (it may be unjustly) every advantage, every beneficial arrangement which they continued to enjoy. From this feeling arose the assertion made in the twelfth century,

that Alfred first divided the country into shires, hundreds, and tithings[1]. But these divisions had existed from the first settlement of the Germanic race in England, and formed the peculiar basis of the state, only in Alfred's time their limits were distinctly fixed, and on account of the localisation of their political and social relations, the ancient communities of the Mark and the Gà fell into decay.

It may be supposed that Alfred, after the spoliation of public and private property, re-arranged the boundaries, although the assertion that he caused a formal survey and measurement of the lands to be made, seems to have been taken from the History of the Doomsday Book[2].

In the time of Alfred, the way was at least prepared for another important change—the separation of the judicature from the government. Hitherto, the earl and the prefect had administered justice in their own districts, and the king in the Witenagemot; but it seems that at that time special judges were appointed, besides the officers of state and governors of the provinces[3]. The ranks of the earl and prefect remained the same as before; but they were enjoined to watch more strictly over the public affairs of their districts, and especially over the means of defence and the military preparations[4].

In the council of the nation, the Witenagemot, the affairs of the community were discussed and arranged according to ancient custom. The district tribunals were likewise suffered to continue, although with the limited power of the earl their importance became much lessened.

Amongst the Saxons and Angles, the Witenagemot was no longer confined to one particular season of the year; no mention is made of a March or May sitting of the council, but as

[1] Vide the Normans, Ingulph. p. 870, and Will. Malmesb. ii. 122. Asser mentions nothing of the kind.

[2] This question is admirably handled by Kemble, the Saxons in England, i. 247, 248.

[3] Documents of 884, in Smith's Bede, p. 771, whose authenticity is, however, questionable. We shall have to speak afterwards of the "Judices" of Asser. Ingulph. p. 870, is of some importance. He says: "Praefectos vero provinciarum (qui antea vicedomini) in duo officia divisit, id est in judices, quos nunc justiciarios vocamus, et in vice comites, qui adhuc idem nomen retinent."

[4] Perhaps this is meant by "custodes regni constituit," Roger de Wendover, i. 363.

often as circumstances required, nobles and freemen were accustomed to meet their king at his vill, or at some other suitable place near at hand, to take counsel together. We know of only two West Saxon Witenagemots being held in Alfred's reign. In 878 the contract was concluded with Guthorm at Wedmore, in presence of the Witan; and between the years 880 and 885, a meeting of the royal council took place at Langedene, when King Ethelwulf's arrangement of the inheritance was ratified, and Alfred's disposition of his estates approved[1]. These prove satisfactorily how much the power of the king differed from that of the Normans and Plantagenets, whose usurpations roused that free, popular spirit, so carefully fostered by Alfred, to carry on the victorious conflicts which resulted in the formation of parliaments. Alfred never did more than the necessities of the country required from him; in the south of England, steps had been taken towards centralisation long before his time. He did not attempt to restore that which had fallen into decay, and which would have acquired fresh strength by union; wherever he found any vitality in the old arrangements, he infused new energy into them; he even allowed some parts of the kingdom to remain divided. It is wonderful to reflect on all the important changes which the constitution of Great Britain has undergone in the course of its development.

An essential point in the barrier between Wessex and Mercia continued to exist. Language and custom still maintained a division between the Anglian and Saxon population, and a part of Mercia yet gave allegiance to a native race of princes. These are the reasons of the separate government of that province, and the elevated position assumed by the Ealderman Ethelred. He appears as viceroy, governor, and ruler of the kingdom of Mercia[2]. His wife Ethelfleda, the eldest daughter of Alfred, was on a perfect equality with him in rank, and even in political consequence; in accordance with the ancient Mercian usage, she was not only the wife of the prince (cwen), but was herself endowed with power as lady (hlæfdige). But as Burhred's marriage had already

[1] Kemble Cod. Dipl. No. 314, and Saxons in England, ii. 251.

[2] "Subregulus," Florent. i. 113. Even "rex," Ethelwerd, iv. 518. "Merciorum gentis ducatum gubernans procurator, in dominio regni Merciorum," Cod. Dipl. No. 1066, 1068. But also "comes," Asser, p. 489, and Florent. i. 101.

testified the union which subsisted between the two states, so Ethelred and Ethelfleda indicate the progress of a closer connexion, for they are not invested with the royal title. Alfred himself is called King of Mercia. Nothing was there effected without his consent; every decree, gift, and exchange, required his ratification. As far as we know, there was never any misunderstanding or disagreement between Alfred and his earl; and this arose from the strictly honourable character of the son-in-law, as well as from the close relationship between them. Ethelred was devoted body and soul to his lord and king; he entered with perfect sympathy into all Alfred's wise thoughts and schemes, and never sought to gratify his own ambition at the expense of the general unanimity.

A fortunate circumstance permits us to gain a deeper insight into the affairs of Mercia than is possible with regard to Wessex. The documents relating to Ethelred's government are more numerous, and afford far more interesting details, than those which treat of Alfred. In many of the documents containing the resolutions and decisions of the Mercian council, special mention is made of Alfred. A Witenagemot over which Ethelred presided, was held at Risborough in the year 883. Another took place in 888; in 896 a full assembly met at Gloucester, and there is another, the date of which is not so exactly stated. Soon after Ethelred's accession[1], a council was called concerning the arrangement of some property held by Bishop Werfrith. The manner and form of the proceedings, and the persons who were authorised to take part in them, are all described in a document evidently prepared at Gloucester, the remaining contents of which deserve to be translated from the original Saxon, as a specimen of the method of managing affairs. It runs thus:

"In the name of Christ our Lord and Saviour. After eight hundred and ninety-six years had passed since his birth, in the fourteenth Indiction, the Ealderman Ethelred summoned the Mercian Witan, bishops, nobles, and all his forces[2], to appear at Gloucester; and this he did with the knowledge

[1] Vide Kemble, the Saxons in England, ii. 251; and Cod. Dipl. No. 1066, 1068, 1073, 1075; 327.

[2] "Bisceopas and aldermen, and all his dûguðe;" the last word correctly expresses the idea of power in the middle ages, *i. e.* military strength.

and approbation of King Alfred. There they took counsel together how they might the most justly govern their community before God and the world, and many men, clergy as well as laity, consulted together respecting the lands, and many other matters which were laid before them. Then Bishop Werfrith spoke to the assembled Witan, and declared that all forest land which belonged to Wuduceastre, and the revenues of which King Ethelbald once bestowed on Worcester for ever, should henceforth be held by Bishop Werfrith for wood and pasture; and he said that the revenue should be taken partly at Bislege, partly at Aefeningas, partly at Scorranstane, and partly at Thornbyrig, according as he chose. Then all the Witan answered that the Church must make good her right as well as others. Then Ethelwald (Ealderman?) spoke: he would not oppose the right, the Bishops Aldberht and Alhun had already negotiated hereon, he would at all times grant to each church her allotted portion. So he benevolently yielded to the bishops' claim, and commanded his vassal Ecglaf to depart with Wulfhun, the priest of the place (Gloucester?—properly, the inhabitant of the place). And he caused all the boundaries to be surveyed by them, as he read them in the old books, and as King Ethelbald had formerly marked them out and granted them. But Ethelwald still desired from the bishops and the diocese, that they should kindly allow him and his son Alhmund to enjoy the profits of the land for life; they would hold it only as a loan, and no one might deprive them of any of the rights of pasture, which were granted to him at Langanhrycge at the time when God gave him the land. And Ethelwald declared that it would be always against God's favour for any one to possess it but the lord of that church to whom it had been relinquished, with the exception of Alhmund; and that he, during his life, would maintain the same friendly spirit of co-operation with the bishop. But if it ever happened that Alhmund should cease to recognise the agreement, or if he should be pronounced unworthy to keep the land, or thirdly, if his end should arrive, then the lord of the church should enter into possession, as the Mercian Witan had decided at their assembly, and pointed out to him in the books. This took place with the concurrence of the Ealderman Ethelred, of Ethelfleda, of the Ealdermen Ethulf, Ethelferth,

and Alhhelm, of the Priests Ednoth, Elfræd, Werferth, and Ethelwald, of his own kinsmen, Ethelstan and Ethelhun, and likewise of Alhmund his own son. And so the priest of the place and Ethelwald's vassal rode over the land, first to Ginnethlæge and Roddimbeorg, then to Smececumb and Sengetlege, then to Heardanlege also called Dryganleg, and as far as Little Nægleslege and the land of Ethelferth. So Ethelwald's men pointed out to him the boundaries as they were defined and shown in the ancient books[1]."

Bishop Werfrith, who has been before mentioned, was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of Mercia; he took the principal part in the discussions of the Witenagemot relative to his peculiar affairs, and also assumed a more important position with regard to the arrangement of secular matters than the Archbishop of Canterbury seems to have done at that time in Wessex. A number of documents arranging donations and inheritances, testify his zealous adhesion to territorial rights and tenures, and his eager desire to extend the possessions of the see of Worcester[2].

The resolutions made at Gloucester were also signed by Ethelfleda, who probably sat on the throne with her husband. There appear to have been ealdermen who took the highest rank amongst the lay counsellors; as in Wessex they ruled over single districts, but had no power over life and deed[3]. There was a careful distinction made between them and the rest of the assembly, which consisted of free landowners, to whom a full participation in the general government was assigned. The clergy seem to have been completely divided from the laity; two bishops attended the meeting — they were ranked next to Werfrith, and probably filled the sees of Hereford and Lichfield. This Witenagemot presents a much more complete form than any of the previous ones in the history of Wessex. In particular instances the mutual relations of the Ruler, the Possessor, and the Server, were very similar in Wessex and Mercia, and a closer inspection of the laws will bring this more evidently before us.

[1] Cod. Dipl. No. 1073.

[2] Cod. Dipl. Nos. 305, 315, 325, 327, 1071.

[3] Their names are given in Cod. Dipl. Nos. 1066, 1068.

It was a circumstance of great consequence to Mercia, that London, the old commercial mart of the island, lay within its jurisdiction, on the extreme south-eastern boundary of the territory which had been arranged by the treaty of Wedmore. In the year 886, Alfred formally installed the Earl of Mercia as governor of London, after the place had been rebuilt[1], and rendered once more habitable, for it had often suffered severely from fire and pillage, and the ravages of the Danes. Alfred must have laid siege to London before accomplishing this, for a troop of Northmen yet occupied the ruins; and when all those Angles and Saxons who had either been dispersed by flight, or for long years had groaned in the service of the Danes, again returned under his rule, the king himself led them to the restoration of their only important city[2]. And this name was then appropriate to London exclusively, according to our present ideas. Although there is no information given concerning its commerce and wealth until the following century, yet from its former importance in the days of British and Roman power, from its subsequent rapid elevation, and from its incomparable advantages of situation, we may gather that it contained a population which industriously exported the country's produce, wool and corn, and that foreigners from various continental nations brought their goods to this great port, which was destined to become the greatest in the world. What other towns could at that time compete with London? In Exeter, Dorchester, Wareham, Dover, and other places near the coast, a maritime trade was perhaps carried on; but prosperity was only beginning to dawn on these and on other towns in the interior of the island, many of which, such as Sherborne, Winchester, Canterbury, Worcester, and Gloucester, were indebted for the few advantages they had acquired, to ecclesiastical influences, or the occasional presence of the court, which latter circumstance gave birth to the towns of Reading, Chippenham, Wantage, and others. It is true, that in many places the almost impregnable Roman walls, by affording protection against the

[1] Asser, p. 489: "Londoniam civitatem honorifice restauravit et habitabilem fecit, quam genero suo Aetheredo Merciorum comiti commendavit servandam."
Chron. Sax. Florent. i. 101; Ethelwerd, iv. 517.

Scandinavians, tended to overcome the dislike the Germans felt to living in cities. Each nation alternately besieged, or took shelter behind, these ramparts. A more extensive commerce, and an increasing magnificence in the royal court and the palaces of the bishops, were the first agents in the advancement of the English maritime and inland cities. During Alfred's reign this development of so important a branch of civil life was very evident. But his people, nobles and commoners, poor and rich, still preferred forest and plain to places fenced and walled; and the corn-field and the pasture were sources of more profit to them than the inhospitable sea.

Still the king and his household had no fixed residence. Like his forefathers, he journeyed from one royal fortress to another, as circumstances guided. We gain the most certain information of Alfred's presence in particular localities whenever military affairs called him to a post of duty. In the summer of 897 he was at Winchester, which, under his successors, became a capital city[1]. According to one document, he stayed at a place called Wulfamere, in the year 898. In the following year he had an interview with Earl Ethelred, Archbishop Plegmund, and Bishop Werfrith[2], at Celchyth; from his signature to Mercian documents it may be presumed that he was present at the councils then held in that province.

The signature of the king was either simply "Rex," or "Rex Saxonum," or "Dei gratia rex Saxonum." His court already represented the increasing power and splendour of the kingdom; it may be plainly seen how state officers began to arise from the former nobles of the country, how the two are occasionally blended together, and how the dignities peculiarly connected with the court at last assume a definite form. In different years we learn the names of individual ealdermen (duces); these are, besides Ethelred the inferior sovereign, Ethelhelm of Wiltshire, Beocca, Ethelwald, Ethelnoth from a Mercian district, Ceolwulf, Ceolmund of Kent, Wulfred of Hampshire, Beorhtwulf of Essex, Ordulf, Wullaf, Garulf, Byrhtnoth, who no longer as of old governed their particular provinces, only one here and there among them appears to

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 897. [2] Cod. Dipl. No. 234, 1047.

have been invested with the title and employed in the service of the king. Thus Ethelhelm, Ealderman of Wilts, Ealderman Beocca: Sighelm, and Athelstan, of whose rank nothing exact is known, were charged with missions to Rome. There are also two other nobles, Wulfred and Ethelred, who do not bear the title of either thane or ealderman[1]. In the year 892 Elfric is called a royal treasurer (thesaurarius, hordere, vide Athelstan, legg. i. 3), in 897 Egwulf is said to be a marshal (strator regis, cyninges horsþegn), in 892 Sigewulf[2] is designated a cup-bearer (pincerna, byrel? vide Beowulf, v. 2316, Cod. Exon. 161, 8); all three filled the highest offices about Alfred. Lucumon is called the king's reeve. Royal thanes were a kind of inferior chiefs under the ealderman, as Eadulf of Sussex. Ethelferth was termed the king's neat-herd[3]. A certain Beornwulf was burgrave of Winchester. Wulfric, who had been marshal before Egwulf, and died in 897, held at the same time the office of Wealhgerefa, or Welsh reeve, which most probably consisted in the superintendence and jurisdiction of the dependent Britons who might be found in Alfred's service, and particularly on his lands in the west of the kingdom[4]. Although these few accounts are very meagre, yet they aid us in gaining a correct idea of the life which Alfred led as king.

But his efficiency as a monarch was of much greater and more recognised importance in legislation; it was here that he endeavoured to give a moral education to his people, and to establish entirely new principles on the foundation of the old ones. His well-preserved code of laws gives the most accurate and valuable material for an inquiry into this subject. The idea has been long since formed that Alfred was in the truest sense of the word peculiarly the legislator of his people; we are told that "amidst the tumult of arms and the din of warlike instruments[5]" he found time to complete this great work. We know however, that during many years of his

[1] Kemble, the Saxons in England, ii. 128, with quotations from Florence; Cod. Dipl. No. 1065.

[2] Cod. Dipl. No. 320.

[3] "Cynges geneat," Chron. Sax. A. 897.

[4] Chron. Sax. A. 897; with which compare Kemble, Saxons, ii. 178, 179.

[5] "Ille inter fremitus armorum et stridores lituorum leges tulit," occurs in a manuscript of Wilh. Malmesb. Hardy, ii. § 122.

reign, peace was enjoyed in England, and we may venture to conclude that the elaboration of his code must have occupied him at a time when he had less of other matters to engage his attention. The designation of lawgiver is strictly speaking erroneous: he created no new laws, his aim was simply to restore, to renovate, to improve. In every part of his dominions Alfred met with existing laws upon which he could take footing, but after the struggle for freedom, altered circumstances required fresh arrangements, and the closer connexion of the component parts of the kingdom, and the elevation of the royal prerogative, called for a correction and revision of the old laws, so that a more comprehensive system of legislation was necessary.

Amongst particular tribes, and subsequent to the conversion to Christianity, the ancient laws had for some centuries acquired a durable character by being committed to writing, and a perfect written language was formed in the West Saxon dialect much earlier than in that of any other German people. These circumstances, happily for the British Island, tended to limit the power of the clergy there, in a much greater degree than was possible on the Continent, and besides, made the German language the vehicle of the laws, so that it was not until the arrival of the Romanised Normans that the English people were judged and sentenced in a language they did not understand. In former days, Kent, Wessex, and Mercia, had each its own laws in its own dialects, and both these were closely allied. All the people were of German origin. When Alfred undertook the work, in which he was faithfully assisted by the advice and co-operation of the wise and great men of his nation, he had before him the Kentish collection of Ethelbert, the first Christian king, with the supplemental additions of his successors, Hlothhære, Eadric, and Wihtræd; his own ancestor Ina caused the West Saxon laws to be compiled; and the law-book of the great Offa was used in Mercia. There was much in the three, of which, on inspection, he entirely approved, but several points did not please him, and these, by the advice and consent of his counsellors, he rejected; meanwhile, he had some intention of putting his own ideas in their stead, but he knew not whether they would be approved by

his successors[1]. Ina's collection was the only one received entire into the Codex, which was chiefly applicable to the condition of the West Saxons. A few articles were omitted here and there from the Kentish and Mercian laws, but research into this matter is not possible, as Offa's book is lost.

Thus the substance of many particular laws was included in the general work, and the principal parts of the old Teutonic general and provincial law by this means attained a wider signification and importance. It is superfluous in a biography of the king to enter into a closer examination of the peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon laws, especially as this subject has been successfully handled by many learned men, in books that are universally accessible. But the necessity of inquiring into the exact opinions and acts of the king requires a notice of those points where his altering hand is discernible. The motives which actuated him in his work of reformation were twofold; one, the high responsibility attached to the exercise of royal authority, and the other, his peculiarly earnest desire of infusing Christian principles into the ancient national laws derived from Paganism, and even taking these principles as a fresh foundation. Whenever traces of this spirit appear in his Codex, we may recognise the influence of Alfred, by whom new rules of action were thus created, or at least pointed out to posterity.

The laws of King Ina present a striking picture of the insecurity and rude licentiousness which existed throughout Wessex in his time. The distinctions of rank, which had been preserved amongst the people in their wanderings, had been put on a different footing by the division of landed property, therefore the Were-geld, inflicted on all freemen, had been but little efficacious in preventing constant breaches of the peace and never-ending feuds. The Church had from its commencement assumed the civil rights of the heathen priesthood, as well as the relation of conqueror to the subjugated native inhabitants, who were almost reduced to the condition of serfs, and its daily increasing acquirements of land kept the public legal affairs in perpetual confusion. Ina's book chiefly consists of a list of

[1] "Forpam me waes uncuð hwæt paes pam lician wolde pe æfter us wæren. Introduction to Alfred's Laws, by Thorpe, "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," i. 58.

punishments for breaches of the peace, for quarrels, murder, robbery, and injury to forest and cattle; or else it makes provisions for the conditions of freedom and general government of the slaves, and particularly of the numerous Welsh in the western part of the kingdom, who had hitherto been in an almost lawless condition. Alfred adopted much of this into his book; in some instances he made wise alterations. Formerly different punishments had been awarded for stealing money, horses, and bee-hives; now they were all dealt with in an equally severe manner, but a higher degree of punishment was adjudged for robbery from the person; in other respects, particularly in cases of bodily injury, he made a much more strict and extensive regulation than his ancestor[1]. The ancient law concerning boc-land (land granted by writings), which was to be held by the same family, and to descend to the male heirs, he likewise caused to be preserved in all its force, as it appears in its most complete form in the Mercian law-book[2].

A recognition of the rights of property, and the intrusion of elements decidedly foreign to the old Teutonic national law, were now perceptible in many places. An entirely new meaning was given to the very first article of the code. Whosoever should break his oath, or fail to perform a pledge, was sentenced to forty days' imprisonment in some royal place, and to undergo penance ordained by the bishop. Already the use of the word "carcer" indicates that the deprivation of freedom for a longer or shorter space of time could not have been known to the Saxons, and indeed in earlier collections of laws nothing is to be found resembling it. But from this period justice began to be administered with a more powerful hand, and particularly with regard to the sacred obligation of an oath, which, backed by its Christian importance, was most strictly enforced. The fourth article is still more significant: "If any person, either by himself or others, practise treachery against the life of the king or his lords, he shall make compensation with his life and all his possessions; if he should desire to clear himself of the accusation by judicial

[1] Compare Leg. Ælf. 44-77 with Leg. Athelb. 32-73.

[2] Vide Kemble, Cod. Diplom. Introduction, p. xxxii. with reference to Leg. Ælf. 41.

means, he shall be allowed to do so according to the exact measure of the royal Were-geld." Here there is an evidence of the height of power to which the monarchy had risen, and of the means whereby its authority was maintained and preserved inviolate. Yet still the king's Were-geld continued, and this in a great measure placed him on an equality with all other freemen, for those who were thus able to expiate their offences might escape death. But the new principle, which alone was valid in later times, already began to be developed, and its introduction must be ascribed to Alfred, according to whose Scriptural notions reward and punishment proceeded immediately from God, and who would likewise protect earthly rulers by divine laws.

It does not seem to be quite just, on account of these innovations to accuse Alfred of despotic aims, and to attribute to him "anti-national and un-Teutonic feelings[1]." The strict Judaic doctrines respecting civil and religious liberty which had already for some time prevailed in the Catholic Church, began also to influence the secular government; for when large kingdoms were established by the conquering Germans, all the rulers suffered themselves to be guided in the arrangement of their altered political relations, by the insinuating counsels of the Romish clergy. The nature and tendency of all that period of the middle ages prevented any Christian country or Christian ruler from becoming an exception to this rule; it was not possible even for Alfred to accomplish his important task of uniting and improving his people, by any other means than those which were in universal use at the time; and yet experience had plainly taught him what would become of the prosperity of the island, if in such a favourable moment as the present, he were to leave matters in their old condition. And had not his grandfather Egbert sought to learn from Charlemagne a new method of governing his kingdom? So Alfred's reformation was a thorough one:

[1] Kemble, Saxons, ii. 208, n. 2. This intelligent author, whose thoughts and feelings partake so much of a German character, in attributing these errors to Alfred, accounts for them by his partial love for foreign literature, and his overbearing character in his youth. The latter, at any rate, is not proved, and the precise relative dates of his literary and legislative labours are certainly not established. This view of the subject bears too much the stamp of the mode of thinking in our own day.

all that was once vigorous throughout the whole body of the state, but which was now fallen into decay, he abandoned; all the other machinery of the government he left in action, and to his fostering and improving hand it must be ascribed that so much of it is in full activity at the present day in England, whilst so many of the other European German states have long had to mourn the loss of their ancient institutions. A strict monarchy was the only condition on which the country could be saved at that time, and as all Alfred's efforts had this end in view, he had no choice with respect to the means.

Besides, the exalted position of the monarchy had been firmly established in the past days of the West Saxon state, which had early included a number of hundreds, and extended itself over many districts, whilst the Jutish and Anglian kingdoms seem to have consisted at most of only a few. We know that for centuries after their rise, Mercia and Wessex continued to prosecute their conquests. In the storm of conflicting circumstances, at length only Wessex remained standing; all the other kingdoms had fallen, many of them returning to their original form of provinces, but under the West Saxon dominion. It therefore cannot be matter of surprise that the power and dignity of the King of Wessex far exceeded those of the ealdermen who governed the provinces. Alfred began to make special appointments to this office, which under him ceased to be hereditary, excepting in Mercia. Ealdermen and bishops, the two highest dignitaries in State and Church, came by degrees to take the same rank; whilst in former times it was the king who was valued equally with the bishops, and thus it may be easily perceived that the king originally rose from and above the other ealdermen. Whilst in the law-book of Ina the same fines were assigned for breaches of the peace against the king and the bishop, in Kent, robbery of the Church or of a bishop or a priest was visited with a higher measure of punishment than robbery of the king's property[1]. Alfred obtained a higher compensation than any other ecclesiastical or secular dignitary in the state; his sum remained the same as under the Kentish law, whilst those of the bishops and ealdermen,

[1] Allen. Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England, p. 37. ed. ii.

as well as those of the lower classes of nobility and freemen, were proportionably lowered.

But Ina had already ordained, that whosoever[1] should venture to draw his sword in the king's house, and to disturb the peace, such a crime could be expiated only by death or severe penance, according as the king might think fit. Alfred transferred this law unaltered into his Codex[2]. In this and similar decrees concerning crime, the laws providing for personal security, originally founded on distinctions of rank, took a new development; the importance of the old were-geld began to decline, and corporeal punishment was established in its stead. Notwithstanding this, all classes of the community preserved their respective ranks; but it is gratifying to find that there is scarcely any mention made in Alfred's laws of the lowest order of the people, whilst the arrangements of Ina relative to the Celtic slaves form a prominent feature in his code.

The continuance of the frank-pledge (freoburh, friðgegyld) was ratified by many articles: those who were exempt from this arrangement, either as outlawed criminals or as foreigners, were not amenable to its obligations, but, like the travelling merchant, enjoyed, on the fulfilment of certain conditions, the protection of the king and his justiciary[3]. The necessity of forming new guilds may have become apparent at that time, but their origin and progress were contemporary with the rise of cities.

Many of the arrangements in the first part of Alfred's collection of laws are to be attributed to the monopoly of ecclesiastical power, but at the same time also to the growth of Christian feeling; and his efforts to educate the morals of his powerful, but still uncultivated people, in accordance with the doctrines of the Bible, are indeed beautiful and excellent. His aim was not only directed towards the

[1] Leg. Inæ, 45: King and bishop, 120 shillings; ealderman, 80; a thane (degen), 60; a gesithcundman, 35. On the contrary, we find in Leg. Aelf. 40: the king, 120; archbishop, 90; bishop and ealderman, 60; twelfthyndeman 30; sixhyndeman, 15; ceorl (freeman), 5. See Kemble, Saxons, ii. 399.

[2] Only instead of "house," he says "court." Compare Leg. Inæ, 6, with Leg. Aelf. 7.

[3] Leg. Aelf. 42, 27, 34. Translation of Lappenberg, ii. 333.

prevention of robberies and feuds, he also strove to check every species of immorality amongst all classes. The seduction of nuns was dealt with most severely. Ina had commenced the work, but still the regulations of his great successor, respecting such crimes, are much more numerous and strict. In a similar proportion were punishments adjudged for working on the Sunday, or other holy days[1]. Respecting the rules for priests, the revenues due from land to the Church, and for taking sanctuary, very little provision had been made in the legislation of the eighth century; but yet King Ina had taken counsel on these points, not only with all his Witan, but also with his two bishops, Hedde and Eorcenbald[2]. Alfred's high reverence for the Church and its faith enabled him to make new and more extensive arrangements. Although the highest ecclesiastical officers ranked far below him in the degree of compensation, yet every offence against their individual dignity was rigorously punished. Any one who presumed to fight within sight of the archbishop or bishop, was compelled to atone for it by payment of 150 and 100 shillings. A priest so far forgetting himself as to kill a man in combat, was to be delivered up to the bishop to be deprived of all his property and to be divested of his sacerdotal office. Strict regulations were made concerning sanctuary in churches and monasteries, in which criminals and fugitives took refuge; how long such persons should remain there, and their treatment during the time allowed them. Robbery of Church property was punished by the infliction of a double fine, and the loss of a hand[3].

Enough may be gathered from these instances to show what progress the national law had made at that time, and on what principles it was conducted. By a peculiar addition, Alfred impressed upon the entire Codex the character of his own mind, much more than that of the age in which he lived; for he began his new book of laws with extracts from the Bible itself, both from the Old and New Testaments[4]. These words were placed first: "And the Lord spake all these

[1] Leg. Inæ, 27, 31, 3; Leg. Aelf. 8, 9, 10, 11, 18, 25, 26, 43.
[2] Leg. Inæ, 1, 4, 5, 61, and Thorpe's Introduction, i. 102.
[3] Leg. Aelf. 15, 21, 2, 5, 6.
[4] Laws and Institutes, i. 44, ff.

words, saying, I am the Lord thy God," &c. Then followed the Ten Commandments, omitting the second, but the 23rd verse of the chapter was inserted to make the Tenth Commandment. Then followed, with a few omissions, the 21st, 22nd, and the first part of the 23rd chapters of Exodus, which contain the Mosaic laws, treating of the relations between masters and servants, of the punishments for murder, homicide, theft, and other heinous sins, as well as the sacred observance of holy and festival days. The last statute is: "Make no mention of the name of other Gods, neither let it be heard from thy mouth." Exod. xxiii. 13. Then the book proceeds: "These are the laws spoken to Moses by the Almighty God himself, who commanded him to keep them, and afterwards the only Son of God, who is Christ our Saviour came upon earth, and said, that he did not come to destroy these laws and to abolish them, but in every way to fulfil them; and he taught mercy and humility. Then, after he had suffered, but before his apostles had gone forth to teach in all lands, and whilst they were still together, they converted many heathens to God, and still remaining together, they sent messengers into Antioch and Syria to preach Christ's laws. But when they learnt that these messengers met with no success, the apostles sent them a letter. And this is the letter sent by the apostles to Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, which places are now converted from heathenism." Here follows literally the Epistle from the Acts of the Apostles xv., 23-29. Alfred then added, from Matthew vii., 12: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." "By this one Commandment man shall know whether he does right, then he will require no other law-book." This short epitome of the laws of God upon earth proceeds further: "Since now it happens that many nations have adopted the faith of Christ, several synods have assembled upon the earth, and also amongst the English people, since they have professed the Christian religion, consisting of holy bishops with other distinguished Witan. Moved by the compassion which Christ taught towards error, they ordained that by their permission, secular lords, for nearly every misdeed, might in the first instance make compensation by a fine, except for treason against a lord, on which crime they dared not exercise any

mercy, because the Almighty God would not grant it to those who exalted themselves above Him, nor Christ, God's son, to him who sold Him to death, and He commanded that a lord should be loved like Himself[1]."

In different synods different punishments were allotted for various human offences, and different commandments were written in the several synod-books: "Whereupon I, King Alfred, have collected and commanded to be written down those laws which our forefathers held, those which seem to me good," &c. The manner in which he proceeded has been already considered: "I, Alfred, King of the West Saxons, showed them to all my Witan, and they said that they approved of them all, and would observe them." Then follow his own statutes. It would be difficult to find in any other collection of laws of the middle ages so large a portion of Biblical matter as in this; and we know, too, that no other has so completely adopted the principles of the Mosaic law. It is true that many passages from both Testaments are to be found in the Frankish and other Continental codes, and the general influence in legislation of eminent princes of the Church and of the entire clerical body is indubitable; but in no other do we find the idea of blending the old Teutonic law with the Hebrew-Christian, so perfectly carried into effect.

How natural then is the conjecture that Alfred humbly submitted himself to the control of the bishops, and allowed them to have similar power in the state, to that which they enjoyed in the country of the weak descendants of Charlemagne, and even in England during the lifetime of his own father, who had taught his son to fear God and the Church. But a closer research into the condition of the English Church and the activity of its supporters at that time, will show us that this was by no means the case. Alfred, on the contrary, ruled in the most perfect concord with his clergy, and was, in fact, the head of the Church. We cannot deny the tendency towards despotism which he introduced into the government, this is evinced in various instances; but nevertheless Alfred's name must be held in all honour, for he ad-

[1] "Lufiœn seva hine selfne," not as one's self, as Thorpe translates it, but like himself—viz. God. Kemble, Saxons, ii. 208.

ministered law and justice according to the eternal and divine precepts, and perfected the Old Testament Decalogue by the grand addition of the Christian doctrine, that "a man should love his neighbour as himself."

This peculiar construction of his code proceeded from the earnest character of his religious belief, to which we may also chiefly ascribe its high moral tone. The question indeed presents itself: did Alfred really aim at governing his subjects according to the letter of the Levitical regulations? What could be done with reference to the punishments for damaging vineyards? Would it not have been absurd to recal to the Saxons the memory of the captivity of the Israelites in Egypt? It is true that many fundamental laws relative to property in land and cattle, as well as to assault and murder, were precisely the same amongst the German and Semitic people; and although Alfred made a Christian law of that Hebrew one[1] which bestowed freedom on a slave after six years of service, yet on the whole, he merely held up as an example to his subjects a code with which they were well acquainted, and which showed them those points wherein their Christian community was still deficient. He endeavoured to impress upon them his own conviction, that punishment and reward belonged to God, who ordained the king to be His representative upon earth to execute justice. And yet it is singular enough to find the old Teutonic Weregeld considered as a compensation for the Divine wrath!

It now only remains for us to add some particulars relative to the administration of justice. We know from the testimony of an historical eye-witness how strictly Alfred required every man to be treated according to the right and equity of the Christian religion.

From a work which is undoubtedly the genuine production of Asser, it may be gathered, that amongst the many evils consequent on the Danish invasion, great irregularities had entered into the administration of justice[2]. Throughout the kingdom, the common and poor freemen had no other

[1] The command of Moses, that a slave who wished to remain as a servant with his master should have his ear pierced through with an awl to the gate of the temple, Laws and Institutes, i. 47, n. 11, is very similar to an old German custom. Compare Grimm. Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 339.

[2] Asser, towards the end. Florent. Wigorn. i. 106

protection than that afforded them by the king himself; for the great and powerful men who administered the laws were lifted up by pride, and occupied themselves with worldly matters rather than with such as would do honour to their Christian name. In the regular tribunals, where the earls and other officials sat to distribute justice, there were so many discussions and quarrels about the meaning of the law, that the judgments rarely gave satisfaction. But the king caused all decisions to be laid before him, whether they were just or unjust, and he investigated them strictly, especially when the offence encroached on his own prerogative. The unsettled state of affairs at that time naturally caused the king to be more and more considered as the principal guardian of justice. But the confidence placed in Alfred by a large portion of his subjects was fully justified by his extreme conscientiousness. He was more sincere than any other in the country in his endeavours to discover a true and just judgment[1], and to bestow their lawful rights upon the poor and oppressed, as well as upon the rich and powerful. In the same manner he inquired into all the sentences which were given in the district courts of his kingdom, whether they were just or unjust; he often summoned the judge to be brought before him, and questioned him. Sometimes he obtained information through the agency of one of his faithful servants. He did this chiefly in order to discover whether injustice had been practised from ignorance or malevolence, from love, or fear, or hate, towards any one, or wholly from a desire of gain. It sometimes happened that a judge would acknowledge his ignorance, but then Alfred would seriously set before him his folly, and would say: "I am astonished at your great temerity, that you who, by God's favour and mine, have been entrusted with the office and rank of the Wise[2], should have entirely neglected the studies and the labours of the Wise. Either, therefore, resign your temporal power, or assiduously apply yourself, as I require of you, to obtain wisdom." Thus many nobles and officers of high rank would frequently seek to acquire in their old age what they had neglected in their youth[3], and would choose to submit to be instructed, a thing

[1] In exquendis judiciis discretissimus indagator. [2] Sapientes, witan.
[3] Illiterati ab infantia comites pene omnes, praepositi ac ministri.

hitherto strange to them, and, like schoolboys, commence at the rudiments of learning rather than relinquish their offices.

There is no good reason for doubting the truth of this narration, it is expressly stated that such cases often occurred. They became soon noticed by contemporary observers. In the course of the century, indeed, the evil seems to have increased, and to have greatly extended its ruinous effects; and the accounts of the thirteenth and following centuries assert that the Saxon king was unmerciful enough to cause a great number of unjust judges to be hanged, after being severely reprimanded[1]. But how could the most beautiful traits of Alfred's character be thus mistaken and censured? The aim which peculiarly distinguished his legislation was to raise the moral greatness of his people, and to promulgate the Christian faith, and this is plainly shown us also by Asser; Christianity required that the same measure of justice should be allotted to the high as to the low. The state in which this can be done, must have wise and learned judges of the law; and it must have been a source of great grief to Alfred, that those men who, from their rank and wealth, should have exhibited a brilliant example to all besides, and who had such an important voice in the public administration of justice, were found so deficient. They could not even read in public the laws of their country; the hitherto universally acknowledged common law began now to be forgotten. And with this is connected another point of no less importance to us. Besides earls and governors, Asser mentions regular judges[2], who, although they appear from their title to have had a right to practise their official employment, yet were unable to do so. It is extremely probable that the nobles and free landowners had so alienated themselves from the community, especially during the time of war, that they could no longer administer justice without further legal knowledge. Thus there arose a tribunal, which perhaps had been projected long before, and which the king now modelled and fitted for its important office. Possibly, an arrangement was then made in England similar to the missi dominici of Charlemagne, leading to the establishment of the

[1] Andrew Horne, Miroir des Justices, p. 296-298.

[2] They were various: comites, praepositi, judices.

courts called Assizes, for whilst the people and their sheriffs still retained the right of giving judgment, the king, to whom alone belonged an executive power, practised a strict inspection by means of messengers[1]. But the judges, whose national title was unquestionably Gerefan (Earls), were answerable for their interpretation of the law, and for the judgment pronounced by them. And this responsibility caused them to incur the anger of the king, their chief magistrate, in those cases when they exposed their ignorance[2].

Before we leave this important subject, and conclude the account of the political affairs of the period, it may not be irrelevant to glance at that country which, in more than one respect, was united in the dominion of Wessex—the Christian Danish kingdom, which, by the policy of Alfred, had been established on the eastern coast. The first legal union, the short statute made and confirmed in the treaty of Wedmore between the two kings and their adherents, has been already noticed. The few principal points are very brief, and bear on them the stamp of necessity. Guthorm-Athelstan could not avoid the consequences of this treaty. Although he still adhered to piracy, the way was already prepared for a union of his own followers with the original Anglian population, when he died, in the year 890. Although his death occasioned a new and desperate attack from the Danes, and his immediate successor Eohric proved himself to be no pattern of fidelity, yet the work which had been commenced was established on a firmer basis, and grew and flourished even beneath the storms of a war that continued for a year. An amplification of the resolutions of Wedmore is extant, which was made at a later period, and designated the Peace between Guthorm and Edward. It is extremely improbable, and it is not confirmed by any proofs, that the latter, Alfred's son, was invested with regal honours and princely power so early as the year 890; the execution of the new document must have taken place in Alfred's own reign, although there is only doubtful information of a Guthorm II.[3], who succeeded Eohric in 905. These laws apparently belong to the enlarged legislative code of Alfred; it is

[1] Kemble, Saxons, ii. 41-45. [2] Rise of the German Kingdom, by Sybel, p. 235.

[3] Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutes, i. 166. On the authority of Wallingford, p. 539, 540.

expressly stated in the introduction, that these are the ordinances of Alfred and Guthorm, which had been repeatedly ratified between the Angles and Danes, and were now revived by Edward. They bear in an extended form the same features as were exhibited in Alfred's code, and they give sufficing internal proof, that in the course of twenty years Christianity had become the state religion, or rather that it had conquered and completely overturned the old-established heathen faith. Here, too, the first articles treat of the Church, and of obedience to Christian commands. One God only shall be loved, and he will reward and punish. Peace towards the Church and towards the king, is alike to be preserved inviolably. Dues are to be paid to the king and to the Church; they both protect morals and manners from injury. Labour, swearing, and the ordeal, were strictly forbidden to be practised on holy days. The punishment against profanation of the latter seems to have been particularly necessary on account of the transgressions which had lately been committed by the Northmen. The performance of pagan rites, witchcraft, and conjuration, were likewise punishable offences. But on the other hand, priests and foreigners were to enjoy peculiar protection as amongst the West Saxons, and the rights of the different classes of the free population were based upon the ground of their respective possessions. It is, however, remarkable that a careful distinction is made, in name at least, in the measure of compensation awarded to the people of Saxon and of Danish origin[1].

Thus then, after it had for a long time appeared probable that the principal Christian state in England was destined to destruction, it was not only delivered by the sword, but its deliverer also restored internal order, and bound it together beneath his powerful protection. We often see in history great revolutionary events interrupting the quiet progress of a nation; all the ancient enfeebled institutions become abolished; the people, under the guidance of some great man, struggle and are victorious, and then the seed is sown of a well-organized government, whose fruits are gathered in a happy future.

[1] Next to the wer and wite of the Saxons was always placed the lah-slitte of the Northmen (lagsligt in old Swedish law). Laws and Institutes, i. 168.

Alfred's active exertions in the government, and in the administration of law, afford a glorious example of this. When, in later times, his people sighed beneath the heavy oppression of Norman kings, when might alone was right, when troops of exiles sheltered in the forests, and the high roads were perilous, they remembered with sorrow the security which they had once enjoyed under Alfred's just rule; and in alleviation of their misery, they portrayed in poetry the golden peace of the past, when the traveller might lose his purse, full of gold, upon the way, and find it again untouched at the end of a month on the same spot, and when golden bracelets were hung up at the cross-roads in confidence that no passer-by would remove them[1].

But at the close of the great conflict, it became evident that the Church, the guardian of the Christian faith, was not less unsettled than the secular affairs of the country. How could it be otherwise after heathenism had made so desperate an attack upon the Christian state? Since the days of Augustine and Wilfrith, wealth in gold and silver had been accumulating in the cathedrals and convents of the island. Eager after spoil, the northern robbers had rushed into every sacred place, the sword in one hand and the torch in the other; the few unwarlike inmates who remained to guard their precious treasures died like martyrs. As soon as the Danes had taken possession of the gold, they departed to the next consecrated place, leaving nothing behind them but naked walls, blackened by smoke, whilst many other costly things which they knew not how to value—books on which the maintenance of civilization depended—became a prey to the flames. The monks of St. Cuthbert were not the only ones who, with the bones of their saints and a few of the vessels appertaining to the Church, wandered without shelter about the country; every establishment was involved in the universal destruction: the Church of the Anglo-Saxons was defenceless. Happy were those of her members who had escaped across the sea, and could await better days in a foreign land!

[1] Ingulph. p. 870. Wilh. Malmesb. lib. ii. § 122. This seems to be the repetition of an old tradition which has been already told by Bede, ii. 16, of the happy reign of Edwy of Northumbria, and at a later period was related as occurring in the times of Frothis the Dane and Rollo the Norman. Lappenberg, p. 335.

But as in worldly affairs many things had shown marks of decay before the invasion of the Danes, so for a long time many errors had existed in the Church which hastened her ruin. It has been noticed before, how in the ninth century no great individual Church teacher had appeared, and how after the death of the learned Bede the study of the Scripture, and the progress of all knowledge leading thereto, had been constantly declining. When the work of conversion had been completed at home, the most able men of York and Canterbury turned their steps towards the Franks, and in their service were most zealous in preaching the doctrines of the Cross to the brethren in Northern Germany. Meanwhile the English clergy led a quiet, indolent life, instead of studying with earnestness and diligence. When, after the warlike reigns of Offa and Egbert, the pious Ethelwulf began to rule, the Church, having only her own advantage in view, seems to have advanced her power so far as to be the true mistress of the state. Now for the first time, as was so frequently the case in subsequent ages, the Church of England, behind the shield of piety and Romish orthodoxy, fell into unseemly worldly corruption and indifference to all higher objects, whilst she almost entirely relinquished her most noble employment, the education and improvement of the people, and cast aside the arms with which she should have fought.

The destruction without, and the moral decay within, combined to direct Alfred's attention to the true cause of such an unhappy state of things. What peculiar impressions he must have felt when he called to mind, how, in his earliest childhood, he had seen the greatest splendour displayed by his father before the supreme head of Christendom, and how, in his youth, his eager desire for acquiring knowledge was unsatisfied, because the Church of his native land could not produce a single master to instruct him in Latin! In Germanic England, as in every part of Europe converted by Rome to Christianity, learning and the study of books were matters entirely confined to the clergy, and as a rule, the free-born laity remained in ignorance of such occupations. Nevertheless, Bede and his coadjutors had accomplished much, and even prepared the way for more; but it seemed as if these stars had set too soon, and for ever. Alfred recalled those

times with touching regret, when he wrote thus[1]: "I have very often thought what wise men there once were amongst the English people, both clergy and laymen, and what blessed times those were when the people were governed by kings who obeyed God and his Gospels, and how they maintained peace, morality, and authority at home, and even extended them beyond their own country; how they prospered in battle, as well as in wisdom; and how zealous the clergy were in teaching and learning, and in all their sacred duties; and how people came hither from foreign countries to seek for instruction,—and now, when we desire it, we can only obtain it from abroad. So entirely has knowledge escaped from the English people, that there are only a few on this side of the Humber who can understand the divine service, or even explain a Latin epistle in English; and I believe, not many on the other side of the Humber either. But they are so few, that indeed I cannot remember one, south of the Thames, when I began to reign." There were still traces of former greatness in the north. It was in Wessex, and in the country south of the Thames, that the greatest ignorance prevailed; and at the beginning of the ninth century, in consequence of the Danish invasion, any seeds of a higher civilisation and education which had been casually sown, were threatened with annihilation. For a considerable time there had likewise been great danger that the worship of Woden would be revived in some of the ancient and abandoned sites. Alfred now correctly perceived what was wanting. The Church of his country needed reformation; in order to secure her from ruin, that support of which she had been deprived ought again to be secured to her, and this support could only consist in the bestowing of a moral and intellectual basis. At that time there could be no question of a Reformation, according to our ideas of the word. In the west it was long before there was any diversity of opinion respecting dogmas. Rome had been the mother of the Church, and continued to be her central point; and it was Alfred's most earnest endeavour to cement yet more closely the hitherto uninterrupted alliance

[1] Alfred's Preface to his Translation of the Regula Pastoralis of Gregor. I. according to the MS. Hatton. 20, in the Bodleian Library, printed in Parker's and in Wise's editions of Asser.

between Rome and England; for the chief seat of Christendom never failed to send forth vital power, as the heart impels blood into all parts of the body.

The perilous effects of the ambition of Rome had frequently been felt in many continental countries. But she found it more difficult to extend her power in that distant island, where but little progress had been made by the Romish canons in opposition to the national elements, where the language of the country was still maintained in the services of the Church; where, since the first century after the conversion to Christianity, the clerical body had been entirely composed of natives, and where the strict edicts relative to celibacy were by no means rigidly observed. No Pope of the ninth century professed that absolute power in England which had long been exercised by Rome in other countries. Even a John VIII. appears to have had neither the leisure nor the wish, owing to his ceaseless efforts in Western and Eastern Europe, to occupy himself in the affairs of Britain. It was a fortunate circumstance for the Church of England that the intimate connexion between herself and Rome was the most zealously observed on her own side. Almost all the princes of Britain in regular succession visited St. Peter's, and their national seminary, the Saxon school, rose again from the flames, and formed a perpetual bond of union.

It is much to be regretted that no Italian authorities are extant, which would give us more accurate information concerning the efficacy of that institution, and throw light on the subject of the relations between the two powers. There is no evidence in the present day to support the notion that the Saxon school was, in the reign of Alfred, a tool of the papistical pretension. The faithful zeal of his forefathers was no less active in Alfred, but he had no desire, when bowed down by the weight of his position, to lay aside for ever all earthly cares at the miracle-working graves of the saints, as Ina had done, nor did he give himself up to devotion, like his father Ethelwulf, neglecting all things besides Yet the Pope was regarded by him also as the successor of the first of the apostles; he reverenced the relics of the saints, and believed their legends to be true; therefore, in the age in which he lived, he could not fail to be considered as a faithful Catholic Christian. Moreover, the deep impres-

sions which in his earliest youth were made upon him in Rome were not extinguished, and as soon as he had established peace at home, he commenced a systematic intercourse with the head of Christendom. The following accounts are given on this subject.

The Pope Martinus (882-884), soon after he ascended the papal throne, sent gifts to the Saxon king, amongst which was a piece of the holy cross; whereupon, in 883, Alfred despatched two of his nobles, Sighelm[1] and Athelstan, to make a return for these presents, by carrying his and his people's offerings to the Church of Rome. These were perhaps the very ambassadors who bore to the Pope the urgent entreaty of their king, that out of love for him, the Saxon school might be freed from all tributes and taxes, and it is affirmed that the benevolent Prince of the Church readily acceded to this request. Ethelwulf enjoined its fulfilment on his successors; this duty his sons now conscientiously discharged. But a still more weighty commission was entrusted to these two men. Rome was not the remotest part of the globe to which Alfred's labours in the cause of Christianity extended; he carried them still further. At a time when the Pagans were in possession of London (it is uncertain whether in 880 or even later), Alfred made a vow[2], that after their defeat and expulsion, he would send an embassy with rich gifts to the Christians of the far east, to the Churches in India, which were called by the names of the apostles Thomas and Bartholomew. If this had not been related by the contemporary Saxon Year-books, there might be some reason to doubt the whole narration, and to pronounce it a fable. But as Charlemagne had sent proofs of his magnificence and renown to the Caliph of Bagdad, to places which

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 884 and 885; Asser, p. 484; Ethelwerd, iv. 516; Florence, i. 99. The Chronicle is the most certain authority. It completely contradicts, with regard to Sighelm, the "Suithelmus episcopus," who, according to Florence, succeeded Asser at Sherborne in 883 (see Introduction, p. 5), and also the Bishop Sighelm, of Wilh. Malmesb. Gest. Pontif. Angl. ii. 248 (ed. Frankf. 1601.) The first name is not to be found in any of the genuine lists of the Bishops of Sherborne; the second, in the fourth place after Asser, Monumenta Hist. Brit. p. 560; n. d. Sighelm was minister regis in the year 875, according to the documents in Cod. Dipl. n. 307. Both ambassadors were probably distinguished laymen.

Chron. Sax. A. 883, and Henric. Huntingd. v. 740.

before had only existed in marvellous legends for the people of the west, so out of gratitude for his own deliverance, the most Christian king of his age desired to send messages of peace and friendly gifts to his brethren in the faith at the other extremity of the world. According to his own belief, and that of his contemporaries, the Apostle Thomas himself had once preached the gospel in India, and the Church established by him still existed, although environed and oppressed by heathens of all nations. An obscure account of the spread of their doctrines has been preserved from the earliest times by the western Christians[1], and confirms our present knowledge that the Mahometans, on their first arrival in the east, found there various Christian sects. But it is enough for us that Alfred's messengers journeyed from Rome into that remote country; they returned, and, "God be thanked," says the Chronicle, "they had been graciously enabled to fulfil the vow." They brought home perfumes and precious stones, as memorials of this wonderful journey, which were long preserved in the churches[2]. This was the first intercourse that took place between England and Hindostan. In the year 887, Athelhelm, Ealderman of Wilts, who has been before mentioned, carried to Rome the tributes and gifts of his sovereign and of the Saxon people[3]. In the following year, Beocca, also an ealderman, had a similar commission. He took charge of Ethelswitha, the widowed sister of Alfred, and last Queen of Mercia, who appears to have left her brother's court in order to proceed to Rome, and end her life in some holy place there; but the fatigues of the lengthened pilgrimage were too much for the feeble woman, who had long been bowed down by sorrow; before she reached Rome she died, at Padua, in 888[4]. In the next year no formal embassy went to Italy; only two couriers[5] were despatched with letters

[1] There is an Anglo-Saxon Vita Sti Thomae, in prose, in MS Cott. Calig. A. xiv., where, in the poem relating to him, the apostle is represented as being sent on a similar embassy with Andrew.

[2] Wilh. Malmesb. de Gest. Pontif. Angl. l. c., and de Reg. Angl. lib. ii. § 122; Matth. Westm. p. 333.

[3] Chron. Sax. Asser, Florence.

[4] Chron. Sax. 888; Ethelwerd, iv. 517; Flor. i. 108.

[5] Twegen hleaperas. Chron. Sax. A. 889.

from Alfred. In 890, Bernhelm, an abbot[1], was charged with the deliverance of the customary alms in the name of his king. It is evident from all the accounts which we possess, that this was done annually. No mention is made of a regular tithe; the tribute was voluntarily given, to obtain those advantages which the king and his subjects might derive from Rome. It is a remarkable and significant fact, that amongst the ambassadors to the Pope, only one, the last, appears to have been invested with ecclesiastical dignity; the king usually entrusted valuable and important commissions solely to his most confidential officers.

Two accounts may be mentioned here in reference to the intercourse with foreign countries, which was commenced or continued by Alfred, in ecclesiastical and religious affairs. Owing to their brevity and imperfect condition, they unfortunately give us only a vague idea of that remote period; but even with these disadvantages they are invaluable, because they are confirmed by contemporary authorities. Asser[2] mentions that he read the letters and saw the presents which were sent to his king by Abel, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. It appears by no means improbable that Sighelm and Athelstan, when they went to India, or on their return from thence, also visited, by Alfred's command, the land of promise and revelation; that they were gladly received by the patriarch, and dismissed to the far western island with a letter and with gifts to their king. This account is of importance in the history of the Church at Jerusalem, so little known before the commencement of the Crusades, as one of the rare traces of any intercourse between the Christian land of the west and the cradle of its faith.

The other notice relates to a neighbouring island, to Ireland, which had so gloriously distinguished itself at the first promulgation of Christianity, but which was now more entirely excluded from its history than Jerusalem; for the Celtic Church, after the separation of a century, would not again succumb to the doctrines nor the increasingly powerful

[1] Beornhelm abbad. Chron. Sax. A. 890.

[2] P. 492: Nam etiam de Hierosolyma Abel patriarchae epistolas et dona illi directas vidimus et legimus. Simeon Dunelm. copies from him; de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 684.

ascendency of Rome. At a time when Alfred, in unison with excellent fellow-labourers, was vigorously occupied in re-establishing his Church, and when his renown had traversed the sea, there suddenly appeared, in the year 891, on the coast of Cornwall, three Scotchmen, Dubslane, Macbeth, and Maclinmun. They had secretly left their country; the Christian faith was grievously on the decline there, and Swifneh (Subin[1]), the best teacher that had ever appeared amongst the Scots, was dead; from love to God they determined to go on a pilgrimage, they cared little whither. In a frail boat, patched together out of the hides of oxen, and provided with food for a week, they trusted themselves to a stormy sea, and did not land until the expiration of seven days. As soon as they left their miserable bark, they hastened to the King of the West Saxons, who undoubtedly received these Celtic sufferers with kindness, and when they laid before him their wish to continue their pilgrimage to Rome and to Jerusalem, he granted them his protection and assistance in their undertaking. Only one of them returned home; he perhaps was the bearer of Abel's letter[2].

The limited knowledge which we can gain from the few records of Alfred's intercourse with Rome and the rest of Christendom, increases our desire of becoming acquainted with those means by which, in a short period, he so raised the Church of his country from its state of total decay, as to gain for her and for himself a noble position in Europe. But no connected account of his proceedings has reached us, and we must endeavour to gather the wished-for information from incidental details. The history of all the West Saxon dioceses during this period is very obscure, yet from subsequent events it seems probable that the sees remained substantially the same, and only towards the west, where the German influence had still to advance, was there any progress made. The Saxon and Anglian bishoprics were all subordinate to the primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But the guidance of the chief pastor had become weak and inefficient; for during the assaults of the heathen, neither shepherd nor

[1] Vide Annales Cambriae and Brut. y Tywysogion in Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 836, 846.

[2] According to the Chron. Sax. A. 891, and Florent. Wig. i. 109. Ethelwerd iv. 517, only mentions the pilgrimage to Rome and the promised land, and its results.

flock had thought of anything but saving their own immediate possessions; and owing to this confusion, no council seems to have been held. The entire structure, weakened by age, threatened to fall beneath the storms which surrounded it, unless some skilful master-workman should appear, and repair it from its foundation. This then, as soon as he could attain peace and leisure, was Alfred's most peculiar care. We have already learnt from himself where the great deficiency lay, which had caused such a lamentable state of things; and those men whom the king selected to be his fellow-workers, were obliged to prepare themselves in the most effectual manner for this remedial task. That he chose four native Mercians for his first counsellors and assistants, is a remarkable confirmation of his own assertion, that some sparks of improvement and cultivation still lingered north of the Thames.

The zeal of Werfrith of Worcester in the government of his diocese has already been noticed; Alfred appears to have summoned him frequently into Wessex, to advance and discuss matters of general interest; two years before the king's death, Werfrith took part in an assembly at Celchyth[1]. He survived his king, and died about the middle of the reign of Edward, leaving behind him worthy memorials of his active exertions. The second notable Mercian was Plegmund, whom Alfred made primate at the death of Archbishop Athelred, in 890[2]. A later account states, that when the Danes took possession of his country, he fled from them into a lonely island in Cheshire, and lived there as a hermit, occupied in peaceful labours, until the King of Wessex made him the highest dignitary of his Church[3]. This eminent man had even more intimate access to Alfred than Werfrith; he straightway became his instructor in many matters[4]: that great undertaking, the advancement of the clergy and of the people to a higher degree of education, was doubtlessly placed under his superintendence. During Alfred's life, he had few opportunities of appearing in his position as a Prince of the Church, but under Edward he again took his place as a worthy successor of the former Archbishops of Canterbury;

[1] Cod. Diplom. n. 1074. [2] Asser, p. 487.

[3] Gervasius Dorobern. Acta Pontif. Cant. Twysden X. Scriptt. 1644.

[4] Pleimundus magister Elfredi regis. Wilh. Malmesb. de Gest. Pont. Angl. i. 200.

in one day he consecrated seven bishops; and in 903 he made a solemn journey to Rome in his official capacity. His death occurred in the year 923[1].

Ethelstan and Werewulf, also natives of Mercia, obeyed a summons into Wessex, where they acted as priests and chaplains in the immediate service of the king. There is no further information concerning them[2]. In Wessex itself Alfred found no individual fitted for his purpose, with the single exception of Denewulf, that child of nature, with whom, if tradition is to be believed, he became acquainted in so singular a manner in the wilds of Somersetshire. It is, however, historically certain, that on the death of Dunbert, in 879, Denewulf became Bishop of Winchester, and that he too lent vigorous assistance to the general work, and governed in his diocese until the beginning of Edward's reign[3]. The remaining bishops whose names are known, were Swithulf of Rochester, Ealheard of Dorchester, Wulfsig of Sherborne, Eahstan of London[4], and a Bishop Esne, whose see is not mentioned[5].

But the island did not possess sufficient internal resources to establish so great a work as that which Alfred had in contemplation. He himself exclaimed sorrowfully, that learning must now be sought for out of the country; and accordingly he sent messengers into Franconia, where, in the German and Romish provinces, many monasteries had become distinguished for the diligent study carried on within them, under the direction of efficient men. Amongst them he hoped to obtain a teacher for his establishments. He was successful in finding one in the priest and monk Grimbald, who was a most excellent singer, particularly skilful in ecclesiastical discipline, and adorned with every good qualification[6]. In all probability, he was a brother in the Flemish convent of St. Omer, and having gained the permission of his superiors, especially of the Archbishop Fulco of Rheims, he readily agreed to go to Wessex. The account is much less

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 923. [2] Asser, p. 87.
[3] Florent. Wigorn, edited by Thorpe, i. 97. Cod. Diplom. n. 1085-1087.
[4] Chron. Sax. A. 897-898.
[5] Aelfr. Testam. ap. Kemble, Cod. Diplom. n. 314.
[6] Venerabilem videlicet virum, cantatorem optimum et omni modo ecclesiasticis disciplinis et in divina scriptura eruditissimum et omnibus bonis morlbus ornatum. Asser, a. a. O.

certain that Grimbald was already provost of that convent when Alfred made a pilgrimage to Rome with his father; at that time he received his distinguished guests with much kindness, and by his merit made a lasting impression on the mind of the king's son, whose old and favourite wish was at length gratified, when, at his entreaty, the abbot and the brothers of St. Omer permitted their provost to depart for England[1]. Alfred likewise obtained a German monk, a man of acute intellect, John, the old Saxon, probably from the monastery of Corbei[2]. He and the Fleming were accompanied by a number of priests, to assist them in arranging new convents, and in imparting instruction. The similarity of name, and perhaps an expression of Asser's, gave rise, at a former period, to the Saxon being confounded with the celebrated John Erigena, the father of the Realists; and this confusion has caused historians to mistake one for the other, or even to represent both of them as residing at the same time in Alfred's court; but there is no sufficient evidence of the presence of the Irishman in England then; his history is connected with the person and court of Charles the Bald, and of the Archbishop Hincmar[3]. Grimbald and John were Alfred's mass priests, and in full activity at the completion of his translation of Gregory's "Pastoral Care," as he mentions them with high praise in the preface, composed after the year 890.

At length Alfred obtained the services of that man whose narration, as far as possible, we have hitherto followed. The only account we have of Asser is given by himself, and as he describes his first meeting with Alfred very minutely, it may not be deemed undesirable to give his own words, in which many interesting details of the king's character are contained. "About this time" (he writes of the year 884)

[1] Mabillon, Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened. Sec. IV. ii. 511; Wilh. Malmesb. lib. ii. § 122. It is difficult to believe in the authenticity of Archbishop Fulco's letter to Alfred, given in Wise's Asser, p. 123-129, from a MS. in Winchester. The rest is to be found in a Cottonian manuscript extracted in the Monasticon Anglicanum, ii. 435, new edition.

[2] Asser, p. 487, 493; Mabillon, ii. 509.

[3] Asser calls his John "acerrimi ingenii virum," and thus Ingulph. p. 470, and Malmesb. ii. § 122, easily confound him with the Dialectician. The account of the attack is very similar in Asser and Malmesbury.

"I came into Saxony from the extreme limits of Western Britain, summoned by the king. After I had set out, I arrived, through many wide-intervening ways, in the country of the South Saxons, which is called in Saxon, Suthseaxe (Sussex), guided by some of that nation. There I first saw him in the royal vill called Dene[1]. After being kindly received by him, in the course of conversation, he urgently entreated me to devote myself to his service, to give myself wholly up to him, and for his love to relinquish all my possessions on the other side of the Severn; he promised to compensate me richly, as he actually did. However, I answered that I could not immediately consent without consideration, whilst it did not seem to me right to forsake those holy places in which I had been brought up, educated, and consecrated, for the sake of earthly honour and power, unless I were compelled to do so. Upon this he said: 'If you cannot venture so far, at least grant me the half of your service: live six months with me, and the same time in Wales.' But I replied that I could not directly promise even this without the approbation of my friends. But when I perceived how much he seemed to desire my service (although I could not tell why), I agreed to return to him at the end of six months, if I continued well, with such an answer as should be advantageous to me and mine, and agreeable to him. He declared that he was satisfied with this, and when I had given my word to be with him again at the appointed time, we left him on the fourth day and rode homewards. But soon after we had parted from him, a dreadful fever attacked me at Winchester, where, for more than a year, I hovered day and night between life and death. I could not, therefore, go to him as I had promised at the time fixed, and he sent messengers to hasten my journey and inquire the reasons for my delay. As I was unable to go, I sent another messenger to inform him of the cause, and to assure him that as soon as I recovered I would fulfil my promise. When the sickness left me, all my friends agreed to my promise for the sake of benefiting our sanctuary and all its inmates, and I devoted myself to the king's service, stipulating that I should tarry with him six months in every year, either six consecutively, or alternately three in Wales and three in Saxony, so that

[1] There is a West and an East Dean near Chichester.

this condition was in this respect also serviceable to the Cathedral of St. David[1]."

According to this, Asser was by birth a Welshman, and had been brought up and ordained a monk in the monastery of St. David, which at that time suffered much from the violence of King Hemeid, who once drove out all the inmates of the convent, with the Archbishop Novis, a relation of Asser, and Asser himself. Thus, when Asser was allowed to have friendly intercourse with the mighty Saxon king, he could not do otherwise than turn it to the profit of his monastery and his native land. He continues: "When I returned to him at the royal vill called Leonaford, I was honourably received by him, and remained with him six months from that time at his court," busily occupied in various matters, and munificently rewarded, as will be seen hereafter.

These were the same men whom, in the years immediately succeeding the deliverance of the country, Alfred placed in supreme authority over all affairs relating to churches and schools: they appear to have acted in the most beautiful mutual harmony. The archbishop and the two bishops, it may be presumed, took charge of the Church in their own dioceses; to the foreigners their proper duties were assigned. Scarcely one convent in Wessex could have survived the years of war; the regulations had in every place become lax, either on account of the attacks of the Danes, or because the people could not resolve to exchange the abundance of worldly riches for a needy conventual life. Besides, it appears that in earlier times the Saxons were much less favourably disposed towards monastic establishments than their English neighbours[2], for before the reign of Alfred very little notice is to be found of any ecclesiastical foundation of the kind. But the earnest, indefatigable king had long known that all instruction and improvement in knowledge

[1] Asser, p. 487-488. The latter sentence is merely guessed at, the original is perfectly unintelligible: "Et illa (conditione?) adjuvaretur per rudimenta Sancta Degni, in omni causa, tamen pro viribus." The name of the church is also mutilated. But the account is entirely characteristic of Asser, Who, to carry on a fraud in his name, would take the trouble to add to "ad regionem dextralium Saxonum," "quae Saxonice Suthseaxum appellatur?" No one but Asser, the Monk of St. David, wrote thus.

[2] Quia per multa retroacta annorum curricula monasticae vitae desiderium ab illa tota gente, nec non et a multis aliis gentibus funditis desierat. Asser, p. 493.

were cherished in them. He promoted with the greatest zeal the restoration of old monasteries, and the erection of new ones. The superintendence of them was undertaken by learned monks from abroad, and those priests and friars whom they directed, formed the body of those congregations in which the children of the land were to be brought up. The establishments prospered, and were followed by schools, in which instruction was given in reading and writing, in the mother tongue and in Latin, and above all, in the books and doctrines of the Christian religion.

The following accounts relate to these foundations of the king, and the men by whom their offices were held. At Winchester, latterly the chief city of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, the new monastery (Newminster, Hyde Abbey) was founded, and Grimbald was appointed abbot of the same[1]. Alfred could not complete this establishment in his lifetime, having planned it on a much larger scale than any other. His son finished it, in memory of his father, by whom it had been commenced, and in the former part of the following century it attained great importance. From gratitude towards God, and in remembrance of his deliverance from great danger, Alfred caused a convent for monks to be built upon Athelney, where he had once been obliged to make a stronghold, with a few faithful adherents, although there were many difficulties arising from the thickets and marshes, which rendered the island almost inaccessible. John, the old Saxon, was placed there as abbot, with a small number of Frankish monks, who resolved to dwell together in the desert, devoted to the service of God and the instruction of themselves and others[2].

Even amongst the children who went thither to be taught and educated for priests and monks, there were a great many foreigners; Asser himself had seen a youth of heathen, perhaps of Danish birth, who afterwards adopted the monastic habit[3]. The universal dislike of the Saxons for

[1] Wilh. Malmesb. lib. ii. § 122; Ingulph. p. 870; Monastic. Anglic. ii. 437, ff.

[2] Wilh. Malmesb. Gest. Pontif. Angl. ii. 255, says of the monks in Athelney, in the twelfth century: "Sunt pauci numero et pauperes, sed qui egestatem suam quietis et solitudinis amore vel magni pendant vel consolentur."

[3] Unum paganicae gentis, juvenem admodum vidimus, non ultimum scilicet eorum, p. 490.

monachism, but more particularly the seclusion of Athelney, prevented this place from ever attaining great prosperity. Perhaps, too, the wicked attack which was made upon the life of John the Abbot, which Asser has so copiously detailed from the account of an eye-witness[1], might have been another cause of its unpopularity. A certain number of the Frankish monks had conspired against their superior; two of them, armed, crept after him into the church, when he retired there at night to pray alone, insidiously intending to murder him. But he heard the sound made by the first movement of the murderers, and not being ignorant of the use of arms, the powerful Saxon defended himself until the brothers came to his assistance. Although severely wounded, he escaped with his life, and the villains were afterwards justly punished. So scandalous an event was sufficient to damage the good cause seriously, and indeed it gave a severe check to the establishment of foreign priests in English cloisters.

Nevertheless Asser, the scholar of St. David's, was called upon to exert himself in the organization of monasteries and their schools. We will return to his own words on this topic: at the expiration of the eight months, he says, "After I had frequently asked his (the king's) permission to depart, which permission, however, I could not obtain, and had at length resolved to demand it, he sent for me on Christmas eve[2], and delivered to me two letters, which contained lists of the possessions of two monasteries, called in Saxon Amgresbyri[3] and Banwille. These two convents he gave to me from that day, with all appertaining to them, and with them a costly silk pallium and a man's load of incense, with words to this effect: he did not give me so little now because he was unwilling to give me still more at a future time. And on a later occasion, and quite unexpectedly, he conferred upon me Exeter, with all the parishes belonging to it in Wessex and Cornwall. And then I received permission to make a journey to these convents, which were richly endowed with valuable estates, and from thence, homeward[4]."

We cannot venture to judge from this that Asser was

[1] Ut audivimus de eo a quibusdam referentibus. [2] Probably, in 886.
[3] Called in one MS. Cungresbury, a place near Banwell, in Somerset.
[4] Asser, p. 488, 489.

so munificently rewarded merely on account of his learned services as the king's teacher, he also took an important part in the practical exercise of his teachings, and from his promotion to the office of abbot, and even bishop, he was linked for ever to Alfred and his country.

It is certain that he became a bishop, but the time when this took place, as well as the diocese in which he was established, is less clear. It is mentioned by our authorities in the following manner: The king's own expression, in his Preface to the "Pastoral Care," is indisputable: he there alludes to his Bishop Asser[1], with whose assistance he completed the translation of the book. Besides, a number of documents from the year 901 to 909 were signed by Bishop Asser, giving no clue, unfortunately, to his diocese[2]: at last, in the collected manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Year-books, we find that Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, died in the year 910. According to this, the old West Saxon bishopric was conferred upon him by his king; but elsewhere, until the beginning of the tenth century, we meet with Bishop Wulfsige of Sherborne, who, as well as Asser, might have been included amongst the unmentioned bishops in Alfred's will[3]. Nothing remains then but to take it for granted, that after the death of Alfred, in the first year of Edward I., Asser succeeded to the diocese, and thereupon took up his final residence in Wessex. His own account by no means contradicts this, in which he asserts that Alfred gave him Exeter, with a parochial district (he expressly says, not diocese) in Cornwall and Wessex. He here presided over districts for which, as a Briton, he was peculiarly adapted, and over those Saxon parishes which, only lately arranged, passed over with their bishop to Sherborne, after the death of Wulfsige[4]. The certainty that Exeter was first raised to a bishopric under Edward the Confessor, cannot be affected by this view of the matter; the loose political connexion of the state with the

[1] Æt Assere minum biscepe.

[2] Kemble, Cod. Diplom. No. 335, 337, 1076, 1077, 1082, 1085, 1087.

[3] Dam (bisceope) æt Scireburnam; in the Latin text, et Assero de Shireburn.

[4] I entirely agree here with the reasons given by Lingard, History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, ii. 420, 428, ed. ii., for differing with Wright, Biogr. Brit. Lit. p. 405, ff.

Celtic subjects by no means admitted of unity in Church government, although the endeavour to restore such union had not ceased. Thus it is quite clear, that in addition to his labours in the court, Asser took an active part in the management of churches and monasteries. But there is still something to be added to the history of the latter. Unquestionably, women feel much more inclination than men to renounce the world, and take upon them monastic vows. For a long period nunneries had already existed in Wessex, like that at Wareham, on the south coast. Two new ones were now established, which were in existence until their final abolishment, at the time of the Reformation. At Shaftesbury, in Dorset, "at the south gate," Alfred founded a house for nuns, perhaps in the year 887; and having endowed it, as well as the convent at Winchester, with rich benefices, he placed his second daughter Ethelgiva in it as abbess, and many noble ladies entered with her. The king's daughter, whose health was infirm (she was probably deformed or lame), had chosen this mode of life in a believing spirit, and was consecrated to the Church in her early youth[1]: and Alfred's wife, Elswitha, for her soul's salvation, dedicated a nunnery to the Virgin Mary at Winchester, where she might retreat after the death of her husband, and end her days[2]. Ethelred and Ethelfleda manifested equal zeal in Mercia; they founded the monastery of St. Peter at Gloucester, endowed it with costly gifts, and placed there the relics of the holy King Oswald[3].

After having thus collected the historical facts, a glance must be given to the high moral purpose which our Alfred kept constantly in view in all those appointments and regulations, and which we have placed above all others in treating this subject. His clergy were once more raised from their degraded condition, and by means of instruction and knowledge a new and better life was infused into the Church. But

[1] Besides, Asser, p. 485, 495, the document of the establishment, Registrum de Shaftesbury. Kemble, n. 310, where it is said: "And mine dochte Angelyne for panne hie was on broken ihadod;" this is signed by Apered Arcebisceop as witness. Florence and Simeon mention the foundation in the year 887; v Monast. Anglic. ii. 471, ff.

[2] Monast. Anglic. ii. 451, from the remaining annals of the establishment.

[3] Wilh. Malmesb. de Gest. Pontif. iv. 283.

he likewise desired that the rest of the people might have a share in instruction, that his whole kingdom might advance in civilisation and morality. That was the extensive sphere of action to which he appointed men like Asser and Plegmund. With such an object he did not scruple to introduce these foreigners. In the churches and convent schools their labours commenced, sometimes under the most unfavourable circumstances; but their results became evident in the next ten years, when under Alfred's immediate successor the West Saxon clergy took a much higher position in education than they had ever done before.

But in the present day nothing increases our pleasure more than when we read that Alfred acted with the same noble spirit, and in conjunction with his coadjutors, for the mental advantage of the laity. The king's own words, in his celebrated preface, most clearly confirm this. His wish is, "that all the freeborn youth of his people, who possess the means, may persevere in learning, so long as they have no other affairs to prosecute, until they can perfectly read the English Scriptures, and such as desire to devote themselves to the service of the Church may be taught Latin[1]." Golden words, such as have been seldom uttered, by a great man of the middle ages; and only in much later days, with equal force by the Reformers of the Church. As the most beautiful fulfilment and realisation of this wish, Asser relates in what manner the king commenced the work in his own family. He gave his children that complete education, the want of which he so painfully felt in his own case. His youngest son Ethelwerd, who in particular showed great talent for intellectual pursuits, was entrusted to the care of experienced teachers, with almost all the children of the nobility, and many who were not noble. The sons of the members of the royal household, whom he loved no less than his own, he caused to be taught with great care, and was himself very frequently present during their instruction. In this school[2] they eagerly

[1] Dæt eall sio giognð ðe nû is on angelcynne friora monna ðara ðe ða speda hæbben. ðæt hie dæm befeolan mægen sien to liornunga oðfæste, ða hwile ðe hie to nanre oðerre note ne mægen oð ðone first ðe hie wel cunnen engliisc gewrit arædan. lære mon siððan furður ôn læden geðiode ða ðe mon furðor læran wille. and to hieran hade dôn wille. MS. Hatton. 20.

[2] Asser, p. 485: Cum omnibus pène totius regionis nobilibus infantibus, et

learnt to read, and even to write Latin and Saxon; so that before they were old enough to take part in hunting and other manly exercises, such as are suitable and honourable for noblemen, they were fully instructed in the liberal arts. Edward, his eldest son, and Ethelswitha, his daughter, always remained at court, under the charge of their attendants and nurses, and were highly esteemed by every one, natives and foreigners, on account of their affability and gentleness, and subjection to their father, "in which," Asser writes, "they continue to this day. Besides their other employments, they also pursue in their leisure hours the study of the liberal sciences; they have learned the Psalms, Saxon books, especially Saxon poems, and they read very frequently."

A regular establishment was also formed in Alfred's court, where, in the constant occupation of teaching and learning, great blessings accrued to his family and subjects. Even those who were destined to rule in future, and who, in accordance with the customs of the age, were more disposed to cultivate their bodily than their mental powers, participated to a certain extent in the instruction, and became in particular well acquainted with the poetry of their native land. With touching envy the untaught old looked upon the more fortunate young; and those judges and officers who had been so severely censured by the king for their ignorance, and who found learning to read too difficult a task, caused their sons and relations, or their freedmen or servants, who had been taught at school, to read night and day from books, and to recite their contents; whilst they themselves lamented heartily their own neglected childhood, and extolled the superior advantages of the youth of the present times[1].

What pure happiness must have been felt by the great king, when he witnessed such progress amongst his own children, and the larger portion of his youthful subjects! How vast was the improvement now in the country south of the Thames, compared with its state in the comfortless period when he began to reign!

etiam multis ignobilibus, sub diligenti magistrorum cura traditus est, in qua schola, etc.; p. 486: et literis imbuere solus die noctuque inter caetera non desinebat.

[1] Suspirantes nimium intima mente dolebant, eo quod in juventute sua talibus studiis non studuerint, felices arbitrantes hujus temporis juvenes, etc. Asser, p. 497 (in conclusion).

SUPPLEMENT TO SECTION V.

The idea of attributing the establishment of a university to Alfred, of whom so many incorrect assertions have been made, could only have originated with persons totally unaccustomed to critical reflection, and living at a much later date, and in an age of mere pretension to learning. A visit which Queen Elizabeth paid to the University of Cambridge, in the year 1564, gave occasion to an inventive orator to boast of the superior antiquity of this institution to that of Oxford, in a clever Latin oration. Upon this there ensued, between the two seats of scholastic wisdom in England, a dispute which was carried on through many decennia with the greatest obstinacy. The most absurd arguments were used on both sides, in order to establish the dates of their respective establishments, and to bring them as near as possible to the arrival of the Saxons, the development of Christianity amongst the Britons, and even to the Deluge. An edition of Asser, which was compiled in 1603, from a prepared manuscript in the possession of the celebrated historian Camden, aimed to destroy the proofs brought forward by the learned men of Cambridge. In this book is to be found a detailed account of the serious discord which arose in 886 at Oxford, between Grimbald and the old scholars whom he had found there on his arrival, and who refused to conform to his new foreign regulations. This strife had lasted for three years, when Alfred himself went to Oxford to appease it. The adversaries of Grimbald had represented to him, and endeavoured to prove from ancient annals, that although their institution had certainly lost somewhat of its importance owing to the oppressions of later days, it had flourished for centuries by means of its acts and institutes; and that Gildas, Melkinus, Nennius, Kentigern, and others, had there studied pious literature, and that even Saint Germanus had remained there for half a year. Alfred succeeded in pacifying the quarrel, and Grimbald indignantly returned to his monastery at Winchester[1]. So far this genuine Oxford invention, in which we perceive not only the endeavour to nullify the assertion of its

[1] The well-known paragraph in Asser, p. 489, 490. Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, book v. chap. vi. n. 42.

opponents, but also that spirit so characteristic of the place in all ages, the propensity to decry everything foreign.

But Archbishop Parker, the well-known scholar and benefactor of Cambridge, had already, in 1574, caused the first edition of Asser to be printed, in which this suspicious narration was not to be found. No other manuscript of the Biography, not even the oldest, which was then still uninjured, contained a trace of it. Whether Camden allowed himself to be misled by so manifest an invention, is doubtful. Nothing but an infatuated desire of supporting ridiculous assertions could have so far carried away the Oxford scholars, as to make them perpetuate such a fallacy.

Having once accepted fabulous evidence, it was an easy step to bring to the assistance of their theory confirmations from sources familiar to the people, namely, the Legends of the Saints. Not only was Grimbald asserted to have been professor at Oxford, in the days of Alfred, but St. Neot, that pretended kinsman and pious admonisher of the afflicted king, was likewise made to contribute in an especial manner, by his counsels, to the foundation of schools in Oxford[1].

I have purposely hesitated about bringing so purely mythical a personage into the narration of Alfred's life, but on some accounts he deserves to be briefly noticed.

There are several Biographies of St. Neot, some in Latin, one (MS. Cotton. Vespasian D. xiv.) in very good Saxon. The original manuscript must have belonged to the tenth century, when Alfred's deeds and experiences, which are there mentioned, had already been formed into traditions by the islanders. The saint is of course the principal person, but as the great king, who had been dead for more than the age of man, was his contemporary and relation, he was also drawn into the circle of tradition.

The saint is called "Neotus, qui erat cognatus suus," in a suspicious article in the false Annals of Asser, omitted in the Vita. Several manuscripts of legends do not hesitate to call him a son of Ethelwulf, and consequently Alfred's brother.

I do not wish to deny that Alfred in his earlier years may have been connected with this saint, who lived in the south-west of England, and unquestionably flourished about the

[1] J. Brompton, Chronicon ap. Twysden, X. Scriptt. p. 814.

middle of the ninth century, and that he may have taken advice from him, and generally held him in high estimation[1]. It is also probable that St. Neot, the day of whose death is noticed in the calendar on the 31st July, was already dead in the year 877, when, according to the legend, he appeared to the king in a dream at Athelney. In all the authorities adduced, the assertion, that the closest blood-relationship existed between the two, rests on a very slight foundation, and it can scarcely be credited that, in modern times, a man who has gained for himself much merit as an English historian, can go even further than the monks of the tenth and eleventh centuries in identifying this saint with Alfred's half-brother, Athelstan, King of Kent, of whom nothing is known after the year 851.

John Whitaker, in his book, which appeared in 1809[2], zealously endeavours to support this opinion. According to him, the King of Kent, after bravely fighting against the Danes, and being unable to save his country, renounced the glories and sufferings of the world, became a monk, and in this character diligently studied the Scriptures in solitude, and occupied himself zealously with pious devotions.

A conjecture like this, which selects the highest and best individuals, and blends them one with another at its own discretion, cannot be of much value, and it was very easy to refute such arbitrary decisions by a somewhat more profound comparison of the Legend of St. Neot with general history[3]. Nevertheless, we find in the notorious "Tracts for the Times," by means of which the later movements from Oxford to Rome have been facilitated, a popular Life of St. Neot, composed by a very skilful hand, in which a romantic account is given of the transformation of King Athelstan into a saint, on the battle-field upon the sea-shore, amongst the corpses of the slaughtered Danes. It is sad that tales of such late

[1] Ingulph. p. 870, says: Rex Alfredus sanctorum pedibus accliris et subditus S. Neotum in summa veneratione habebat.

[2] The Life of St. Neot, p. 69-87.

[3] This was first done by Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, book v. chap. v., and in a book by Gorham, the History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neot's, in Huntingdonshire, ii. 1820-1824, which treats circumstantially of the saint, and the later reverence paid to him, and in which also the Saxon Vita is printed. Amongst other things, Gorham refers to the absurd assertions of the Oxford professor, i. 41-43.

origin should be diffused intentionally amongst the people, with a view to their religious instruction.

Those early ages were prolific in romantic fictions, founded in some degree on fact. By way of contrast to the foregoing, I will here add an anecdote connected with Alfred, for which I could find no other place in the book.

John of Tynemouth, a collector of anecdotes in the fourteenth century, who likewise wrote a Life of St. Neot, relates the following poetical incident[1]:

One day, when Alfred was hunting in the forest, he heard the cry of an infant, which appeared to come from a tree. He despatched his huntsmen to seek for the voice. They climbed the tree, and found on the top, in an eagle's nest, a wondrously beautiful child, clothed in purple, and with golden bracelets on its arms. The king commanded that it should be cared for, baptised, and well educated. In remembrance of the singular discovery, he caused it to be named Nestingus[2]. It was added, that the great-granddaughter of this foundling was one of the ladies of whom King Edgar was passionately enamoured.

VI.

ALFRED AS AN AUTHOR, AND THE INSTRUCTOR OF HIS PEOPLE IN ALL KINDS OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

In the foregoing pages we have endeavoured to depict the noble zeal which animated the king in his efforts to advance the political and social well-being of his people. He did not strive to repair the ruins around him by general measures only, but also by directing his attention to many individual details of reform and improvement, and thus, aided by the most unwearied energy, he attained success. When we consider this, an involuntary wish arises to penetrate into the inmost workings of the spirit of that monarch who was actuated by such pure moral ideas in an age so proportionably rude, and who sought to make those ideas the motive powers

[1] Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, i. 256, ed. i. from the Historia Aurea of John Tinemuth. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. lib. 21. cap. 117.

[2] J. Grimm, in his History of the German Language, gives many other equally interesting passages, from which numerous charming tales have originated.

of all his actions. It seemed desirable on many grounds to give precedence to the foregoing inquiry into the operation of Alfred's strenuous efforts to re-establish Church and State, especially as by so doing the thread of chronology is not broken, and we can begin to consider the mental culture of the king, at a period when he found leisure time to advance it, not only by receiving but by imparting knowledge. It appears from numerous authorities that Alfred did not give himself up to literary pursuits until he provided for the public weal in the fullest manner, and his industry as an author was displayed in the second half of that interval during which the struggle with the national foe was at rest.

In considering his eager thirst for knowledge and his persevering efforts in its attainment, we must bear in mind the circumstances already related, from which these mainly proceeded: they were the love for the national poetry which as an infant he imbibed at his mother's breast, and his journeys to Rome, undertaken indeed in his earliest youth, but the impressions of which were never effaced in his manhood; a dim remembrance of the heroes and glories of the ancient world always lived in his mind, and did not fail to give a beneficial colouring to his strong national feelings. It seems as if there already existed in Alfred that blending of the two elements, which in after times, when in an advanced state of intelligence an acquaintance with the works of antiquity was again cultivated, raised many a great man to high renown.

His decided taste for the history of foreign nations and of the condition of distant countries, as well as his desire of becoming acquainted with them by observation, are at least rare developments of the Germanic nature in those days, and can only in some measure be accounted for by his having attained a knowledge of that place where, amidst the rubbish of many centuries, some sparks of the ancient glory still glimmered. The old times had long disappeared; classic purity in literature and art, previously on the decline, had already succumbed before the invasion of wild, uncultured strength; yet still there remained enough of it in the ruins of the temples and palaces of eternal Rome, and in passages from former authors in the true Church, to fill a spiritually minded prince of German descent with reverential astonishment, and

breathe into his soul a longing to peruse for himself the relics of greatness in the writings of the ancients, and to enable his subjects to become acquainted with them. Alfred resolved to devote himself to this work, which belonged of right to the Romish Church, but which she either unconsciously or designedly neglected.

On the other hand, his innate love for the old poetry of his nation manifested itself throughout the whole of his life. He was a German, and the influence of his descent was far stronger than that which ancient Rome exercised over him. Those powerful German songs which the boy had received as a lasting gift from his beloved mother, often rang in his ears during the vicissitudes of his chequered career. The youth passionately following the chase, rejoiced in the gigantic images of his traditionary ancestors, of whom poets sung in all lands from the Danube to the Rhine, from the Appennines to his own island; the king, in the most troubled hours of his sovereignty, strengthened and confirmed his anxious heart by the examples of patient endurance which this poetry revealed to him; and the father caused his own and his people's children to learn betimes those poetical treasures with which he constantly consoled himself. We are assured of this by repeated accounts in his Biography[1]. What traditions at that time were familiar to him and to his people can be gathered even at this day, without much difficulty, from the fragments of Anglo-Saxon poetry which remain to us; they belonged, without doubt, to the great epic cycle which was the common property of all the Germanic races. This is shown by the poems of Beowulf, the God-descended hero, who fought with monsters of all kinds, but lived in harmony with all heroic natures, as appears in the Niebelungen and in the songs of the Edda. It is also shown in the poems of the wandering minstrels, who, at the courts of Hermanric the Goth, Audoin the Lombard, and in short, wherever the German tongue was spoken, sung to their audience the deeds of their heroic ancestors, and received therefore golden gifts[2]. In the small fragment entitled "The Battle at Finnesbury" appears Hengist, the Mythic Warrior; and judging from the received tables of descent of the West

[1] Asser, p. 473, 485, 497. [2] W. Grimm, Deutsche Heldensage, p. 13-20.

Saxons and their kindred neighbours, it seems most probable that the vague accounts of the acts and deeds of celebrated men which we possess, once resounded from the lips of the wandering Scalds, and even in Alfred's day were living only in song. The origin of Christian Anglo-Saxon poetry, on the contrary, is chiefly to be ascribed to the impulse and direction which Alfred and his age gave to the nation, and it only began to flourish after the death of that great monarch.

In order to satisfy the desire of knowledge which had animated him from his earliest youth, the man was obliged to exercise childlike humility, and take the position of a scholar at an advanced age. We know that his thirst for learning was not appeased in his youthful days, and he found no leisure in time of war. But his powerful mind never relinquished the hope of winning back the lost opportunity, and at the period of which we now speak, his long-cherished resolve was crowned with success. Before he became acquainted with Asser, he had already endeavoured to benefit by the wisdom and learning of his bishops; he caused one of them to read to him at every leisure moment, so that one must have always been within call, and in this manner he mastered many books before he was able to read them for himself[1]. He may already in his youth have learnt to read his mother tongue, but he was grown to manhood before he acquired the knowledge of Latin, and with regard to writing, did not much outstrip Charlemagne, who, with his hand so accustomed to the sword, made but small progress in that art. As a skilful master had never presided over Alfred's education, the self-instruction to which he was obliged to have recourse must have been exceedingly tiresome, and nothing could have been more difficult to him than the acquisition of the mechanical art of writing. It is also uncertain when he first mastered it, and whether that prayer-book which he always carried in his bosom, and out of which the king, in the days when all seemed lost, derived consolation, was copied by his own hand. But the taste for collecting, compiling, and preserving, seemed to have been born with him; and if he himself was not able to do it, he employed some one else who could, to transcribe first the services of the

[1] Asser, p. 487.

hours, also some psalms and many prayers[1]. When in later times he selected the faithful Asser as his teacher, all the leaves of the book were already filled. The narration is as follows:

Asser, after his recovery as we have already mentioned, began his labours with the king at Leonaford, probably in the year 885. He remained at court for eight months, and this long period must have been invaluable to his pupil so desirous of knowledge; for from the first rudiments of education with which he may have been but imperfectly acquainted, he advanced to the study of works which were considered as very learned in that age. He was desirous of mastering all the literary resources which were at his command. His biographer relates, that during this residence at Leonaford, he read to the king all the books that he desired, and that could be procured[2]; for the habit had become a second nature to him, amidst all his bodily and mental sufferings, either himself to read books, or to listen whilst others read them. But the presence of so congenial a companion gave rise to a mutual interchange of ideas, and the active-minded king knew how to draw no small advantage from this intellectual conversation. "As we were both one day sitting in the royal chamber," says Asser[3], "and were conversing as was our wont, it chanced that I recited to him a passage out of a certain book. After he had listened with fixed attention, and expressed great delight, he showed me the little book which he always carefully carried about with him, and in which the daily lessons, psalms, and prayers, were written, and begged me to transcribe that passage into his book." Asser, secretly thanking Heaven for the love of wisdom that was so active in the king's heart, joyfully assented; he was already prepared to begin his writing, when every corner of the book was found to be occupied, for Alfred had written many things of all kinds therein[4]. Asser hesitated, the king became urgent; Asser then inquired, "Will it please you that

[1] Asser, p. 474: "Celebrationes horarum, ac deinde psalmos quosdam et orationes multas."

[2] Asser, p. 488: "Recitavi illi libros quoscunque ille vellet et quos ad manum haberemus."

[3] Asser, p. 491.

[4] Erat enim omnino multis ex causis refertus.

I transcribe this passage on a detached leaf? We cannot tell whether we shall not meet with more similar passages which you may like; if this should happen, we shall be glad to have already made a separate collection of them." "That is a good thought," he answered. Asser directly arranged a fresh sheet, and wrote the passage in the beginning. He had rightly guessed what the king would do, for on the same day he caused him to enter three more quotations. This book also was soon filled with those quotations from their daily conversations, which the king wished to impress firmly on his memory. The activity of Alfred equalled that of the bee, which flies from flower to flower, occupied in bearing their sweet products to its well-stored cells.

It is evident that Alfred's industry was chiefly limited to compiling, and his learning was of the same character. He gained information himself, and laid up at the same time a store of knowledge for himself and for his people. It is only on this theory that we can explain the assertion which is made by his biographers, and which has no other authority, that on the same day when the above quotation was made (it was apparently on St. Martin's-day, November 11th[1]), the king began to study and translate into Saxon, with the desire of being able to instruct others. This short account gives a lively picture of the origin, progress, and aim of his studies. It does not indeed tell us how quickly the king learnt Latin, but that he did master it his works which we possess abundantly testify.

From a scholar he soon became an author, and this sphere of activity was commenced by the common-place book which Asser had begun, and which had been destined by Alfred for his own private use, that he might learn the passages contained in it, and thus profitably employ his time. The writings of the masters which he thus perused furnished rich material for annotation, so that in a short time the book grew to the size of a Psalter; and because he always wished to have it at hand day and night, he named it his "Manual[2]."

[1] Asser, p. 492: "In venerabili Martini solemnitate." This occurrence is related indeed in the year 887, shortly after the last annalistic portion of the work, and at the beginning of the last and longest episode. According to p. 488, Asser came to Leonaford in the year 885, and directly began his instruction.

[2] Asser, p. 492: Quem Enchiridion suum, id est manualem librum nominat

Among the manuscript treasures of Saxon England it is unfortunately useless to seek for a single entire copy of this book, which, up to the middle of the twelfth century, must have been quite commonly known. But from the fragments of it that have descended to us through William the Monk of Malmesbury, it must have comprised, besides a collection from the Latin authors, many notes in the king's own hand, relating to the early history of his people, and probably, too, of his own family. Only very few of these invaluable relics remain, and how many important observations may have been lost with this private book[1]! From the historical notices it contained, we may style it Alfred's only original work; but although all the rest of his with which we are acquainted consist of translations, they are executed with such peculiar freedom as almost to merit the title of original.

Among the translations from the ancients, the principal one is the celebrated "Consolations" of Boethius. It is well known in what high estimation this work of the last Roman poet and philosopher was held in the middle ages. It was a monument of didactic writing, in which, with much talent, and not without artistic beauty, the little that remained of classic style under the sovereignty of the Goths was blended with the progressive Christian spirit belonging to a new epoch. In the misery and solitude of a fearful dungeon, into which he had been flung by the powerful arm of a wrathful Goth, the Roman consoled himself with reproducing the lessons of wisdom. Here, after the old Roman manner,

voluit, eo quod ad manum illum die noctuque solertissime habebat." From the subsequent narration of Asser we must conclude that that Manual was not identical with the Book of Prayers. Wright, Biogr. Brit. Lit. i. 395, considers the two as one work, and says that it contained "prayers and psalms and his daily observations." Nothing is anywhere said of the latter, and the author is perhaps careless enough to translate Asser's "Orationes" by "Observations."

[1] Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 123. Liber proprius, quem patria lingua Encheridion, id est manualem librum appellavit. The detached fragments are contained in Wilh. Malmesb. Vita Aldhelmi (Wharton, Anglia Sacra), and p. 2, treat of Kenterus, the father of Aldhelm, and his relationship to the West Saxon royal family; and p. 4, to Aldhelm's poetry and its effect on the people. Further, in Florent. Geneolog. p. 693, ed. 1592, with reference to the reign of Kenfus, it is said, "Secundum dicta regis Aelfredi." In a catalogue of a Norman convent library, MS. Bodl. 163, fol. 251, in the time of Henry I., there is a book called "Elfredi regis liber Anglicus."

the noble doctrines of the peripatetics and the stoics were explained by examples drawn from ancient traditions, and the work was also penetrated with the Christian spirit of faith and hope in one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, whose Gospel began its victorious career from the central point of the Old World.

The Latin Church regarded and carefully preserved the book of the last Roman, as an inheritance of the old classic days, until its own foundations, and with these the support of the revived and ever-youthful literature of Greece and Rome were shattered by the free and universal spirit of the valiant German Protestantism. The ascendancy maintained by Boethius, during the middle ages, waned before the greater lights of that time. The change that then took place rendered his work valuable only as a model of philosophical and grammatical learning, and it became the peculiar property of the learned priesthood.

The great influence of monastic schools is evidenced by the fact, that wherever a newly-formed language was applied to literature, a translation of Boethius into the popular dialect was never omitted; we find one in the most ancient form of the old High German, in the Provençal, the North Frank (Norman), and even Chaucer made one when he gave her language to England. The Anglo-Saxons received one from their best prose-writer, their king himself. Instructed by the priests in the literature of his day, Alfred seems to have studied this book above all others, and to have superintended its translation himself. He had not, at that time, entirely mastered the Latin language, and Asser must have simplified and read aloud the text which the king rendered into Saxon[1]. This arrangement may still be recognised in the abridged form of the translation, in which many sections of the original are missing; but the characteristics which the work presents are in such strict accordance with Alfred's other writings, that great importance must be attached to it. With reference

[1] Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 122. "Hic (Asserio, according to William's style) sensum librorum Boetii De Consolatione planioribus verbis enodavit, quos rex ipse in Anglicam linguam vertit." The Gest. Pontif. ii. 248, gives a similar account, with the addition: "Illis diebus labore necessario, nostris ridiculo. Sed enim jussu regis factum est, ut levius ab eodem in Anglicam transferretur sermonem."

to the other translations, we will remark, once for all, that the king always handled his materials in the freest manner, and in general did not confine himself to the letter of the works before him. It therefore becomes difficult, on the one hand, to discover his knowledge of Latin; we must even conclude, by the evident errors in the transcribing, that it was but imperfect; but on the other hand, the method he followed left open a wide field, on which he, as an independent author not bound by the letter, might use his own discretion. It accordingly happens, that not only isolated traces of his nationality appear from time to time in this translation of Boethius[1], but that entirely fresh matter, composed of the king's own thoughts and feelings, amplifies the text of the Roman, or completely suppresses and replaces it. We will point this out by a few examples from Boethius. The well-known tales of the Roman authors, such as those of Orpheus and Eurydice, and of Ulysses, are entered into with a prolixity which Alfred carries out far beyond the original. After he has given the contents of the verses in which Boethius treats of Nero, he continues with reflections on the cruel abuse of power, which crime he traces back to the example of the tyrant. Wherever in the Latin volumes there is mention made of the nothingness of all earthly splendour and renown, his noble soul inspires the smiting words of the Roman with deeper fulness of meaning, and with thoughts springing from a truer humanity. Finally, when in the third book of Boethius he comes to speak of the nature of God and man's relation to Him, he casts aside all the fetters which up to that time had more or less bound him to the text, and from his own heart writes down all he thinks and feels of God's goodness, and wisdom, and holiness. It is very difficult to make a judicious selection from the rich materials which we

[1] The name which he inserts, instead of that of Fabricius, is most curious. Boethius, ii. 7, v. 15, asks: "Ubi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii manent?" Alfred, Boethius, ed. Cardale, p. 106, translates the passage thus: "Hwaet sint nu paes foremaeran, and paes wisan goldsmiðes ban Welondes?" Grimm, Mythologie, p. 351, supposes that the old skilful northern deity replaced Fabricius in Alfred's mind, he erroneously deriving Fabricius from faber (smith). The belief in the existence of this deity had long vanished; but Alfred showed his correct and intimate acquaintance with the national mythology. See Kemble, Saxons in England, i. 421.

find in these records of Alfred's own thoughts, but one example of the paraphrasing may be given.

In a short episode of his second book, Boethius[1] asserts that he never allowed himself to be influenced by ambition, but desired only to obtain materials for discussion, that truth might not be lost through silence. From this the king takes occasion to explain at length his opinions respecting the manner in which government should be conducted. He says that materials and implements are necessary for carrying on every kind of work. That of the king consists in providing that the country should be thickly populated, and particularly that the three classes in it, the clerical, the martial, and the operative, should be largely represented. To maintain these functions efficiently, he must furnish those who filled them with estates and donations, weapons, bread, and beer, and clothing; in fact, with whatever is requisite for each. Without these means he cannot preserve his tools, and without the tools none of the duty devolving upon him can be performed. Alfred states that his constant desire therefore is, to employ them worthily; but as all virtue and power are nothing without wisdom, the results of folly must be useless. "This I can now truly say, that so long as I have lived I have striven to live worthily, and after my death to leave my memory to my descendants in good works[2]."

This confession of the king and hero is so noble and so great, that until the latest times those who read it will be filled with astonishment and admiration.

The preface to the Anglo-Saxon Boethius could not possibly have been written by Alfred himself, but it is taken chiefly from the preface to the translation of the Pastoral Care, by Gregory the Great, and is an old and valuable testimony that he was the author of the translation; it explains at the same time the method of study pursued by him:

"King Alfred was the translator of this book, which he turned from Latin into English as it now stands. Sometimes

[1] II. p. 7: Tum ego, Scis, inquam, ipsa minimum nobis ambitionem mortalium rerum fuisse dominatam; sed materiam gerendis rebus optavimus, quo ne virtus tacita consenesceret.

[2] Alfred's Boethius, edited by Cardale, p. 92: pæt is nu hraðost to secganne. pæt ic wilnode weorpfullice to libbanne pa hwile pe ic lifede, and æfter minum life pam monuum to læfanne pe æfter me waeren min gemynd on godum weorcum.

he translated word for word, sometimes sense for sense, according as he could most clearly and intelligibly interpret it, in the midst of the manifold and various worldly matters which often claimed him bodily and mentally. It would be difficult to enumerate the different affairs which in his time oppressed the kingdom that he had received. Yet he studied this book, and rendered it from the Latin into the English tongue; and afterwards he turned it into verse, as it now stands. But now he begs of those who may please to read the book, in God's name, to pray for him, and not to blame him if they should understand it better than he was able to do. For every man must, according to the ability of his intellect, say what he says, and do what he does."

The continuation of the book forms a short historical introduction, which proceeded unquestionably from Alfred's own pen, and here, as well as on other occasions, there are decided evidences of Alfred's taste for historical lore. It treats of the times of Theodoric, but with the impressions received by the author from the erroneous ecclesiastical narrations; and the consciousness that he is writing of a ruler so nearly allied to himself by nationality and a similar exalted station, is scarcely discernible in his account of Theodoric. Only a few traces of the Gothic family-legends of Jornandes are to be seen. Alfred states that the Goths came from Scythia; that Raedgota and Eallerie[1] reigned and subdued the whole of Italy between the mountains and the islands of Sicily. He also says: "Theodoric was Amal[2]," and although he was a Christian, and at first mild and just towards the Romans, yet he followed the Arian heresy, and therefore caused much evil; ordered the Pope to be put to death, and most cruelly treated the learned and wise Boethius. This is enough to demonstrate that Alfred's Theodoric is far more the infernal tyrant of the orthodox Church than the old powerful Bernese hero of German tradition.

Alfred's Boethius must have been a favourite book in his own times, and it is not only mentioned by chroniclers of a

[1] *Vide* the Traveller's Song, in Cod. Exon. ed. Thorpe, 322, 333, 334.; J. Grimm, Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache, p. 446.

[2] He waes Amaling. Kemble, Saxons, i. 424. thinks Alfred had no Latin authority for this designation.

later period, such as Malmesbury and others, but has also come down to the present day in the form of two ancient manuscripts[1].

It appears, from various discrepancies and other reasons, that Alfred could not have been the author of that translation of the work into Anglo-Saxon verse which is mentioned in the old prose preface[2]. But the actual translator, who probably lived about the close of the following century, doubtlessly had Alfred's version before him, which he by no means knew how to appreciate[3].

The next work, and one which is far more interesting in the present day than that of Boethius, is the translation of the "Chronicle of the World," by Orosius. The reason which induced the king to undertake this work, is to be found in his desire to impart all the information then current respecting the whole of the ancient world to the laity of his country. A varied choice was not open to him when he selected the meagre and incorrect composition of the Spanish priest; all better sources of information were unattainable by him and his contemporaries. Accident first led Orosius, who was not distinguished for learning, to undertake the office of historian; in the year 410, he became acquainted with Augustine, a father of the Church, who at that time was occupied with the eleventh book of his work, "De civitate Dei[4]." Augustine persuaded his friend to write an historical work, with the view of supporting his own refutation of the charge made by the heathen writer, that Christianity had brought complete ruin upon the Roman world; so Orosius commenced with the history of the first man, and brought down the account of the calamities of all the people of every country to the time of the Goths, Alaric, and Athaulf, the scourges of Rome. The object of the work recommended it to the orthodox clergy, who

[1] MS. Cotton. Otho, A. vi. sec. x., almost entirely destroyed by fire; a copy of the same by Junius, in Oxford; MS. Bodley, 180, sec. xii. init.; Rawlinson's edition, 1698, and that of Cardale, 1829. A manuscript was in the library of Bishop Leofric, of Exeter, about the middle of the eleventh century; *vide* Wanley, Catal. lib. MSS. p. 80.

[2] And geworhte hi eft to leoðe. MS. Bodl.

[3] See the instances noticed by Wright, Biogr. Brit. Lit. i. 56, 57, 400 ff. The manuscript is almost completely destroyed. Fox's edition, 1835.

[4] Augustinus de origine animae hominis, ad Beatum Hieronymum, ed. Benedict, ii. 759.

turned with aversion from all better means of self-instruction. Authors such as Trogus Pompeius, Justinus[1], Livius, and Polybius, whom Orosius had casually employed, were now entirely neglected and forgotten.

Alfred again treats his text in the manner we have before described; he made it a principle to select only what was applicable to existing circumstances. Accordingly he omits entirely the dedication to Augustine, and many other passages, and contracts the seven books of the original into six[2]. Besides the omissions, there are, in almost every chapter, various alterations, repetitions, or slight additions, some of the most remarkable of which may be noticed. When Orosius, in the geographical survey of the ancient universe with which he introduces the Chronicle, proceeds to speak of Hibernia, the king remarks of the neighbouring island, that warmer weather prevails there than in Britain, because it is nearer to the setting-sun[3]. Orosius mentions the refusal of M. Fabius to accept the triumph offered to him by the senate after his dearly-gained victory over the Veientes. Alfred appends to this a description of the Roman triumph, from sources of which, unfortunately, we remain ignorant. He details the entry of the victorious consul in a magnificently-adorned chariot drawn by white horses, as well as the procession of the senate. A dissertation concerning the position of the two governing powers of ancient Rome was also added[4]. Attalus bequeathed his estate to the Romans "to boclande," precisely like a king of the West Saxons[5]. The two visits of Julius Cæsar to Britain are included in one; but he asserts that the place where Cæsar crossed the Thames, before his last victorious battle with the Britons, is to be found at Wallingford[6]. In the reign of Commodus, the capitol was struck by lightning, which, amongst other buildings, destroyed the library then existing there. Alfred inserts from

[1] Alfred's Orosius, edited by Barrington, p. 37, quotes these two authors, as follows, from Orosius, i. 8.: Pompeius se hæðena scop and his cnight Justinus waeron ðus singende.

[2] The only manuscript extant now bears the still unexplained title: Hormesta Orosii. Some Latin manuscripts of Orosius are entitled Hormesta, or Hormesia Mundi. Orosius, ed. Haverkamp, Leyden, 1738.

[3] Aelfr. p. 30; Oros. i. 2.

[4] Aelfr. p. 66; Oros. ii. 5.

[5] Aelfr. p. 184; Oros. v. 10.

[6] Aelfr. p. 196; Oros. vi. 9.

an earlier section of the original this addition: "and all the old books therein contained were burnt. As much damage was then done as in the city of Alexandria, where a library containing four hundred thousand books was burnt;" this happening at the same time that, in the presence of Cæsar, the fleet was destroyed by flames[1]. The reverence which such a lover of books felt for so large a collection of them would not permit him to pass over this account.

It may be easily perceived, from such examples as these, that there is much in the work independent of the original; and a celebrated interpolation at the commencement of the book is unquestionably one of the most important relics that we possess of Alfred's writings. It consists of a geographical sketch of the large tract of land which Alfred terms Germania, and of two original narratives received from northern mariners[2].

Alfred was acquainted with Ptolemy's principles of geography; he found that they were also followed by Orosius in his second chapter, and he perfectly agreed with them in respect to the three divisions of the earth. His own references to Rome, Palestine, and India, have been mentioned before. As regards the north he is better informed than his author; here he tacitly corrects the erroneous accounts, and gives besides a description of the situation of every country where the German language was spoken in the ninth century. The boundaries of his Germania lay along the Rhine and the Danube, and extended from the Mediterranean Sea to the Gulf of Bothnia; they are more extensive and better defined than those before assigned by Tacitus. The actual German land he divided into two large portions, which he endeavoured to distinguish as the southern or East Frank, and the northern or Old Saxon[3]. In this manner the Slavonic boundaries eastward were defined, and an arrangement was made of the situations of the Germanic Danes of the south and north, as well as those of Sweden.

[1] Alfr. p. 221; Oros. vii. 16, vi. 15, with which compare Parthey, the Alexandrian Museum, p. 32.

[2] In what follows I rely entirely upon Dahlmann's excellent treatment of the subject contained in his Inquiries, i. 401, ff., which in every instance remains unrefuted, in spite of Scandinavian pretensions.

[3] Dahlmann, p. 418.

Then follows the account which was given by Ohthere to his liege, King Alfred[1], and which occupies an important place in the history of discoveries. The narrator, a wealthy mariner and whale-fisher from the province of Heliogoland on the north coast of Norway, in the course of his voyages (probably undertaken for the purpose of trading with fish) reached England, became known to the king, so eager after knowledge of all kinds, and after some time entered into his service. But to designate Ohthere as an historical personage, and to recognise him again in a commander of the same name, who led a plundering horde into England, is a vain attempt of Scandinavian learning[2]. He informed his sovereign that he had gone as far towards the north as the land extended in that direction, and that he had turned with the land to the east, and at length had sailed into a large river (the White Sea), whose coasts he found inhabited by Finns. Amongst these people, the Beormen, who spoke nearly the same language as the Finns, were the sole cultivators of the land; and Ohthere conversed with their king, and described their manner of life as similar to his own. The second part of his narrative describes the large extent of Scandinavia towards the south, and mentions the journey undertaken by Ohthere, from his home in Heliogoland, across Sciringesheal (in the Gulf of Christiania), probably through the Great Belt to Schleswig (æt Hæðum[3]).

The other navigator, from whose lips Alfred wrote down the second account of travel, was a certain Wulfstan, whose native country is not mentioned, who sailed from Schleswig to a place called Truso, which was probably situated in modern Prussia, on the Gulf of Friesland, and who furnished the earliest description of the then existing coasts of Estonia[4].

Neither of these accounts contradicts the erroneous opinion entertained in preceding centuries, that Scandinavia was a large island, and that the Gulf of Bothnia, or Quäner Lake, flowed into the North Sea. But, notwithstanding this, Alfred must be judged worthy of immortal praise, inasmuch as through these sources of information he acquired a

[1] Ohthere saede his hlaforde Aelfrede kyninge, etc. Alf. p. 21.
[2] Dahlmann, p. 410. [3] Dahlmann, p. 427, 443. [4] Alfred, p. 25. ff.

knowledge of the more distant parts of our quarter of the globe, and by his own true German energy and perseverance, acquainted himself with German ethnography. The title of a geographer may be justly bestowed on the king, who so eagerly sought after geographical and historical knowledge, and he was indisputably the greatest one of his age. But how few, in the present day, are acquainted with this merit, or know how to prize it according to its value[1]!

As the royal author found the pagan kingdoms, and, to a certain extent, the universal history of the Old World, treated of by Orosius, so the invaluable work of his great countryman, Bede, furnished him with the history of Christendom and of his own people. He undoubtedly descended from generals to particulars, when he resolved, for the benefit of the laity, to render into German this national work, which had hitherto been available to the clergy only. Bede wrote his ecclesiastical history at the beginning of the eighth century, to preserve the remembrance of the conversion of the Angles and Saxons, and the establishment of Christianity amongst them. But considerable parts of his work treat necessarily of temporal subjects, and notice the development of the numerous small principalities founded by the German colonists upon the conquered island. That Bede lived in the north of England, and never left that part of the country during his long life, may be assumed from the knowledge he exhibits concerning his immediate neighbourhood. His knowledge of the south of the island was chiefly derived from *vivâ voce* information. But he also introduced, in their proper places, many popular and legendary matters, which, at a later period, may be again met with in the Saxon Year-books. In

[1] At present, only one manuscript of the Saxon Orosius is extant, MS. Cotton. Tiber. B. i. legibly written, and almost contemporary. MS. Lauderdale, which ought to have been in the possession of Lady Dysart, is not to be found. There is a copy, by Junius, in Oxford. Sir John Spelman first inserted a Latin translation of the geographical portions in his Vita Aelfredi. In 1778, Daines Barrington published the entire book, with a geographical treatise of Reinhold Forster. Since that time, the pressing necessity of a satisfactory edition has remained unfulfilled. Some parts only of the work, and amongst them Germania and the two narratives of voyages, are critically treated, in Thorpe's Analecta Anglosaxonica, p. 81, ed. ii.

this respect especially, he ranks in the third place amongst the earliest national historians, although, in the better arrangement of his materials, in the steady aim towards a higher object, and particularly in the intelligence manifested throughout the whole, he far surpasses Jornandes the Goth, Gregory of Tours, and Paul the Deacon. During his lifetime, his fame reached Rome, and soon extended over Western Europe.

One hundred and fifty years after the death of Bede, his book was first translated into German. There is no trace to be found in the translation that this was accomplished by Alfred; the name of the king does not occur in it, and it is not furnished with any introduction by him. But the most ancient testimonies leave no doubt that he alone was the author[1]. It is likewise probable that the compilers of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, who must have undertaken the work soon after the year 890, when they took into consideration Bede's book, had already seen their king's translation of it; for one of the mistakes committed by Alfred was copied into the Chronicle[2].

Conformably to his purpose, Alfred prepared a selection from this national historical work, which he evidently endeavoured to adapt to the south of the island. He therefore omits the prolix accounts of the relations of the Church at York with the neighbouring Scots, who were of a different faith; whilst, on the contrary, the history of the first Christian kings of Wessex is literally translated. This is also the case with the details of the first conversions. All the documents included by Bede in his work, the letters of bishops

[1] Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 123, enumerates the works: Orosius, Pastoralis Gregorii, Gesta Anglorum Bedae. The most ancient testimony is that of Archbishop Aelfric, about the year 1000, in his daily Homilies, iiii. Id. Martis Sci Gregorii papae urbis Romanae inclyti: Historia Anglorum: ðа ðe Aelfred cyning of Ledene on Englisc awende, translated by Thorpe, the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, ii. 116. Layamon, in his Brut. (Sir F. Madden's edition, i. 2), uses the translation in 1205:

he nam pa Englisca boc
pa makede seint Beda.

[2] Beda, i. 9: Maximus imperator creatus est—thus translated by Alfred: se casere was accenned (born), and Chron. Sax. A. 381, waes geboren. R. Schmid, Geschichte des Angelsächs. p. lvii. note 1.

and popes, are wanting, with only a few exceptions—for example, the first epistle of Gregory the Great, which is, however, merely inserted in an abridged form, and indirectly noticed; neither do the hymns and epitaphs composed by Bede upon saints and bishops find any place in the translation. But, again, the national history of the poet Caedmon is faithfully retained, and the proof of his poetical talent rendered into Saxon verse, which, in accordance with the rest of our conclusions, must have been the production of Alfred, for Caedmon himself wrote in the Anglian dialect.

Alfred considered that the miracles related by Bede ought not to be withheld from the people. It is a singular fact, that he places the full index of its contents before each chapter, and also inserts the list of the numerous subjects omitted by him in the translation[1]. These few remarks may suffice to show the character of the book, on which the author bestowed much less attention than on his other works, and in which nothing is to be found to compensate for its manifold imperfections. It is matter of special wonder that Alfred did not take advantage of the opportunity to supply from his own knowledge the earlier history of Wessex, of which Bede knew so little. But these deficiencies do not present sufficient reason why the translation of Bede at the present day should not be considered as valuable as ever[2].

The other works of Alfred relate to theological subjects. He undoubtedly took peculiar delight in the writings of Gregory the Great; and after becoming acquainted with them himself, he took pains to diffuse them in the national language amongst his clergy and their flocks, in order to advance their spiritual welfare. Gregory, the first of all the popes who assumed a prominent position in the world, has blended his history for ever with that of the British island. By his exertions the Teutonic conqueror of the country was won over to Christianity, and Alfred desired to render thanks

[1] Wheloc's Beda, p. 8; Smith's Beda, p. 479, 480.

[2] There are some manuscripts in existence, one in the University Library at Cambridge, also MS. Corp. Christi Coll. Cambr. 41; MS. Cotton. Otho, B. xi. is burnt. Besides these, there are the original editions by Wheloc, 1643, and Smith, 1722. It is much to be lamented that Stevenson prepared none, when he published his excellent lecture on the Historia Ecclesiastica (English Historical Society, 1838).

to him in the name of his people for such a benefit, and at the same time to make them acquainted with the literary works of this prince of the Church. From the numerous Gregorian writings which had become the widely-diffused property of the Catholic Church, he next selected the Pastoral Care, "that book so full of deep knowledge of mankind, and of a devout spirit, which contains such simple and comprehensive directions upon the great art of a wise and gentle spiritual government[1]." Gregory had written the "Regula Pastoralis" in the commencement of his pontificate, when he was reproached with having attempted to avoid by flight the election to the chair of St. Peter[2]. "In it he collected together many passages that were scattered in various parts of his writings. He endeavoured also to point out in what spirit and manner the spiritual shepherd should enter upon his office, how he ought to conduct himself therein, how he should vary his mode of preaching, so as to suit the different circumstances of his hearers, and how he must guard himself from self-exaltation at the happy result of his labours. In the following centuries this book had a decided influence in awakening a better spirit amongst the clergy, and in causing efforts to be made to improve the condition of the Church. The reforming synods under Charlemagne made it a standard for their proceedings with respect to the amendment of ecclesiastical affairs[3]." Its renown, and the persuasion of its excellence, passed from the Franks to the Saxons; the translation made by their king chiefly contributing to this result. The original indeed was to be found amongst the books once bestowed on Augustine by Gregory, and in the fifteenth century it still remained in the library of the monastery at Canterbury[4].

Alfred may have first undertaken the translation about the year 890, after being occupied for several years previously

[1] Stolberg, Leben des grossen Alfred, p. 271.

[2] Lau, Gregor. I. der Grosse, p. 315.

[3] Neander. Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Religion und Kirche. iii. Vierter Abschnitt. i.

[4] Alfred himself, in the poetical introduction, MS. Hatton. 20:

pis ærend gewrit. Agostinus.
ofer sealtne sae. suðan brohtae.

See Wanley's Catal. libr. MSS. p. 172.

with similar works, in the introductory chapters and prefaces of which, he frequently thanks Asser, Grimbald, and Johannes, as well as his Archbishop Plegmund, for the assistance they gave him. In this case also he sometimes translated word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning, as these men deemed advisable. But amongst the comparatively large number of existing manuscripts, his translation has hitherto never been published in print, the cause of which may be attributed to the indifference to the subject, which in our times has lost its interest amongst the few learned men acquainted with Anglo-Saxon literature, who might be capable of such an undertaking. It is, however, easy to perceive, on a comparison of many principal portions of the manuscripts at Oxford with the Latin text, that the king translated the work of Gregory much more faithfully than those of Boethius and Orosius, where more frequent occasions were afforded him to give free course to the expression of his own ideas and experience. Neither does he appear to have omitted anything essential, for it evidently was his intention to make generally known the whole of Gregory's book, which so few could understand in Latin.

But the most valuable memorial of his mind and writings which he has bequeathed to us, is contained in the admirable preface, in which he not only sets forth his purpose in publishing this book, but the far higher aim, entertained by no other earthly ruler before his time, with which he devoted himself to its study. He desired by his own example to revive the learning which had so entirely vanished; and to this end he reminded his readers in stirring language of those better times which were past, and whose glory could only be regained by means of education and the instruction of youth. It was therefore his anxious wish that the great scarcity of books should be remedied, and he caused it to be so arranged that each bishop in his kingdom should receive a copy of the Pastoral Care, and at the same time a small golden tablet, of the value of fifty marks[1]. Three of these copies have been preserved to the present day, with inscriptions addressed to Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, Werfrith, Bishop of

[1] Ond to aelcum biscep-stole ôn minum rice wille ane onsendan. ond aelcre bið ân aestel. se bið on fiftegum mancessan. MS. Hatton. 20.

Worcester, and Wulfsig, Bishop of Sherborne; and in the style of handwriting, they resemble each other in a remarkable manner.

The preface concludes with a poetical prologue, and at the end of the book there is an epilogue, also in verse, in which nearly the same ideas appear as in the preface, but with the peculiar expressions, drawn from nature and her analogies, so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Hitherto these verses have been too little valued, although, as they are to be seen in the original manuscripts, it appears to be indubitable that they were Alfred's own production. It is useless to think of publishing them, or the entire translation[1].

The "Dialogues," another work of Gregory, was not translated by Alfred himself, but by his friend, Bishop Werfrith of Worcester. The eminent pope had written this book at the urgent entreaty of his friends that he would recount the lives and miracles of the Italian saints. He gave important aid towards the furtherance of superstition in his own times and the next century, by the record of numberless incredible and often very absurd legends, and in this work he appears to have been the principal means of furnishing the Catholic Church with the doctrine of purgatory. As he carried on these unconnected narrations in the form of conversations with his confidential friend Peter the Deacon, he gave them the suitable name of Dialogues. It soon became a favourite book in all countries, and was even translated into Arabic and Greek[2].

Bishop Werfrith did not undertake the translation of this book from his own idea. The king commissioned him to do so, and it must have been closely allied to similar works of Alfred. It is, however, remarkable that it had been already noticed by Asser[3], who had not once mentioned Alfred's

[1] Manuscripts: MS. Hatton. 20, in the Bodleian Library; MS. bibl. publ. Univ. Camb.; MS. Cotton. Tiber. B. xi., injured by fire. MS. Cotton. Otho, B. ii., which was burnt, was prepared by Hehstan, Bishop of London. There are, besides, two earlier copies in Trinity College and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The preface was printed in Parker's Asser, 1574; in Wise's Asser, 1722; and in Wright's Biogr. Brit. Lit. 397.

[2] Lau, Gregor. I. the Great, p. 315.

[3] Asser, p. 486: Werfrithum—qui imperio regis libros dialogorum Gregorii papae et Petri sui discipuli de latinitate primus in Saxonicam linguam aliquando

works, although it must be inferred that he commenced the Biography at the precise time when he was called up to assist the king in his learned occupations.

Together with the numerous miraculous histories in the book, there were also many relations of actual occurrences; and amongst others, the life and deeds of St. Benedict were blended with the account of the former kings of the Ostro-Goths, and here we may again recognise Alfred's sympathy with the fate of this branch of his own family.

No one has ever yet attempted to publish the Saxon translation, but it is sufficiently testified by the manuscript copy, and from the evidence of Asser, that Werfrith, following the example of his king, did not strictly observe the letter of the original. It is also probable that he only made a selection from the legends, and scarcely translated one half of the four books in the Latin version[1].

The few sentences which introduce the Dialogues, were perhaps written by Alfred himself; at all events, they are written in his name and in accordance with his style. It is there asserted that, from the perusal of holy books, he had become persuaded that it behoved him, on whom God had bestowed such great temporal glory, occasionally to withdraw his mind from worldly pursuits, and to direct it towards the consideration of divine and intellectual matters. He therefore entreated his faithful friend[2] to translate for him such books as treated of the doctrines and miracles of saints, wherewith he might console and strengthen his spirit beneath the oppressions of this world. Thus the translation was specially designed for himself: he was the child of his age, and favoured its superstitions.

Another translation from the works of the earliest fathers of the Church has some claim to be considered as Alfred's production, the Anglo-Saxon Anthology, from a composition by St. Augustine. The Bishop of Hippo Regius wrote the

sensum ex sensu ponens, elucubratim et elegantissime interpretatus est. Cf. Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 122, jussu regis.

[1] I have only seen a MS. Hatton. 76 in the Bodleian Library, sec. xi., and that is very fragmentary. The only other copy is MS. Corp. Christ. Coll. Camb. No, 323, sec. xi.

[2] and ic forpam sohte and wilnode to minum getrywum freondum, &c. MS. Hatton. 76.

two short books of the Soliloquies about the year 387, before he had taken any part in the great dogmatic controversies. He there treats of the salvation of the soul, which is only to be attained by faith, hope, and charity, and of the difference between truth and error. The mind should strive after the first, that it may itself become the seat of truth, and thereby immortal. These ideas were pursued in the pleasing manner subsequently adopted by Boethius, namely, in the form of a dialogue between the author and Reason, and on this account Augustine chose the title of the little work[1]. In the only manuscript of the Saxon abridgment, which is much torn, and very defective, the last mutilated words, leading apparently to the conclusion, are these: "here end the Proverbs, selected by King Alfred from the books, which we call"——[2] But this is the only evidence that Alfred prepared the selection; none of our authorities mention it amongst his other works.

A preface, which on account of its train of thought is by no means worthless, and which exhibits some similarity with those previously written by Alfred, may perhaps serve as another proof; but unfortunately it comes to us in a very imperfect state, as does also the entire book. It speaks allegorically of the accumulation of wood which is necessary for building a house to dwell in, but particularly for erecting the high abode which is promised by St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Hieronymus, and many other holy fathers. It proceeds to declare, that as every man receives the dwelling erected by himself as a fief from his master, and desires to enjoy it under his protection, so an earnest longing after a heavenly abiding-place is recommended. The style is peculiar, the treatment poetical, and by its not infrequent alliteration takes occasionally a metrical character. There is no trace to be found of any specific purpose which the translator had in undertaking the work, whilst Alfred, in the prefaces before mentioned as usually prefixed to his books, would not have omitted a notice of this kind. It is also noticeable that the whole work was written in impure Saxon, a circumstance which probably is not to be ascribed entirely to the early date

[1] S. Augustini Opera, ed. Bened. 1, 426.

[2] ðær endiað þa cwiðas þe Aelfred kining alæs of paere bec þe we hatað on—— MS. Cotton. Vitellius, A. 15, sec. xii. Copy by Junius, in Oxford.

of the manuscript and its incorrect transcribers; but there are good reasons for supposing that the collector and translator of the proverbs in the twelfth century, wishing to hide his unrenowned name, declared at the end of the book that it was written by the beloved king whose works were then still known and read by the people.

The Soliloquies also have not been published, and would never have become known had it not been for the plan of publishing a collected edition of Alfred's written works, which was projected by more efficient men than ever before had attempted the task, and they not only entertained the idea, but carried it out on strictly critical principles.

At a later period of the middle ages, not only the deeds of the King of the West Saxons were amplified and poetically exaggerated, but with regard to his literary efforts all kinds of productions were attributed to him, of which at the present day we are either ignorant, or which we must, without hesitation, deny to be his. Towards the close of the following century[1], it was affirmed that the number of books which he translated was unknown. The most valuable account we possess is that of Malmesbury[2], who states that Alfred began to translate the Psalms, but had scarcely completed the first part when death snatched him away. The Norman monk, whose knowledge of the country's language was certainly not very perfect, could not, however, without further proofs, attribute the current Anglo-Saxon Psalter to King Alfred; it has descended to us in various manuscripts, and it may be concluded to have been the work of Aldhelm; there must have been some earlier authorities for the observation that the king died during the progress of his undertaking. At all events, it was believed in the twelfth century; and it was soon declared that parts of the Scripture, and even the whole Bible, had been translated by him[3].

At the time when such assertions as these found credence, many sayings of King Alfred passed current amongst the people in a poetical form[4].

[1] Aethelweard, iv. 519: Volumina numero ignoto.

[2] Gesta Reg. ii. § 123.

[3] Boston of Bury, and Historia Eliensis; Hearne, Spelman's Life of King Alfred, p. 213.

[4] Ailred von Riveaux, by Twysden, X. Scriptt. p. 355: Extant parabolae ejus

A work of this kind is to be found in different manuscripts and various dialects of the thirteenth century. Alfred, however, was not the author, but certainly the hero of the poem. It opens with a description of an assembly of many bishops and learned men, earls, and knights, which took place at Seaford, over which King Alfred, the Shepherd and Darling of England, presided; but this is all pure invention, and it is particularly difficult to connect the historical event with the place mentioned. Then follows a whole series of detached sentences, each beginning with the words, "Thus said Alfred," and admonitions are added respecting the fear of God, obedience, wisdom, temperance, and many other virtues. In the thirtieth section[1] Alfred addresses his son, whose name was not mentioned, and imparts to him similar wise counsels.

The contents of this book of proverbs recur in various forms, and throughout the middle ages, not in England alone, but in all the other Germanic countries. The style of the poem appears to indicate the twelfth century as the date of its origin, and the transition state of the language employed proclaims it to have been written in the earliest English tongue, in which we also possess the long epic poem of the priest Layamon. Like another Solomon, Alfred is made to discourse in this manner at a solemn Witenagemot; and it proves how much national feeling the English people had retained beneath the Norman rule, that they still had on their lips, and even woven into poetry, the treasures of old popular wisdom bestowed upon them by their greatest monarch, whose memory they held in grateful remembrance. The depth of this attachment, which was fostered more by tradition than by history, is particularly shown in the beautiful designation given to the king—"England's Darling," as well as in the general conviction that Alfred was the wisest and most pious man that had ever lived in England; and the tradition that it was he who gave to the people those precious old laws, the deprivation of which was so painfully felt by them.

A great number of such versified proverbs must have been extensively known; for in a somewhat later poem reference

plurimum habentes aedificationis, sed et venustatis et jucunditatis. Cf. Annal. Winton. ap. Wharton, Anglia Sacra, i. 289.

[1] Kemble's edition, Solomon and Saturn, p. 244. Aelfric Society.

is made to several, which are not to be found in the so-called Proverbs of King Alfred[1].

In the same manner as the Parables and Proverbs, the king is said to have also translated for the Anglo-Saxons the Fables of Esop, so dearly loved by all the Germanic races. This information is derived from the conclusion of the Norman-French fables of the poetess Marie of France, written in the thirteenth century; but it is probable that the name of the Saxon king was only appended to those copies which were circulated in England[2]. Besides, it is a decided fact that the epic poem of Reineke Fuchs (Reynard the Fox) was indigenous only amongst the Franks and Saxons of the Continent, and not amongst the Anglo-Saxons.

Finally, it is asserted on a much later and less credible authority, that Alfred, like the great Frederick II., wrote a treatise upon hawking. It is well known that, like all German princes and nobles, he was exceedingly fond of the chase; but that he treated it in a literary point of view, seems an opinion founded on a misconception of a passage in Asser, who relates that the king took pains to establish and support falconers and fowlers of all kinds[3].

[1] The Owl and the Nightingale, in Kemble's Solomon and Saturn, p. 249.

[2] Marie de France, Aesope in MS. Harlei. 978. fol. 87, b.

Por amur le cunte Willame
Le plus vaillant de nul realme,
Meintenur de cest livre feire
E del engleis en romans treire
Aesope apelum cest livre
Qu'il translata e fist escrire
Del griu en latin le turna
Li reis Alurez qui mut l'ama
Le translata puis en engleis,
E ieo l'ai rimee en franceis.

In Roquefort's edition of the works of this poetess, ii. 34, ff., he substitutes the name of Henri for that of Alurez, from another MS. A Latin manuscript of Esop (MS. Mus. Brit. Reg. 15, A. vii.) contains these words: Deinde rex Angliae Affrus in Anglicam linguam eum transferri praecepit. A copy in Low Dutch, quoted by Lappenberg in the Götting. Gelehrt. Anzeigen, April 1, 1844, mentions Koning Affrus van Englant.

[3] Liber Alured regis de custodiendis accipitribus, in Catal. libr. MSS. aed Christi. A. 1315, apud Wanley Catal. praef. Asser, p. 486, et falconarios et accipitrarios, canicularios quoque docere.

These spurious works deserve to be briefly noticed, for they show that an appreciation of the versatile literary character of the West Saxon king existed at a time when very few of his genuine works could be obtained. But enough of the latter remained in existence to hand down their fame to all ages. The knowledge of them became first revived when a general taste was awakened for research into the German language and history. Then, by degrees, the peculiarities of Alfred's literary works became known and considered. It soon appeared that he had written in the most pithy, and at the same time the purest prose style of his native language. We learn from the information possessed at the present day, that poetry decidedly predominated in Anglo-Saxon literature until the time of Alfred; and that the merit undoubtedly appertains to him of being the founder of a prose style which, in the age immediately succeeding his death, displayed its richest fruits, chiefly consisting of religious works. Aelfric, the best prose writer of the tenth century, says that in his day there were no other godly books in the Saxon language than those of King Alfred[1].

It does not appear that the good example which the king set to all his subjects, of eagerness in the pursuit of knowledge, gained many imitators during his life; amongst his teachers, intellectual friends, and bishops, only Asser and Werfrith attained any distinction as authors. An intimacy may have existed between Alfred and the learned philosopher, John Erigena, although it cannot be clearly proved; his scientific and literary productions, however, never flourished in the soil of England.

There is an important but anonymous work which is indisputably connected with the person and actions of the king, and, in all probability, owes its first publication to the revived interest in the literary and scientific studies of Alfred; and this is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the principal authority for his history. The oldest manuscript[2], containing the first of the Year-books, written in German prose, reaches in its oldest form down to the year 891, and perfectly

[1] Aelfric's Preface to his Homilies, Thorpe's edition, i. 2: buton pam bocum ðe Aelfred cyning snoterlice awende of Ledene of Englisc.

[2] MS. Corp. Christi Coll. Camb. clxxiii.

resembles those manuscripts which we possess of Alfred's time. In the part where a later hand began to write, the election of Plegmund as Archbishop of Canterbury is mentioned; and formerly, on no very reasonable grounds, the entire merit of the more complete records in these Year-books was ascribed to this instructor and first ecclesiastical dignitary of the king. But these historical works had no author's name affixed to them. The monks of one of the south-eastern convents of England, deriving their only knowledge of the north from Bede, and whose dialect presented but a slight resemblance to the English language, apparently already possessed in their calendar-lists similar brief historical data concerning the earlier centuries. Some of these were taken out of Bede's national work, others originated from Welsh, and particularly from Saxon traditions, which evidently bear in some cases traces of the national poetry. This fact, and the decided purpose of the king to substitute his native tongue for the unfamiliar Latin as the language of literature, occasioned a history to be written in Saxon. Moreover, the events of the age and the deeds of its great heroes, which were very remarkable from the year 851, gave to the Chronicle a very different and more comprehensive form; and there can scarcely be a doubt that for the next forty years, the Chronicle is nearly contemporary with the events it records. Alfred's great taste for historical learning is very important to us, for to it we owe that a part at least of the records of his life and times has reached us in an authentic form.

It is certain that the first article in the Chronicle dates from that period when, for the second time, he waged war against the Danes; the records of the following part relate to the first half of the next century; and from that time to the middle of the twelfth, the notices of this very remarkable literary memorial are formally arranged in a regular manner[1]. A wide field was thus opened to thinking minds

[1] Might Gaimar refer to the Chronicle when he mentions Alfred's works as follows? v. 3451:

Il fist escrivere un livre Engleis
Des aventures, e des leis,
E de batailles de la terre,
E des reis ki firent la guere.

amongst the Anglo-Saxons, where they might exercise themselves in learning and teaching; and their king himself took the first steps in the formation of a literature.

His constant exertions for the country's good were directed in other channels also, where, indeed, there was evident room for improvement, and where his efforts were no less conspicuous than in his literary pursuits. Alfred caused various arts to be sedulously studied, and in many instances appeared as the author and inventor of new plans and schemes. Scarcely anything is known at present of all the artistic works which were produced under his direction; and the desire to know something of Alfred's taste, and that of his contemporaries, must ever remain ungratified. It is difficult to say whether or not his visits to Rome exercised an early influence upon him with respect to architecture. Since the seventh century, the ecclesiastical buildings of the Anglo-Saxons approached very nearly to the style then prevailing in Rome; but whether the powerful impression which had been left by that city upon the boy might have caused him, when he became king, to aspire to the perfection of the Italian models, must still remain a question to be solved; for throughout England there is no structure to be found of which it can be affirmed with certainty, that it bears any traces of that time, or was erected under Alfred's superintendence. We must therefore content ourselves with the few details given occasionally by historians on this subject.

With immediate reference to the buildings which were undertaken by him, it is explicitly stated that he did not bind himself to follow the customs of his ancestors; but that from new and, in fact, original inventions, endeavoured to erect something much more costly and worthy of admiration[1]. We are evidently given to understand that these buildings were chiefly churches and convents; for as it was necessary that so many holy places which had been consumed, should be restored, it is possible that new methods and a better style of architecture was employed for this purpose. Where such as had been rased to the ground were to be replaced, necessity compelled an entirely new erection, and from ne-

[1] Asser, p. 486: Venerabiliora et pretiosiora nova sua machinatione.

cessity invention arose. This must have been the case especially with the two monasteries of Athelney and Shaftesbury, although Alfred had recourse to foreign aid in the prosecution of his artistic designs, as well as in his literary works. It is well known that innumerable artists and labourers, skilled in every kind of work, and procured from different nations, were to be met with in his employment[1].

In the little island of Athelney, hemmed in by water and thick bushes, there was great want of space, especially as Alfred desired that the place which had once served him as a stronghold, should always remain one; being surrounded by water, it was only accessible from the east by a bridge, which at both extremities, and particularly on the western end, was furnished with strong fortifications[2]. Upon the island itself he caused the convent to be erected, where it would be defended from the wild and insecure character of the neighbourhood. From the records of the twelfth century, at which period it was still in good preservation, it appears that the church was very small, but that it had been constructed according to an entirely novel style of architecture. Four piers were sunk in the ground, no doubt on account of the swampy nature of the soil, supporting the whole edifice, and upon them four arches were placed in a circular form[3].

Alfred built the town as well as the convent of Shaftesbury, so early indeed, if the account is credible, as the year 880[4]. The rebuilding of London has already been mentioned. The new minster at Winchester, dedicated by Alfred to the Virgin, must have been used in his lifetime, for Grimbald officiated as abbot there; it was first completed in the year 908, when Archbishop Plegmund consecrated the tower[5]. He likewise caused the cities and fortified places throughout the kingdom to be repaired or entirely rebuilt; and he provided modes of defence, consisting of walls and entrenchments, in case of a return of those invasions with

[1] Asser, p. 495: Ex multis gentibus collectos et in omni terreno aedificio edoctos.

[2] Asser, p. 493: In cujus pontis occidentali limite arx munitissima pulcherrima operatione consita est.

[3] Wilh. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif. ii. 255.

[4] Wilh. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif. ii. 251; Asser, p. 495.

[5] Ethelwerd, iv. 519.

which the country was continually threatened. Those cities thus protected by Alfred cannot be accurately specified; and it appears that in most instances he did not proceed far with the work, for the innate indolence of his subjects placed an invincible obstacle in his way[1].

Alfred displayed regal magnificence at those places where he was accustomed to reside with his court. According to his command[2], the buildings were adorned with gold and silver, and halls and royal chambers were constructed from stone and wood with great skill. Some stone vills were removed from their former sites, and placed in situations better adapted for royal residences.

But amongst all his ideas, there was one which was most successfully carried out. The perfection which he attained in the art of ship-building, and the occasion which led him to acquire it, will be noticed in the following section.

Our attention is now particularly directed towards the minor inventions which were produced in his day, and amongst them to the contrivance for measuring time, discovered by Alfred himself. His biographer describes this invention. Only by the help of strict punctuality could the great ruler have succeeded in the accomplishment of such extensive and various duties. But the blue sky with its planets did not indicate the time to him with any regularity. In his country there were many gloomy clouds and constant showers, which often prevented the calculation of time from the sun and moon. Alfred's inventive genius, however, discovered a remedy for such perplexities. He caused his chaplains, whose names we know were Athelstan and Werewulf, to supply him with sufficient wax to weigh down seventy-two pence in the scales[3]. From this quantity he ordered six candles to be made, each of equal weight, and twelve inches long, with twelve divisions marked in each inch. These six candles burnt for twenty-four hours, day and night, before the relics of the saints, which always accompanied him on his journeys. But here, too, the weather seems to have interfered with his schemes. The boisterous

[1] Asser, p. 493: Propter pigritiam populi imperata non implentur, &c.
[2] Asser, p. 492: Illo edocente.
[3] Asser, p. 496: Tanta cera quae septuaginta duos denarios pensaret.

wind, which often blew without intermission day and night, penetrated the slight doors and windows of the churches, and through the crevices in the walls and planks, and the thin canvas of the tents. The light either became extinguished, leaving the king in darkness, or it burnt down quicker than usual, so as to prevent the observance of the astronomical point with which to begin the daily reckoning. Alfred removed this obstacle in the following manner: he had a lantern carefully made of wood and thin plates of horn; the horn was white, and scraped so thin as to be scarcely less transparent than a vessel of glass. The door of the lantern was also made of horn, and closed so firmly that no breath of wind could enter. In this secure receptacle he could now place his candles without fear of injury; when they burnt down they were instantly replaced by others, and without a water-clock, or any other more ingenious contrivance still undiscovered, he computed the time, which to him was so exceedingly precious.

As he caused all kinds of ornaments to be fabricated, he could not by any means dispense with goldsmiths[1]. A very remarkable specimen of their craft has been preserved to the present day, and has been frequently represented; it is called Alfred's jewel, and is a beautiful work of art. It was discovered in the year 1693, at Newton Park, in the lowlands of Somersetshire, near the river Parret, somewhat to the north of the spot where the island and fortress of Athelney were formerly situated[2]. There the king, in perhaps the most sorrowful days of his life, lost this token of his sovereignty; it remained hidden in the marshes, until, after the lapse of many centuries, it was accidentally brought to light once more. It is now preserved as a precious memorial of the olden time, in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. This work of art consists of a polished crystal of an oval form, rather more than two inches in length and half an inch thick, inlaid with a mosaic enamel of green and yellow. This enamel represents the outline of a human figure, which appears to be in a sitting posture, holding in each hand a sort of lily-branch in blossom. Those who have described the jewel have made various guesses

[1] Asser, p. 486, says that he instructed goldsmiths (aurifices).

[2] Akerman's Archæological Index, p. 143, table xix. 1.

respecting this figure, calling it St. Cuthbert, St. Neot, and even Christ; but the least perplexing solution would be, that it is merely a representation of a king in his state attire. The reverse is covered by a plate of fine gold, in which not without taste, and somewhat fancifully, a flower is engraved; the oval-shaped sides are bordered by beaten gold admirably and durably manufactured, bearing around them these remarkable words, which banish all doubts respecting the former possessor of the jewel:

+AELFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN.

Alfred had me made.

The letters of this inscription are all capitals, and in their somewhat stiff form agree entirely with the initial letters in the principal parts of the authentic manuscripts of Alfred's time. Still more than the letters, the form of the two middle words, by their primitive, genuine orthography, bears witness to the age claimed by the motto. At the extreme end, where the crystal and its border join the gold, it is finished by a beautifully worked dolphin's head in gold, whose empty eye-sockets must have once contained precious stones, and from whose open jaws a small golden pin protrudes. This probably served as a fastening to a cane, or some beautiful staff, on the point of which the jewel was placed. It is a strange freak of fortune which thus presents to us, in this extraordinary work of art, what in all probability was a part of Alfred's sceptre; it gives a very favourable impression of the state of art at that period, and of the skill and ability of the artist.

It is certain that many works were executed in this manner, and Alfred himself speaks, in his preface to the "Pastoral Care," of some gold work, which he had caused to be executed, referring to four small golden tablets[1], one of which he presented with each copy of the book. They were worth fifty mancuses each, and it is not unlikely that William of Malmesbury saw one of them[2]. Now when they are

[1] Aestel, an index or small tablet with columns: pugillares; πίνακες.

[2] Gesta Reg. ii. § 123: Cum pugillari aureo in quo est manca auri. The relation to each other of manca, mancusa, and marca, has not yet been clearly ascertained. Du Cange, p. 5

all lost, nothing can be accurately known of their value and workmanship.

There are a great number of coins extant with Alfred's stamp on them, but in their execution they are far inferior to the coinage of other Anglo-Saxon princes. The image of the king is in general so rudely engraved, that every attempt to trace any resemblance in even a single feature must be abandoned. There is no doubt that Offa once employed Italian coiners; his stamp could not otherwise have attained that perfection which every one must grant it to possess; and in the time of Athelstan, Alfred's grandson, traces of artistic skill are again perceptible in the coinage, which then first became the object of legal enactments. From the coarse alloy[1] of Alfred's money, we may infer that the difficulties of the age prevented him from improving it, and that he probably had recourse to expedients similar to those which Frederick the Great could not avoid using. His laws contain no reference to coinage, although there is frequent mention made in them of pounds, shillings, and pence. The shilling and the penny existed as coins, as well as a third part of the latter[2]. On the pieces of money we possess, the king is simply designated Aelfred, or Alfred rex, or Elfred MXX.; the places where money was coined were Dorovernia, Oxnaforda, and Londinia.

A particular branch of mediæval art is formed by its manuscripts. We remember that book whose illuminated letters first smiled on the child, so anxious to acquire knowledge. The few manuscripts of Alfred's day which are still in existence are very simply written; the hand is flowing, and very legible, especially in the old copies of the "Pastoral Care." The initial letters of the chapter are regularly decorated, but without great splendour. Dragons or monsters of the bird species and distorted human countenances are drawn with a black pencil around the base of the letters, the red colour is then added afterwards for shading.

These are the only fragments from which, at the present day, we can derive even an inadequate idea of the state of art and knowledge in England during the second part of the ninth century. But notwithstanding the great obstacles

[1] Ruding. Annals of the Coinage, ed. iii. vol. i. p. 125.

[2] Legg. Alf. 71: priddan dael paenninges.

which present themselves in the research, we may clearly perceive how Alfred ceaselessly endeavoured to elevate the intellectual condition of his people, as long as was possible, by means of his own influence, and all the resources that he could command. The next century enjoyed the fruits of his efforts, which had regained the lost ground, and provided efficient defence against fresh disasters.

VII.

RENEWED CONTEST AND SUCCESSFUL RESULTS—THE KINGDOM DESCENDS STRENGTHENED TO EDWARD I.

THE years of peace, which could not have been more nobly and profitably employed by Alfred for the mental and bodily welfare of his subjects in all branches of legislation and political economy, and in the cultivation of the arts and sciences, were rapidly drawing to a close. Many things indeed still remained to be accomplished; some might be effected in the quiet intervals of the immediately succeeding years, but others would be unavoidably left to later governments, with still less hope of success. The pressure of outward circumstances on the West Saxon kingdom began again to overpower all consideration of its internal condition, into which the incomparable exertions of its king had infused such new vigour. Once more Alfred was destined to resist the piratical foe, the terror of all organised forms of government.

Harbingers of such a misfortune had not been wanting during the time that had elapsed since the king procured a happy tranquillity for the country. Rumours of the exploits of the heathens, who still molested in large numbers all the coasts of the opposite continent, were constantly brought over to the Saxons, and claimed the serious attention of Alfred. Yet it seemed that the solemn doctrines which, after great efforts, he had succeeded in imparting to the marauders, had still some influence over them, and restrained them during this period from making any fresh attack on his dominions. Since the year 885, they had made no actual attempt at hostility; the two people so nearly related, but who had so hated one another when they were separated by different religions and habits, had learnt to

know their common interest since the conversion of many Northmen in East Anglia and even in Northumbria. It seems as if the admission of the Danes into the more civilised Anglo-Saxon community had formed a strong bulwark against any further attacks of heathendom.

There had been no occasion for campaigns and battles during this period; the deep wounds inflicted on the Saxons by the lengthened war were slowly healing. New influence had been gained for them by the heroic king, by which, in a peaceable manner, the boundaries of the kingdom were extended, and its supremacy acknowledged by its hitherto unconquered neighbours. Alfred succeeded also in effecting what no other king had been able to accomplish before him, the establishing a peaceful intercourse with the Welsh Britons, and convincing them of their dependence upon the powerful neighbouring state. During the long contest with the Danes, the old national hatred had not once been thoroughly excited; it is true the Welsh had by their enmity contributed not a little to the sufferings of the year 878, but they had experienced painfully enough that the Danes, with whom they thought to make common cause, did not spare them, but added severely to the wretchedness of their condition. Amongst the petty princes of their land there were continual disagreements and quarrels, it was therefore natural that the weaker side should first turn to that country which had, in fact, long possessed the dominion over them.

It was about the time when Alfred became acquainted with Asser that discords such as these prevailed in the native land of the latter, information of which is only derived from him[1]. He applied to the King of the West Saxons on behalf of himself and his monastery of St. David, for protection against the constant provocations and injustice of Hemeid, the Prince of Demetia, and he formally made Alfred's promise of aid one of the conditions towards attaining that mutual relation which the king so much desired. But Alfred also took advantage of this state of things to fix decisively his authority over the Welsh. Being severely oppressed by the six sons of Rotri Maur (Roderick the Great), the

[1] Asser, p. 488.

Lords of Venedotia, or North Wales, Hemeid first submitted to the Saxon power, with his little territory of Demetia. Helised, son of Tendyr, and King of Brecknock, overpowered by the same adversaries, yielded himself to the sway of Alfred. Howel, son of Ris, and Prince of Glevesing, in the present counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, Brocmail and Fernmail, sons of Mouric, and princes of Gwent-by-the-Severn, could neither of them any longer withstand the harsh measures of Ethelred, the powerful Ealderman of Mercia, who desired to have peace within the borders, and they went voluntarily to solicit the protection of King Alfred. At length Anaraut, the son of Rotri, after renouncing the friendship of the Anglo-Danes in Northumbria, from which he had gained nothing, but had rather suffered injury, came with his brothers to declare his willingness also to submit without appealing to arms. When he came into the presence of Alfred, the king received him with all due respect, adopted him as his godson from the hands of a bishop, probably Werfrith, presented him with rich gifts, and caused him with all his vassals, and with regard to all his seignorial rights, to enter into the same feudal relation with Wessex in which Ethelred and Mercia stood. When this compact was explained and comprehended on both sides, it might be justly asserted that all the lands of South-Western Britain belonged to King Alfred[1]. They never again opposed him, nor lent any aid to his northern foes, so long as he wielded the West Saxon sceptre.

The principal causes of the again-threatened outrages of the Danes against England must be attributed to the restless character of this people, and to the great losses they so frequently sustained on the Frankish coasts, but at the same time also to the events which took place in those parts of England which were inhabited by a mixed population. In the year 890, for instance, Guthorm-Athelstan[2], the King of East Anglia, died: during his later years he had lived much more tranquilly, compelled either by age or the force of circum-

[1] Asser, p. 488: Omnes regiones dexteralis Britanniae partis ad Aelfred regem pertinebant et adhuc pertinent. Dexteralis means southern, in which direction it was then considered the regions inhabited by Britons were situated.

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 890; Florent. Wigorn. i. 108.

stances, and seems to have performed faithfully the contract formerly entered into. He was buried at Thetford[1]. With respect to the succession in his kingdom, there is much obscurity in the sources of information, which however tend to show that circumstances had occurred to impede its regular course. After him a Northman named Eohric reigned; and under Edward I., the son or nephew, Guthorm II.[2], is first met with. But it is probable that after the death of Guthorm, the principles of heathenism were revived in Suffolk and Norfolk. Egbert had reigned over one part of Northumbria during the latter part of the time that had elapsed since the death of Halfdene, and Guthfrid of the Danes, over the other part. The origin of this prince is obscure; it is said that he was a son of the Danish king, Hardicanute[3]; he was a Christian, and an especial benefactor to the church at Durham. He had sworn to maintain a sacred peace towards Alfred; he died on the 24th of August, 894, and was interred in York Cathedral[4]. Under his rule, the influence of Alfred seems to have obtained pre-eminence in Northumbria; and after his death, the Danish power, which was represented by the three sons of the deceased, vainly attempted to resist it. The attacks which were meanwhile in preparation from abroad, were perhaps connected with events of this kind.

Hitherto the Northmen had been unable to make a firm footing, and to establish settlements upon the coasts of the German and Frankish Carlovingians. In spite of the deficiency of power in those kingdoms, and the great defeats they had sustained, the warfare was continually carried on, and the vagrant enemy was never allowed to have any rest. Wherever they appeared anxious to settle, they were either repulsed by some unexpected assault, or their own restlessness urged them onwards until they again met with another adversary, who was resolute in defending his possessions. At last the German king, Arnulf, who was once more destined

[1] Gaimar, v. 3383: Le cors de lui gist a Thuetfort; but according to the annals of the pseudo-Asser, in Headlaga.

[2] Vide above, p. 140

[3] Simeon Dunelm. Gesta Reg. Angl. A. 883, ap. Twysden.

[4] Ethelwerd, iv. 518: In natalitia Sancti Bartholomaei. Simeon Dunelm. Gesta Angl. p. 685.

to do honour to the race from which he descended, engaged with the enemy on his northern borders[1], with a considerable army, consisting of Franks, Saxons, and Bavarians.

A defeat which was sustained by him at first, was soon followed by the splendid victory on the banks of the river Dyle, near Louvaine, on September 1st, 891. Arnulf surprised the Danes, and completely vanquished them before their ships could come up. The battle was so decisive, that in future the Danes never attempted to fix themselves for any length of time upon German territory[2].

But another large army, which in the most fearful manner continued to ravage the northern kingdoms of France, stood in no immediate connexion with the Danes who had been conquered in Flanders, and therefore felt no actual alarm at this defeat. Hasting, who must then have been approaching old age, was the dreaded leader of this division. Within a year, he had already pillaged the district by the river Somme; now he had taken a firm position at Amiens, and from thence he attempted, by sudden attacks, to plunder the rich establishments of St. Vaast and St. Omer. King Odo, who marched against him, several times suffered grievous loss. In consequence of the incessant devastations, a universal famine visited these countries in the year 892; immense hordes of Danes, who found nothing more to plunder there, and who were joined from the north by the remnant of the army which was defeated at the Dyle, assembled together at Boulogne, and embarked with their horses in a fleet of 250 ships, for England[3]. They landed at the mouth of the little river Limene (Lymne), in East Kent, on the eastern side of the Andredswald, which the Chronicle describes as being 120 miles long, and 30 miles broad. Here they probably availed themselves of an old Romish fortification, which has been recently discovered. They brought their ships four miles up the river into the Wald, and came upon a fortress which had been

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 891.

[2] Annal. Fuld. 891; Pertz. M. G. S.S. i. 408.

[3] Annal. Vedast. A. 892; Pertz. Monum. i. 528; Chron. Sax. A. 893, in the original Cambridge manuscript, 892, which year is also noted by Ethelwerd, iv. 518. Lappenberg, p. 342, n. 2, supposes, in accordance with Guido, Alberich, A. 895, that Björn Eisenrippe was the conductor of this fleet.

thrown up by some Kentish peasants; and as it was still in an incomplete state, the defence made there was unsuccessful. A little further on, the army settled near Appeldore. Not much later, in the year 893, another fleet of eighty sail landed in the mouth of the Thames, commanded by Hasting himself, from whom, unquestionably, the entire enterprise originated, and who, being compelled to leave the coasts of France, came to England in the hope of finding fresh booty, and perchance a kingdom, as others of his countrymen had done before. He went up the Swale, and also landed in Kent, where he raised a fortress at a place called Milton[1].

In this position the two armies remained quietly until towards the close of the following winter. About Easter, in the year 894 (March 31st), the Danes left their camp at Appledore, and, protected by the thickets and marshes, they penetrated into the neighbouring districts. Their destructive march extended into Hampshire and Berkshire[2]. The fickle inhabitants of East Anglia and Northumbria, some of whom were still heathens, who had shortly before renewed their oath of fidelity to Alfred, the Northumbrians even giving him six hostages, acted in perfect unison with the large hosts of strangers, joining them in their incursions into the contiguous West Saxon and Mercian provinces, as often as they went from Appledore or Milton in search of plunder.

The moment was now arrived when Alfred once more grasped the sword, which had long rested in the scabbard whilst he was exercising the weapons of the mind in the peaceful days of leisure. The dexterity and cunning of the foe were, from long and painful experience, well known to him. How often he must have seen that the Danes never practised a brave and honourable method of warfare, but were accustomed to steal cunningly out of the heat of battle, and by treacherous ambush, to gain the upper hand. Alfred therefore resolved to make the utmost use of this experience, which had been so dearly bought, and to employ the greatest caution and similar craft in his own plans. So long as the Danes remained quietly in their fortified encampments he did not attack them, for the localities they selected were

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 893; Ethelwerd, iv. 518.
[2] Ethelwerd, iv. 518.

wholly inaccessible on account of the forest and the bogs. But every preparation was made to give them a bloody reception on more favourable ground.

In the interval of peace Alfred had also provided for the warlike defence of his country, especially in the following arrangements: all who were capable of bearing arms were to be divided into two parts, one to guard constantly house, field, and labour, whilst the other part opposed the enemy in the battle-field; at the appointed time an exchange was to be made, and the two divisions were to relieve each other. There was, besides, one particular troop which formed the garrison of the fortified places, and remained always under arms[1]. But Alfred unquestionably caused all his soldiers to practise the arts of defence during the whole time, and many of them had already been in battle. Immediately after the arrival of the Northmen, Alfred seems to have placed a small troop of spies on the south-eastern part of his kingdom, under the command of his youthful son Edward, the crown-prince, who received information concerning every movement of the enemy[2]. The Ealderman Ethelred had likewise summoned his troops, especially placing those under his jurisdiction to garrison the newly-fortified city of London. When Edward announced that the heathen had passed near him on their march, although he was unable to obstruct them, Alfred arose with the whole strength of his troops and encamped between the two hostile divisions, as near as he could possibly approach, owing to the forest and the morasses on both sides, and so as to be able to attack either on the instant it might venture into the open plain. He could not have selected a more advantageous position, as in front he not only separated the two armies from each other, but also kept them apart from those who were in the Danish interest on the eastern coast. It seems that Hasting was induced by this to promise that he would soon quit the country, and that, on this occasion, he sent his sons as hostages to the Saxon king, who sent them back to their father[1], after causing them to

[1] Hæfde se cyning his fierd on tu tônumen. swa þæt hie wæron simle healfe at hâm. healfe ût. bûtan pæm monnum þe þa burga healdan scolden. Chron. Sax. A. 894.

[2] This is likewise to be gathered from Ethelwerd, iv. 518: Praenotata sunt haec clitoni tum Eaduuerdi filii regis, etc.

be baptised, he and his son-in-law Ethelred being their sponsors.

The Danes, with a view to plunder, went in small bands along the edge of the forest. Similar small detachments were sent out by the king in pursuit of them, partly selected from his own forces, partly from those forming the garrison of the towns: by day and night there ensued perpetual collisions and skirmishes. The Danes only twice ventured out with their whole strength; once, immediately after their landing, when the Saxons had not yet opposed them; the next time, most probably, when the division which had invaded the remote districts of Hampshire had returned heavily laden with booty. Apparently, the purpose of the heathen was to go across the Thames and to reach Essex, whither their ships had already sailed. Alfred immediately went with his troops in order to cut off their retreat. At Farnham, in Surrey, he compelled them to fight, completely defeated them, and took from them all the spoil they had amassed. The Prince Edward gloriously distinguished himself in the bloody conflict; the heathen king (Björn ?) fled wounded from the battle-field. His army rushed in wild confusion towards the north, and passed over the Thames, being unable to discover more than one ford, which was probably between Hampton and Kingston. They returned into Essex, and first reassembled in the island of Thorney, which lies at the outlet of the Colne, where their vessels had previously gone.

Alfred at once despatched a part of his army in the same direction. For a long time the Saxons blockaded the Danish ships, but at length their provisions failed; the time of service of that division which maintained the siege had expired, and in all probability they had no ships with which to approach the enemy by sea. The soldiers, by whom the siege had been commenced and then relinquished, were returned home, and Alfred was himself approaching with the

[1] This is borrowed by Lappenberg, p. 343, from Chron. Sax. 894: Hæfdon hi hiora onfangen âer Hæsten to Beamfleote côme, und from Ethelwerd, iv. 518: Obsecrant pacis barbari jamque foederisque statum: obsides dantur; adfirmant jure exire regno praefati regis: actus et sermo simul una complentur.

troop appointed to take their place, to keep the besieged army in check, and fully to annihilate it, when he received intelligence of a sudden attack which had been made by the faithless Northumbrians and East Angles upon the western coasts of his kingdom. The Danes, who had not yet recovered the heavy losses which they had sustained at Farnham, and being impeded by their severely-wounded king, who could not keep up with them, had, in order to overtake their allies, collected together several hundred vessels, in which they sailed for some distance along the south coast, and threatened to take possession of Exeter, whilst a fleet of forty ships went into the Bristol Channel, and commenced an attack upon a citadel in the north of Devonshire. The scheme was cunningly devised, for that part of the kingdom was then entirely destitute of every means of defence. When this intelligence was conveyed to Alfred, he resolved to return immediately with the principal part of the troops then remaining with him, to make preparations for defending his western provinces, and to prevent the enemy from every attempt at gaining possession of them[1].

But whilst the king provided for the accomplishment of this object, he had at the same time to carry on the warfare in the east. For this purpose he had left behind a strong body of his forces, which marched towards London, and with other auxiliary troops hastening thither from the west, reinforced the garrison already there. Unquestionably this army, commanded by the Ealderman Ethelred, on whom devolved the duty of protecting the eastern parts of the kingdom, penetrated into Essex as far as Bamfleet. Thither Hasting had gone with his troops, shortly after the battle at Farnham, again occupying that fortress which he had abandoned in the year 885. The large army which had been formerly settled at Appledore, and had then been driven to the mouth of the Colne, was also opposed to him; it was now within the citadel, and Hasting was engaged in a plundering expedition, when the Saxons appeared before it in all their strength. They easily overcame the resistance attempted against them, stormed the fortress, and took possession of all they found therein, women and children, as well as every

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 894.

kind of property, and returned home to London enriched with much spoil. The ships which they had found ashore at Bamfleet, were partly broken to pieces or burned, partly taken to London and Rochester.

Amongst the prisoners were the wife and the two sons of Hasting, who were sent to King Alfred; he did not avenge himself upon them, however, but once again showed his generous and Christian nature by sending them back to the treacherous Dane, with costly presents. Hasting, who had violated his oath to the godfather of his children, could not yet be won to improvement and conversion. Even after his fortress was taken, and he had experienced the most benevolent treatment from Ethelred and Alfred, he did not abstain from devastating in the wildest manner the dominions of his benefactors[1]. He knew that his brave opponent was busily engaged in the distant west, and, in a short time, he effected a union of the scattered hordes in Essex, which he reinforced by fresh allies from the coasts of Northumbria and East Anglia. He formed with them a strong entrenchment at Shobury, somewhat to the east of Bamfleet. He soon considered his forces sufficiently strong to attack Mercia; then marched up the left bank of the Thames, and passed across the country, until he reached the Severn, intending to follow the course of that river towards the south.

But Ethelred did not look idly on during these disturbances, he collected together all the troops under his command; Ethelhelm, the Ealderman of Wiltshire, Ealderman Ethelnoth, and the royal Thanes who occupied the garrisons, also came with their forces. Those places east of the river Parrot, and east and west of Selwood, sent their soldiers, as did the countries north of the Thames and west of the Severn, and even North Wales. With this great army Ethelred marched against the Danes, and encountered them at Buttington, on the banks of the Severn, where they were secured behind their fortifications. He immediately sur-

[1] And eft oðre siðe he waes on hergaŏ gelend on pæt ilce rice. pa pa man his geweorc abræc. Chron. Sax. A. 894, where the twice-repeated capture of Hasting's sons is considered as one.

rounded them on every side, and for many weeks[1] prevented them from making any attempt to escape. As all means of conveyance were cut off, a fearful famine ensued amongst the besieged army; they had already devoured the greater number of their horses, and many had died of starvation, when Hasting found himself compelled to risk a sally towards the east. A fearful battle ensued, in which many royal Thanes were killed, amongst them one named Ordheh; but the Christians were victorious, and scattered the Northmen in wild flight[2].

If that is true which we gather from the incomprehensible words of Ethelwerd, Hasting concluded a treaty, by which he promised to quit Mercia. It is clear that he was obliged to do so without delay; and his victors appear to have permitted him to depart unmolested. He reached his fortress in Essex; but before the winter[3], he hastily gathered together the dispersed remnant of his countrymen, and fresh troops of East Angles and Northumbrians, and formed them into a large army. They gave their women, their ships, and all their property, into the charge of the East Angles, and then journeyed, day and night, in unbroken marches back again to the north-west. The pirate seems to have laid much stress upon effecting his passage to the western coast; perhaps he purposed advancing to the assistance of the great fleet on the coast of Devonshire, which was in the mean time hard pressed by Alfred.

Immediately after the victory at Buttington, Ethelred had dismissed the Mercian troops according to custom. Thus Hasting met with no opposition to his departure, and he reached Chester, which lies at the entrance of the peninsula of Wirral[4]. But he did not succeed in surprising the garrison, which was safe behind the walls; and the Danes contented themselves with besieging the city for two days,

[1] ðа hie pа fela wucena sæton on twa healfe pære ê. Chron. Sax. A. 894.

[2] Gesta haec quippe in Buttingtune praedicantur a priscis, says Ethelwerd, alluding in intelligible words to the songs which in his time were doubtlessly sung about this battle.

[3] Onforan winter.

[4] On anre westre ceastre on Wirhealum. seo is Legaceaster gehâten. Chron. Sax. A. 894.

killing the few people whom they found without the walls, and driving all the cattle from the fields. They burnt the corn which fell into their hands, or consumed it themselves with their horses[1].

Hasting passed the winter at Wirral; in the spring of the year 895 he made preparations for going into North Wales, for the supplies of cattle and corn had either been exhausted by his troops or again taken from him[2]. In Wales they advanced towards the south, and especially ravaged Gwent, Brecknock, and many other adjacent districts[3]. With the plunder which they obtained there they returned to the north, passed inland across Northumbria and East Anglia, so that the Mercians who went in pursuit could not overtake them. They probably approached York, and then went through the Mercian territory towards the south. Near Stamford, on the river Welland, in Northamptonshire, a battle must have taken place between Hasting and the Ealderman Ethelnoth, who advanced against him from the west[4]. The greater number of the heathens returned, however, to Essex, and established themselves in the island of Mersey.

At the same time that Hasting went into Wales, a pirate named Sigeferth sailed with his fleet from Northumbria, and devastated and pillaged along the coasts, after which he returned home laden with booty[5].

Meanwhile Alfred had kept the field in Devonshire for a

[1] On ælcere efenehðe—always at evening, if the word is correct.

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 895.

[3] Annales Cambriae, A. 895. Nordmanni venerunt et vastaverunt Loyer et Brecheniauc et Guent et Guinliguiauc; also Morganwg and Buallt, Brut y Tywysogion, A. 894, in Mon. Hist. Brit.

[4] I infer this from the incomprehensible account of Ethelwerd, from which Lappenberg gathers, somewhat incorrectly, that it occurred in the following year, whilst two years had passed since the landing of the heathen. The words, which defy all interpretation, are as follows: ab occidentali profectus est parte tunc Anglorum Aethelnoth dux; adit in hoste Evoraca urbe, qui non parva territoria pandunt in Myrciorum regno loci in parte occidentali Stan forda, hoc est inter fluenta amnis Uueolod et condensso sylvae quae vulgo Ceoftefne (Ceostefne) nuncupatur.

[5] Ethelwerd, p. 518. We do not learn whither the march was directed. According to the Annals of Ulster, p. 65, Sigeferth, Ingvar's son, had killed his brother Guthferth.

whole year, although no decisive event appears to have taken place in this part of the kingdom; but he prevented the germ of his state, the old West Saxon province, from being devastated by the Danes, and at length compelled the great fleet which had vainly attempted to blockade Exeter to put to sea again and to sail homewards.

On their way thither, the Danes and East Angles made a sudden onslaught upon the coast of Sussex, not far from Chichester; but the citizens of that place attacked them, put them to flight, killed several hundreds of them, and seized some of their ships; the remainder joined their comrades in the island of Mersey[1].

Before the end of the winter, the Danish encampment there was in motion; they had left their ships afloat, and now towed them up the Thames, and thence up the Lea. The winter was passed in erecting a fort at a distance of four German miles north of London, in the neighbourhood of Hertford or Ware. With the summer of 896 a considerable number of Saxons and others came out of the garrison in London and assailed the fortress; but they were repulsed by the Danes, and four royal Thanes were killed. About the time of harvest, Alfred, with a powerful army, encamped in the vicinity of London, in order that the people might carry their crops without molestation from the Danes. One day, when the king was riding by the side of the little river Lea he discovered a place where the channel might be very easily disturbed, so that the stream could be diverted from its course, thus preventing the enemy from bringing out their vessels. He began by causing two forts to be constructed on both sides of the Lea[2]. His soldiers had encamped near the spot, and were busily engaged in the work, when the Danes observed that the water was flowing off, and that it would be impossible for them to take away their ships. They therefore abandoned them; they had before left their women in the charge of the East Angles, and they then hastened to-

[1] Chron. Sax. 895.

[2] Chron. Sax. 896. Barrington, in his translation of Aelf. Oros. p. 60, suggests, with great probability, that Alfred was induced to undertake the task of diverting the course of the Lea by remembering a similar exploit of which he had read in Orosius, performed by Cyrus at the Euphrates.

wards the north, and again marched through the country towards the Severn, and encamped near Bridgenorth[1] in Shropshire. Whilst Alfred despatched his army in pursuit for some distance, the inhabitants of London took the forsaken ships into their possession. Such as were useless were all destroyed, but the serviceable ones were taken to London[2].

In the summer of the following year, the great army of Northmen left the Severn, and divided into three parts, one of which returned home into East Anglia, and another went into Northumbria. The third division, which was in the greatest need, procured ships, and led by Hasting, went southwards across the sea to the mouth of the Seine[3]. Here the old pirate understood how to compel King Charles the Simple to give up a piece of land in the province of Chartres, the possession of which was quietly enjoyed by Hasting until fifteen years later, when Rollo conquered Normandy[4].

Thus, after three years' valiant defence, the kingdom of the West Saxons was delivered from the destructive foe who had endeavoured to penetrate into it from all sides, by land and by water, and who at last were forced to abandon their purpose, and to depart as poor as they came. "Thanks be to God," writes the old Saxon chronicler, "this time the heathen did not so utterly despoil the English people[5]." And we may venture to conjecture from Alfred's character, that he and all his people celebrated a joyful festival of thanksgiving in the restored and well-guarded churches. But another evil, from which the Saxons suffered greater loss than in the battle-field, was the contagious sickness, which, in consequence of the ravages and other distresses attendant on war, raged amongst men and beasts. Even the highest classes of the community were not exempt from the pestilence, and amongst the most honoured dignitaries and officers in the kingdom who died at that time were the Bishops Swithulf of Rochester, and Ealheard of Dorchester; the Ealdermen Ceolmund of Kent, Beorhtulf of Essex, and

[1] Æt Cwatbricge be Saefern.

[2] þe þaer staelwyrðe wæron, took with them what was worth stealing.

[3] Chron. Sax. A. 897, and Asserii Annales ad A. 895.

[4] Wilh. Gemet. ap. Du Chesne Scriptt. rer. Norm. p. 221, 228.

[5] næfde se here. Godes ponces. Angel—cyn ealles for swiðe gebrocod. Chron. Sax. 896.

Wulfred of Hampshire; the Thane Eadulf; Beornwulf, the Burggrave of Winchester, and Ecgulf, the king's riding-master; all of whom belonged to those important ranks upon which depended the welfare and security of the country.

Yet the courage of the people and of their king by no means failed; once more, and, indeed, for the last time in Alfred's life, they were obliged to make preparations for defence. The hostile troops, which came from Bridgenorth into Northumbria and East Anglia, and which consisted of the faithless inhabitants of those parts, and of many homeless Danes, ventured again to attack the West Saxon territory, and endeavoured especially to reach the southern coast, where hitherto they had gained but little plunder, in the light vessels fabricated by them long since, in anticipation of such an enterprise[1]. Alfred, who had learnt to meet the enemy with their own weapons, and who had always succeeded, now resolved to attack them with all his power upon the sea itself. Amidst so many other cares, it had been until now impossible for him to arrange a fleet. A great many ships had been, indeed, repeatedly seized by his people in past years, and now lay in the harbours of London and Rochester. He might have very well employed them for his purpose, but the Danish vessels were small and frail; besides, the Saxons were not such bold and hardy mariners as the Danes.

Alfred sought in the stores of his inventive and persevering mind for means to remedy this evil. He caused long ships to be built, nearly twice the length of the Scandinavian ships[2], most of them propelled by sixty or even more oars. He proposed to gain stronger, higher, and at the same time more rapid vessels; and in this aim he copied neither from Frisian nor Danish models, but produced an entirely national result, and furnished his country with a means of defence which, in later years, became the pride of the island and made her the sovereign of the seas. Thus in the history of England's naval power, also, Alfred is found to have taken an important onward step. In order to man this new fleet,

[1] Ealra swiðost mid paem æscum pe hie fela geara âer timbredon. Chron. Sax. A. 897.

[2] These so called snekkar (snakes) had generally only twenty oars. Sir Harris Nicholas, History of the Royal Navy, i. 10.

he obtained, besides the mariners on his own coasts, certain Frisians who were particularly good sailors, and had not only lived and traded peaceably with the opposite island, but in the continual conflicts with the same foe must have acquired considerable skill in maritime war. Frisians and Saxons were both Low Germans and Christians; they agreed together admirably, and endeavoured unanimously to repel heathenism.

When the Danes in their old manner commenced their ravages on the south coast, Alfred determined to chastise them with his new fleet. Six hostile ships were stationed off the Isle of Wight, and disturbed by unexpected landings the opposite coast as far as Devonshire[1]; they had even entered a port of that province, when nine of Alfred's galleys appeared at the entrance, and blocked up their egress by sea. The Danes rowed against them with three of their ships, the three others remained aground somewhat further up the stream, where the tide had ebbed, and permitted the rapacious troops to land. The Saxons immediately began the conflict in six of their ships, seized upon two of the three Danish vessels and killed the crews; the third escaped, after losing all its men excepting five. But in the heat of the battle the Saxons had failed to notice the shallowness of the water; three of their ships went ashore before the commencement of the affray, on the same side as the three Danish vessels were stranded, and the Saxons succeeded in landing there. The other Saxon ships ran in upon the opposite shore, and this gave one of the enemy's ships an opportunity to escape, but all means of communication with their comrades was cut off. Meanwhile the Danes who reached the land had acquired knowledge from the past, and as the sea had so far receded that all the ships which lay ashore on their side were by this time at a great distance[2] from the water, in the fury of desperation they hastened to attack the Saxons. Upon the shore a furious conflict ensued between the two forces, in which one hundred and twenty Danes were killed; but on the Saxon side, Lucumon, the king's reeve; Ethelferth, the king's neat-herd; the Frisian seamen, Wulfheard, Aebbe,

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 897.

[2] pæt waeter waes ahebbod fela furlanga from pæm scipum.

and Ethelhere, with sixty-two other brave men, were slain. Those Saxons whose ships remained immovable on the other bank of the river, so that they could not hasten to the rescue, were almost desperate when they were obliged to witness such a disaster[1]. Already the victory seemed nearly decided in favour of the Danes, when they perceived that their ships began to be afloat before those of their opponents. They hastily rushed into them, seized the oars, and guided them out to sea. They had gained an important advantage when the nine large Saxon ships were released and able to follow them. The vessels of the pirates were so much injured, that they could not venture to take them along the dangerous coasts of Sussex: the sea cast two of them on shore, where the inhabitants seized the crews, and took them prisoners to Winchester. Alfred, who was at that place, caused the captives to be hanged together on the gallows. The crew of the remaining ship came sorely wounded into East Anglia. In the same summer twenty Danish vessels were wrecked upon the south coast, and every soul on board perished[2].

These are the last-recorded hostilities during Alfred's reign. His attempt to cope with the enemy by sea could not in this instance be called successful — his people had gained the battle only after severe losses, and his large ships had been taken into a channel for which they were certainly not fitted. Much was still needed before the Saxons could compete with their adversaries by sea, in boldness and ability, yet they ventured to do so, and were able to defend their coasts from hostile attacks with the new fleet, especially in the ensuing year. The Danes were now exhausted in the British island, they were kept in perfect restraint by the vigilance of Alfred.

Posterity knows scarcely anything of the four last years of the king's life: after peace was restored, the old authorities had nothing more important to record than the death of some exalted personages, such as the Marshal Wulfric, the brave

[1] Henric. Huntingd. v. 741, derives his account from the Chronicle, but he gives a more lively and poetical description: Videres autem gentem sex navium bellum aspicientem, et auxilium ferre nequientem pugnis caedere pectus, et unguibus rumpere crines.

[2] Mid monnum, mid ealle. Chron. Sax. A. 897.

Ealderman Ethelhelm, and Eabstan, Bishop of London[1]. But besides what we know and have already minutely considered respecting Alfred's diversified sphere of action, we may confidently venture to fill up the chasm still left, by assuming that the king continued to enjoy the leisure time of peace by advancing his own mental improvement and that of those who belonged to him, as far as he was permitted by the affairs of his office and his bodily sufferings. He promoted the welfare of his country by a just administration of his laws; the instruction of his youthful subjects prospered under his special superintendence; and the time that was left at his disposal, after the fulfilment of his other duties, was devoted as before to study. After the years of peril had passed, he undoubtedly resumed his long-suspended literary labours in conjunction with his learned companions, and perhaps completed many works which had been previously commenced.

But the bodily weakness caused by an insidious disease, from which Alfred suffered during the most precious years of his life, and which must have been much aggravated by severe privations and rigorous weather throughout a long-sustained war, brought, in all probability, a premature age upon him; his powers, which he had so greatly exerted with unwearied energy in spite of all obstacles, now failed, and he died, on the 28th of October, 901, at the early age of fifty-three years and six months[2]. The exact particulars relating to his death were never recorded. But he died, as he had lived, happy in the consciousness of having fulfilled his duty to his best ability. His body was buried in the monastery founded by him at Winchester, in which place most probably

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 897, 898.

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 901: syx nihtum âer ealra haligra maessan, that is, the 26th October; but no doubt instead of syx, the word ought to be feower, a mistake easy to arise in cypher, for the Anglo-Saxon Calendar mentions the 28th as the day of the Depositio Aelfredi regis, and Florent. Wigorn. i. 116, expressly states: Quarta feria, v. Kal. Novembris. The Chronicle also falsely reckons the duration of his reign to be twenty-eight years and a half, for we know that he began to reign on the 23rd April, 871: see p. 80. Florence has more correctly, xxix annis sexque mensibus regni sui peractis. Simeon Dunelm. Gesta Reg. Angl. on the contrary, records his death in 899, after twenty-eight years, but gives in his other works the correct Indiction iv.

his death occurred, and which had risen rapidly of late to be the chief city of the kingdom; here also his father and most of his ancestors were interred. According to a more recent account, he was previously buried in the episcopal cathedral where these graves actually were, because the new monastery of the Virgin Mary was not yet finished; but when the canons of the Church, excited by their national credulity, and by hostile feelings towards the clergy of the new monastery, declared that the spirit of the great king might be seen wandering about at night, his son ordered the coffin to be removed into the adjoining building, which was nearly completed[1]. In the reign of Henry I. the ashes were again removed into Hyde Abbey, opposite the northern gate of Winchester, where they were preserved until the Reformation, and the destruction of that edifice[2].

The country enjoyed a happy peace, when it had recovered from the grief occasioned by the death of its deliverer. He had been able to keep under his sceptre the whole of the English nation, excepting the east coast, where, before his accession, the Danes had succeeded in establishing themselves; but they, too, were dependent on him, and Wales obeyed without resistance. The eldest son of Alfred followed the course destined for him by his father, and immediately claimed his right of inheritance; more fortunate than Alfred had been at his accession, when the enemy occupied the land, and engaged him in lengthened battles. Edward had already attained his majority, his father had educated him to rule, and had proved that he was worthy. It is known that in 898 he took part in the affairs of government[3]. During his reign he always justified the confidence placed in him by his father, and he quickly gained that of his subjects also.

Even in the first year he showed his efficiency. His cousin Ethelwald, the second son of King Ethelred, yet a child at the time of Alfred's accession, and excluded from the throne by his father's express regulation[4], attempted to claim his rights: he was actuated by feelings in favour of

[1] Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 124. Florent. Wigorn. i. 116, in novo monasterio.
[2] Townshend, Winchester, p. 17. Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, iv. 11.
[3] Kemble, Cod. Diplom. n. 324. Donation document of the year 898.
[4] See page 84.

a direct succession, which hitherto had never been fully recognised in the kingdoms of Christendom. Without the approval of all the people acknowledging him as the legitimate successor of Alfred, and without the consent of the Witan, he took possession of two royal domains. He endeavoured to maintain them with a troop of audacious adventurers, but he could find no party to his cause throughout the country of the Saxons. Besides, he was, in the opinion of the world, guilty of a heinous sin, having taken a maiden, who had been previously consecrated a nun, to be his wife, without permission from the king or the bishop. When Edward had advanced with his followers, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Wimborne, the beleaguered prince swore that he would either live or die there; but in the night he stole secretly out of his fortress, and escaped to join the Danes in Northumbria. With their help, joined with that of the enemy within the country, he believed that he could establish his claims. They indeed acknowledged him as their ruler, and obeyed his commands[1].

According to the custom of the pirates, he visited the domains of Edward with repeated devastations, but it was not until the year 905 that he ventured to invade Mercia with a large army, commanded by Eohric, King of the East Angles. He reached the Thames at Cricklade, and crossed the river, intending to carry home his plunder eastward through his cousin's territory. At length he was attacked by Edward, near the Ouse. Unfortunately for the king, and notwithstanding his commands, the Kentish men, who considered that the term of their service was expired, and who had gone home, could not be induced to return. They were punished for this refusal by a defeat from the Danes; but immediately afterwards, the foe was completely vanquished by Edward, and amongst many other hostile leaders, King Eohric and the Prince Ethelwald were slain[2].

This victory was of no slight importance. The Pretender himself, whom none of the Christian people would accept, and who had thrown them into the power of the heathen, had fallen in battle, and his colleagues were also conquered and punished. Shortly after, Edward compelled the Danes

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 901

[2] Chron. Sax. A. 905.

in East Anglia and Northumbria to conclude the treaty of Yttingaford[1], wherein he, with the new prince, Guthorm II., entered into those resolutions which we have already recorded, as a ratification of the peace of Wedmore, concluded by Alfred.

However, this peace was not sufficiently durable to secure the country from fresh invasions; in connexion with events in France, and particularly with Rollo's conquest of Normandy, the Danes, who had been converted to Christianity, moved to the east coasts, especially in the years 911 and 918, and invaded them repeatedly both by sea and land, but Ethelred of Mercia and King Edward always repulsed them with great loss. The king, who was strong and brave, like his father, was on all occasions fortunate and successful; the people prospered under his government, and they resolutely opposed the foe whenever they appeared. The mind of Alfred lived and operated both in king and subjects, and brought to perfection that of which he had laid the foundations amidst toils and dangers. Edward effected the security of the country not only by the construction or restoration of a large number of fortresses, but he fortified many towns, which contributed greatly towards its prosperity. As proofs of this, the authorities give such names as Chester, Hertford, Stafford, Tamworth, Warwick, and others. Towns like Towcester were for the first time surrounded by stone walls, and it was decreed in the laws of Edward that all labour and traffic should be only carried on within fortified places[2]. Like a careful prince, he endeavoured to secure his subjects and their property from every disadvantageous alliance with the deceitful foe.

He gained for the kingdom itself prosperity as well as protection. For in 912, when his brother-in-law, Ethelred, died, London and Oxford immediately appertained to Wessex, and Edward gladly seized on both these places, taking them into complete and lasting possession. The remainder of Mercia continued under the powerful sway of his sister Ethelfleda, who governed and ruled like a true daughter of Alfred. She built fortresses in conjunction with Edward, marched to the field herself, and in particular, defeated the Welsh

[1] Chron. Sax. A. 906. [2] Legg. Eadweardi, Laws and Institutes, i. 158.

prince, Owen, who had revolted and entered into a league with the Danes. Allied with this daring woman, the king was enabled to extend the eastern boundaries of the kingdom, and to resist the encroachments of the Northmen. This occurred especially at Derby, Leicester, Huntingdon, and also at Essex, where the citadel of Witham adjoined Maldon. Beyond the boundaries, the Danes in Northumbria and East Anglia again submitted to the supremacy of the West Saxons. The power of the ruling state extended to Strathclyde, the Celtish kingdom in Southern Scotland. When Ethelfleda, that wonderfully active and energetic woman, died on the 12th of June, 919[1], Edward took possession of the kingdom of Mercia, hitherto governed by her, undisturbed by the pretensions of Aelfwyn, his sister's only daughter, whom he sent into Wessex. This was a politic step on his part, for it was not desirable that the border-land should remain in the dominion of a female descendant, because by marriage she would have it in her power to form an alliance with the foe.

King Edward died at Farndon, in the year 924, at the summit of his renown, which, so far as it was founded upon regal power, exceeded that of his father, but in nobility of soul and literary acquirements Edward never attained the height reached by Alfred[2]. Athelstan afterwards inherited the fame as well as the power of both. After he had arranged the burial of his father in the new cloister at Winchester, he was solemnly proclaimed and crowned at the royal castle of Kingston, with the unanimous consent of his people.

In battles with the ancient foe he acquired the name of a victorious hero. York fell before his troops, and in the much-extolled battle of Brunandune (Bamborough), so famous in song, a most glorious victory was achieved by Alfred's grandson over the united forces of the Northmen and the Scottish Celts. His deeds, like those of Alfred, were celebrated in poetry. Feared as well as esteemed abroad, he formed friendly relations with conquered Norway, and in many other states arranged a foreign policy which

[1] Florent. Wigorn. i. 128.

[2] Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 125: Literarum scientia multum patre inferior, sed regni potestate incomparabiliter gloriosior.

possessed its most secure support in the flourishing commerce and the greatly enhanced prosperity of England. At the time of Athelstan's death, which took place on the 27th of October, 940, the Anglo-Saxon kingdom had reached the highest point of its glory, from which nothing could have removed it during the two next centuries, except the power of the great rulers of the North, the weakness of the enervated descendants of the race of Cerdic, and the presumptuous arrogance of a proud clergy henceforth no longer unanimous.

VIII.

ALFRED IN HIS PRIVATE AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

THAT the immediate descendants at least of the great king did honour to their name, is testified by the histories of Edward and Athelstan. They sprang from an heroic race, and kings and heroes themselves, they trod in the footsteps of their father. But besides the successors to his throne, Alfred saw a numerous offspring grow up around him, and all record of the character and fate of these descendants is not lost. It does not, therefore, seem out of place to consider the conscientious care which the king extended to his subjects, and the father to his children, and finally to glance at the high moral position which he took in all his relations towards them.

Our only authorities on this subject do not agree in all their statements, and this may be owing to the deficiency of historical evidence; but we must acknowledge with gratitude that in one document at least, known as Alfred's Will, there is preserved to us an invaluable means of becoming acquainted with the condition of the king's family. This document is founded on the Will of King Ethelwulf, which is unfortunately lost, and on the agreement which Alfred, as crown-prince, entered into with his brother Ethelred at Swineburgh[1]. By that agreement the succession was assured to him, in spite of the claims of the elder branch, and at the same time the royal private property was legally divided.

[1] P. 84.

About the year 885[1] a Witenagemot was held at Langadene, before which Alfred laid his father's will: the assembly recognised the king's right, as the kingdom and the principal part of the royal property were delivered into his hands to dispose of his own possessions in the manner he might judge to be most advantageous for his relations. The Witan willingly ratified the several arrangements he made for this purpose, and the records of them remain to this day[2], presenting a lively picture of the affectionate consideration with which Alfred treated his wife and children and his other friends.

He remained attached through his whole life with true conjugal fidelity to his consort Elswitha; the sufferings which they underwent together during the troubled period of war and exile never invaded his domestic peace. Elswitha did not attempt to move in an active sphere among the Saxons; this would not have been permitted her: she lived in the retirement of her home, occupied only in care for her husband and in the first education of her children. We nowhere find the slightest intimation that this beautiful harmony ever suffered any disturbance. Alfred appointed many estates for her maintenance, and it is a significant fact, and noble evidence of the fine and delicate mind of Alfred, that amongst these estates are those of Wantage and Ethandune[3], the one his own birthplace, the other the battle-field on which he had won freedom for his country with his sword. Wantage remained crown property until the time of the Plantagenets. History, occupied with other matters, relates little else of Elswitha. She was a God-fearing woman, as her mother had pre-eminently been; she survived her husband, and as the mother of the succeeding king, lived near him until her death, in the year 905[4].

Elswitha bore a number of children to her husband, of whom some died in their early youth. Amongst those who

[1] Kemble, Cod. Diplom. II. 314, finds good reasons in the document for placing it between the years 880 and 885.

[2] And hi ealle me ðaes hyra wedd sealdon and hyra handsetene.

[3] ðone ham æt Lamoburnan and æt Waneting and æt Etandune.

[4] Kemble, Cod. Diplom. II. 333. Some documents from the year 901, respecting an exchange of lands with the convent of Malmesbury, are signed by King Edward, and also by Ealhswiþ mater regis, Aelfred coniunx. Chron. Sax. A. 905

survived the eldest was Ethelfleda, the Lady of Mercia, a woman of strong mind and masculine courage. She stood faithfully by her consort Ethelred, and after his death took the reins of government into her own hands. Many documents bear witness to her share in public affairs[1]. She died July 12th, 919, and there seems to have been no descendant from her only child, a daughter. In common with all her sisters, she was richly provided for by Alfred in his will.

Edward, the heir to the throne, brought up under the eye and direction of his father, showed as a boy that his natural predilections were more in favour of corporeal than mental virtues, and his own reign confirmed the fact that his talents lay in this direction. His son Athelstan bore brilliant testimony to his descent from so noble a race. History has exalted his personal heroism even above that of his father, and poetry surrounds his birth as well as his victorious career. It is related that as Prince Edward was once riding over the country, he alighted at the hut of a shepherd, whose daughter Egwina, already forewarned by a vision of her high destiny, fascinated him by her beauty[2]. This woman, who may have been of higher than peasant birth, but certainly was not the equal of the prince, was the mother of Athelstan, and another child, a daughter. The boy grew up at the court of his grandfather, who, delighted with his beauty and the gentleness of his demeanour, prophesied a happy reign for him, and in his earliest youth attired him as a warrior, and presented him with a mantle of purple, a girdle set with precious stones, and a Saxon sword in a gold scabbard[3]. The grandson, thus as it were knighted, nobly fulfilled in later days Alfred's prophecy. We are told that Edward had twelve children by two other wives, who ranked as queens. Many of these children have been saved from oblivion by their position and history, and especially by their marriages, which strengthened and extended the foreign relations of the West Saxon kingdom. One of his daughters,

[1] Kemble, n. 311, 330, 339, 340, 1068, 1073, 1075.

[2] Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 139 and § 126, calls her, "illustris foemina," and again, § 131, "ut ferunt concubina." By Florent. Wigorn. i. 117, she is designated, "mulier nobilissima."

[3] Wilh. Malmesb. ii. 133.

Edgiva, became the consort of Charles the Simple, the King of the Franks; another, Ethilda, married Hugo the Great, the son of Robert, the powerful Duke of Neustria, Burgundy, and Francia. Athelstan, by these marriages, became connected with both the opposing races in the West Frankish kingdom, the Carlovingian and the Capetian, who were striving for the sovereignty. But the greatest alliance that he contracted was by the marriage of his sister Edgitha with the great emperor, Otho I. The ancient union between the continental and island Saxons was more firmly established than ever, and their common head and greatest prince held in his hands the destiny of Europe. A fourth daughter of Edward, whose name must have been Edgiva, espoused a prince in the neighbourhood of the Alps[1]. The youngest and most beautiful of all, Elgiva, became the wife of Duke Ludwig, of Aquitania. The third son, Edmund, succeeded the childless Athelstan on the throne. These are the branches of a powerful and widely-extended genealogical tree.

Alfred's third child was Ethelgeda, the Abbess of Shaftesbury, who, on account of her delicate health, early chose a spiritual life, in which, with the express permission of her father, she continued until her death, the date of which is not recorded.

His third daughter, Elfrida, Alfred gave in marriage to Count Baldwin of Flanders, the son of his step-mother Judith. Among other estates indicated in her father's last will, Elfrida received Lewisham in Kent, which she bequeathed, in the year 916, to the Convent of St. Blandin in Ghent[2]. The first Norman Queen of England, Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror, was descended from her. She died in the year 929[3].

To the great delight of Alfred, his youngest son, Ethelward, was in his earliest boyhood a zealous scholar, and became a fine example to studious youth. He received as the principal part of his inheritance the family possessions situated in various parts of the kingdom, and some of which

[1] Aethelweard prooem, i. 498; Ingulph. p. 878; Wilh. Malmesb. ii. § 127 cf. Hrotsuithae Carmen de gestis Oddonis, 1, ap. Pertz, M. G. S.S. iv. 321.

[2] See Lappenberg, p. 347, n. 1.

[3] Annales Blandinienses, ap. Pertz, M. G. S.S. v. 24.

were even within the Celtic borders. He appears as crown-prince during the reign of his brother, and some documents are signed by him[1]. He died on the 16th of October, 922, and was buried in the royal vault at Winchester[2]. There are records remaining of three of his children, and after them there is no trace of his descendants.

In accordance with the before-mentioned treaty of Swineburg, Alfred faithfully bequeathed their father's possessions to each of his two nephews, Ethelhelm and Ethelwald. The will mentions particularly the names of the estates. The youngest, however, was not content with his inheritance, which must have been as sufficient for him as for his kinsman to maintain the rank and position of a near blood-relation of the royal house. He not only endeavoured to extend his possessions, but even to seize the crown, which would have descended to him by right of succession, and was irrevocably secured in stringent documents. He therefore became an enemy to the king and a traitor to his fatherland. His death in the year 905 has been already mentioned. Ethelhelm was of a more contented disposition than his brother; he is probably that son of King Ethelred from whom the historian Ethelwerd boasts of being descended[3].

In his will Alfred also remembered a kinsman Osforth[4], to whom he bequeathed some villages, but whose degree of relationship to the royal family is not further mentioned. His name leads us to suppose that he may have been a descendant of the family of Osburgha.

These are the direct and lateral branches of Alfred's family. In order to enable them all to live in a manner worthy of their rank, they received bequests in land and money; Alfred provided for them in the most minute points, and always conscientiously carried out the wishes of his predecessors. But above all, he carefully kept in view the important necessity of providing a direct heir who should rank above all his relations and all the nobles of the kingdom, in

[1] Ethelward filius regis, Kemble, Cod. Diplom. n. 335, 337.

[2] Florent. Wigorn. i. 130.

[3] Ethelwerd, iv. 514.

[4] Kemble, Cod. Diplom. n. 314: "Osferde mînum mâege." "Osferð minister" is found in many of King Edward's documents.

wealth and landed property, and enjoy a separate establishment. The old conservative principles upon which he acted in this matter will be best explained in his own words:

"And I will that the persons who hold land follow the command in my father's will as far as is possible. And if I have detained any money from any man, I will that my relations repay it. I will that those to whom I have bequeathed my boc-land shall never after their lifetime let it go out of my family, but if so be that they have no children, it must go to my nearest of kin. But I most especially desire that it may remain in the male line as long as one is found worthy of it. My grandfather bequeathed his land to the spear half, and not to the spindle half[1]. If, therefore, I have bestowed any of his possessions on a female, my relations must redeem it, if they will, while she is living; but if not, it can be dealt with as we have before settled. But if they take it, it must be paid for; because those are my heirs to whom I shall give what I have to give as it seems best to me, whether male or female[2]."

The sums of money set apart by Alfred furnish many interesting evidences of his relations with his family and officers. To each of his two sons, as chief heirs, he bequeathed £500 ready money, and to each of his three daughters, and to his consort Elswitha, £100. Each of his ealdermen (and those related to him, Ethelhelm, Ethelward, and Osforth, are mentioned by name) was to receive 100 marks. To Ethelred, the Governor of Mercia, is left by special mention a sword of 120 marks' value. Among his serving men, whom he was accustomed to pay at Easter[3], £200 were to be divided according to the claims of each, and in the manner pointed out by himself. His faithful and devoted clergy also find a place in his will. To the archbishop[4] the sum of 100 marks was bequeathed, and the same amount to the Bishops Esne[5], Werfrith[6], and the Bishop

[1] Here the sexes are designated from the implements used by each—the male from the spear, the female from the spindle.

[2] Kemble, Cod. Diplom. n. 814. Compare Leg. Aelfr. 41.

[3] Dam mannum de me folgiad, de ic on eástertidum feoh sealde.

[4] Ethelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, died A. 888.

[5] Esne, Bishop of Hereford, died A. 885.

[6] Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, died A. 911 or 915.

of Sherborne, by whom it is not known whether Asser or Wulfsige is meant[1]. A sum of £200 was devoted to the salvation of his own soul, that of his father, and those of the friends to whom he or his father had promised benefits. This money was divided into four equal parts of £50 each: one for the whole body of mass-priests throughout the kingdom; one for God's poor servants; one for the distressed poor; and one for the church where he himself should rest. This was that of Winchester, to whose bishopric was already bequeathed all the landed property which Alfred possessed in Kent. The document then proceeds to set forth that Alfred did not exactly know whether his treasury would suffice for all these legacies, but he presumes that it would amount to still more. If this should be the case, the surplus is to be divided equally among all the legatees, the earldermen and servitors included. With regard to earlier arrangements, when his fortune was larger and his kindred more numerous, he remarks that he burnt all the writings connected with them after he had altered the arrangements; but if any of the documents should be produced, they were to be considered of no value, and the present will, accredited by the council of the nation, was to be followed in all respects.

The document concludes with a beautiful and humane decree of the kings. Alfred grants important alleviations to all his bond and free men. His personal dependents as well as the actual ceorls[2] in his service were to enjoy full liberty to go over to another master and to another estate at their own pleasure. No one was to extort any indemnification from them, and an unlimited choice of service lay open to both classes of servitors. In the name of God and his saints he prays his relations and testators to provide with all diligence for the fulfilment of this provision, and not allow any landholder to oppose these arrangements, made by himself, and recognised as a law by the West Saxon Witan.

Such were the provisions for the future disposal of his property made by Alfred, as a father and a king, soon after

[1] In a more modern Latin translation of the will, "Assero de Schireburn" is specified. Kemble, Cod. Diplom. n. 1067.

[2] Cyrelif is a person who has a right of choice, or who has exercised a choice. Kemble, the Saxons in England, i. 504.

he had reconquered his throne, and without doubt they were conscientiously carried out. But the various endeavours towards providing for the security of Church and State, and for the elevation of his people to a higher state of morality, with which he was constantly occupied during the following years, must have required in his time also much aid in money, and he applied the revenues of his own royal property to this purpose. In the management of this property, he caused that economy and love of order to be exercised which we have already seen in the regularity with which he discharged the manifold duties which devolved upon him.

His possessions in money, replenished by his yearly income, were divided into two parts[1]: the one was destined for the maintenance of worldly power and welfare; the other for that of the spiritual. Each had three branches of administration—the first of which was directed to the payment of the War department of the state, which also was not forgotten in his will. We have thus an opportunity of learning in what manner the noble officers and the assembled warlike troops which must always have been about the court, fulfilled their bounden duties in their different stations. Alfred established a formal code of services, according to which the whole body was separated into three divisions, one of which was always to be at court, and do duty for the space of a month. At the beginning of a new month it was released by the next detachment, so that two-thirds of the whole were always at liberty to go to their homes and follow their own business, and Alfred, who always rigidly enforced this management, did not require service for more than three months in the year from his subjects. All were paid for their time of service in proportion to their rank and occupation.

A second sum was yearly set aside for building, which gave employment to a large number of mechanics, some even from foreign countries. The third sum was apportioned to strangers who came from the most distant parts to Alfred's court, whether they demanded help or not; in either case, the liberality of the king provided the means to satisfy their

[1] Asser, p. 495, 496, is the authority for the following account. It seems to be the most genuine part of the work.

wants. The second half of the revenue was set aside for ecclesiastical necessities, and was divided into four subdivisions. The first was applied to the charitable relief of the poor of all nations, in which, as Asser relates, Alfred observes the saying of Gregory the Great: "Give neither much to him who needs little, nor little to him who needs much; deny not him who needs something, nor give to him who needs nothing[1]." The second part belonged to the two monasteries endowed by Alfred, and to the support of the brethren assembled in them. With the third the schools were supported, which he had endowed principally for the use and advantage of the noble youth of his kingdom. Finally, the fourth sum was devoted to all the neighbouring cloisters in Wessex and Mercia, as well as in the course of years to many ecclesiastical establishments in Wales and Cornwall, France, Armorica, Northumbria, and even in Ireland, by which he assisted the pious servants of God even in foreign lands, and was enabled to stimulate them to good works. Some of this money may also have been given to the church of Durham, which in later days ascribed Alfred's donations to St. Cuthbert[2].

These beautiful examples of the conscientiousness and generosity of the king enable us, in conclusion, to cast a brief but comprehensive glance on all the virtues and excellent qualities with which he was endowed.

No one has left a description of Alfred's personal appearance, such as we possess of Charlemagne from Einhard's masterly sketch. We do not associate the idea of a colossal figure with the name of Alfred, we rather picture to ourselves a naturally sturdy, healthy form, whose stamina, early weakened by constantly-recurring illness and continual bodily exertion, was finally destroyed before he attained any great age, by the severe sufferings from which he was exempt only at rare intervals. But Alfred endured his affliction with incomparable fortitude, considering that it was sent from God: his combats and privations on the battle-field, the efforts which it cost him to animate the sluggish nature of his people, by his own energy; the manifold intellectual labours which constantly occupied him; all these must have aided him in

[1] Asser, p. 496. "Nec parvum cui multum, nec multum cui parvum; nec nihil cui aliquid, nec aliquid cui nihil."

[2] Simeon Dunelm.; Hist. Reg. Angl. A 883; Ejusd. Hist. Eccles. ii. 13.

forgetting the pain which seldom left him, and in suppressing any outward expression of it from those with whom he associated. His strong, active, and elastic spirit continually gained the mastery over his frail body. The character of his mind was that of a statesman and a hero, but elevated and, at the same time, tempered by a longing for those higher and immortal things on which all the power and glory of this world depend. Unshaken courage was the steadfast foundation of his whole being; as a young man, he early manifested this quality on the battle-field at Ashdown. Once it seemed as though it were about to fail, when the young king looked forward to a long life, with his country in the hands of the enemy, and his people in despair; but again it shone forth, when he emerged, strengthened and victorious, from the purifying school of Athelney, to meet the future. Many valiant men would do well zealously to emulate his example.

We must, for many reasons, notice another feature in Alfred's mind, scarcely less rich in results; he had a decided inventive talent, with which he was not only enabled to aid his bodily necessities, but especially to apply new ideas to the improvement of all kinds of artistic and mechanical work. The quadrant on which the church of Athelney is raised—the long ships—the directing the channel of a river—his time-candles—all bear witness to the power of his mind, no less than the battles that he won. It seems to have been especially easy for him to learn anything new, and to turn what he learnt to practical account. When, after a long pause, the Danes again engaged him in a contest, Alfred endeavoured to meet them with craft and subtlety like their own, and actually succeeded in mastering them by these means. The man and the king turned his attention at an advanced age to literature, and accomplished therein what no prince of his time, and of many centuries after him, could have even attempted. But industry and perseverance formed the principal features of his character, and they were the most powerful aids towards his attainment of such noble results. Riding and the chase, which he so passionately followed when a boy, he continued to practise through the whole of his life, in order to strengthen his frame, regardless of bodily suffering. With the greatest assiduity he promoted the re-establishment of cities, fortresses,

churches, and monasteries, and he never omitted anything that could be suggested by his own genius as tending to the advancement of his highest aim, that of the education of his people. He continually drew to his court, by gifts and friendly invitations, strangers of all nations, among whom were Franks, Frieslanders, Britons, Scots, Armoricans, and even Pagans[1], in order that he with his nobles and clergy might benefit by their acquaintance. The king, in consequence of his own indomitable energy, perfected the learning which he so eagerly desired in his youth; and it redounded to his honour, that he raised himself to be one of the first authors of the age, and contributed greatly to the instruction and amusement of his people, in works which, after the lapse of many centuries, are still gratefully acknowledged.

The piety with which Alfred submitted to the requirements of Christianity, was not only evinced in his obedient subjection to the orthodox Church of his day, but it was an innate principle which produced and nourished in his heart a living faith in divine things. The long series of sufferings, trials, and privations, which extended throughout his life, had more influence in creating this feeling than the sight of Rome or the arrogant pretensions of the Pope. Alfred always ranked as a valiant warrior of the cross against heathenism, which his ancestors had long since renounced; he protected the country from the repeated attempts that were made for its renewal, and endeavoured by conversion to reduce the conquered foe to complete subjection. With sword and pen, with hand and heart, he fought for his faith, and during his life he obtained the victor's reward. In the exercise of his spiritual duties he always manifested the same conscientiousness which characterised his conduct in other respects. The half of his time, as well as the half of his fortune, was dedicated to the service of God[2]. Wherever he was, it was his daily wont, not only for the sake of being an example to others, but from the deep inward necessity he felt for spiritual things and for the solemn ceremonies of religion, to hear the Psalms and appointed Lessons read, and he often went at midnight to the church to humble himself in quiet prayer, far from all disturbing in-

[1] Asser, p. 486.

[2] Asser, p. 495.

fluences[1]. As a dispenser of alms, he treated with equal liberality the poor and needy of his own land and those of foreign churches and monasteries; they were all benefited by his gifts till long after the period of his death. In a true Christian spirit he was accustomed to say to his most intimate friends, and to confess with self-abasement to his Creator, that he had not striven to partake of the divine wisdom, nor employed the means of attaining it[2]. Pride and haughtiness were strangers to him. The consciousness of his own weakness told him that he was not in a situation to perform that which he ought. Eminent by this piety over his whole nation, he was as far removed as any of his contemporaries from becoming a religious enthusiast, who would bow willingly before a haughty priesthood, and would neglect the safety of his temporal kingdom and of his subjects for the exercise of his holy duties. He knew well what his country had suffered from his father's all-engrossing submission to ecclesiastical influence. It is impossible to draw a parallel between Alfred and his descendant, Edward the Confessor. Edward gave away his kingdom, and was canonized; Alfred protected it with his sword and firm faith in God, and the Romish Church gave him no thanks for it; but he lived with his deeds in the hearts of his people, and became the hero of their poetry.

There was no subject of discord with the supreme head of the Church during Alfred's time; he rather cemented a bond of friendship with one Pope, and did not abolish the tribute to Rome which Ethelwulf had established. It was his steadfast conviction that Rome ought to be the central point of the Church, and that all regulations in matters of faith ought to proceed from thence; for he, as well as his contemporaries, swore unquestioning allegiance to the errors and abuses which then were rife, without surmising that Christianity in its early days had been a very different and a purer thing. But the comparatively independent position of the Anglo-Saxon Church became established during his reign; its first dignitaries were native-born Saxons.

[1] Asser, p. 486.

[2] Eo quod Deus omnipotens eum expertem divinæ sapientiæ et liberalium artium fecisset. Asser, p. 486.

But, on the other hand, Alfred did not avoid bringing foreign clergy into the country, and he especially set them at the head of the new ecclesiastical establishments. The language of the country continued to be employed in the services of the Church; the king indeed enforced the study of Latin, but he strenuously endeavoured to supply all classes of his people with a translation of the Bible in the Saxon tongue. The time occupied in the general affairs of his people, and the great distance of England from Rome, prevented him from strictly following its dictation in matters of doctrine. The Decalogue in the beginning of his code of laws affords a particular instance of this: Alfred omits the Second Commandment in accordance with the decree of the Council of Nice, but he supplies it in the tenth place by the very un-Roman but Mosaic commandment concerning image-worship[1]. We have documentary evidence that John of Ireland, a clear-seeing philosopher for the dark age in which he lived, received from Alfred a hospitable reception; and it was, in fact, worthy of the high-hearted king to protect a man who, because he entertained a different opinion on transubstantiation and predestination, underwent most bitter persecution from Rome[2]. Alfred's independent spirit could not submit itself unreservedly to those bonds by which all free exercise of opinion was fettered, and even this instance of it was not allowed to go unpunished by Rome. In spite of his predilection for the Church, Alfred felt and thought more as a German than a Roman Catholic, and in his character we see the first germs of the independence of Protestantism.

He imbued all his worldly enjoyments with the same independent spirit. Providence had sent him upon earth at a time when the nature of the kingdom was undergoing a decided change. The bias of all the Teutonic races towards democracy was disappearing, but in England it was less on the decline than on the Continent. The transition to feudalism took place very slowly, and was the result of regular causes, as all political changes have been in this remarkable island. It must not be forgotten that Alfred's

[1] Lingard, History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, ii. 468.

[2] Bicknell, Life of Alfred the Great, p. 290, 294, where much that is correct is mingled with many errors.

reign was one step towards this development. We have compared Egbert to Charlemagne, but among the Franks the disturbances and alterations only began to make rapid progress with the decline of the Carlovingian race, whilst Alfred still continued to preserve the German nation in all its purity during this century, so that it was only by degrees that it was disturbed by the influence of a new and powerful system.

We perceive in Alfred a prince of an entirely different nature from the military chiefs of the little German states; the nucleus of a court began to show itself around him; the formerly independent nobility, who were only inferior in rank to the king, began to render service, and to renounce their hereditary power; the royal person now stood like a tower, high above all the surrounding buildings. An arbitrary longing after something new never actuated Alfred. It is remarkable to consider the prudence by which he was guided in the construction of his legal code. A genuine conservative feeling moved him to preserve all those ancient customs which still remained in efficient operation; that circumspection in carrying out measures of reform, which the great statesmen of England display in our day, was also characteristic of Alfred whenever he resolved to abolish anything old, and replace it by a new arrangement in accordance with his own religious views, and in harmony with the spirit of Christianity. His efforts for the diffusion of the latter were at least as great as his evident desire to attain high temporal authority as a Christian monarch.

He never disturbed the original political foundations of his nation. When all lay in ruins, he laboured unweariedly to re-establish, as far as possible, the former state of things. The roots of all the evils of the Saxon and Low German national character, sluggishness and indolence, he distinguished, with his keen glance, above all other failings, and endeavoured to combat them in every possible manner; now by kind teaching and exhortation—now, when his patience became exhausted by repeated disobedience, by well-meant punishment. His active mind was needed to set in motion the slumbering strength of his people, and to see justice done to its real value, as well as to drive out stubborn pre-

judices[1]. When the aged were not willing to receive instruction, and especially when they retarded the execution of justice, he shamed them by the industry of youth, in which he knew how to sow the seeds of knowledge and a better comprehension of the right. By his own example alone was he able to induce the people to apply themselves to the strengthening and defence of the country. He carried his point, and Saxons of all ranks rejoiced in the reconquered freedom which Alfred had given them, a freedom whose nature was more secure than before, and the numerous class of serfs, who until then had been treated as living property, received the invaluable gift of liberty of choice in their masters; and, in common with their noble and free countrymen, held the memory of their king in grateful remembrance long after his death.

So stands the image of Alfred, shining brightly in the book of the world's history, never defaced by malice or ignorance, nor dimmed by his own errors. These he necessarily possessed, but they have been entirely forgotten in the blaze of his virtues, over which the lapse of centuries has cast no cloud. Severe trial and purifying cleansed him like a noble metal from all dross. Praise can never degenerate into flattery in the case of a great man whose strong sense of duty and exalted principles of morality have led him to employ his time in a truly noble manner. No king nor hero of antiquity or modern times can be compared with Alfred for so many distinguished qualities, and each so excellent. Princes more renowned for power and glory, and reigning over greater nations, have always had some defect in their moral character, which forcibly contrasts with our high estimation of their mental qualities; and although by the side of Alfred, ruling in his narrow Wessex, their forms appear to tower high amongst the stars, yet his figure, in its smaller proportions, remains one of the most perfect ever held up by the hand of God as a mirror to the world and its rulers.

As such a noble example he has lived in the memory of a

[1] Asser, p. 492: Leniter docendo, adulando, hortando, imperando, ad ultimum inobedientes post longam paientiam acrius castigando, vulgarem stultitiam et pertinaciam omni modo obominando.

thousand years, and during that period the people whom he governed have spread over the earth, making homes for themselves, and establishing freedom and independence of thought and deed to its most remote bounds. That tree, which now casts its shadow far and wide over the world, when menaced with destruction in its bud, was carefully guarded by Alfred; but at the time when it was ready to burst forth into a plant, he was forced to leave it to the influence of time. Many great men have occupied themselves with the care of this tree, and each, in his own way, has advanced its growth. William the Conqueror, with his iron hand, bent the tender branches to his will; Henry the Second ruled the Saxons with true Roman pride; but in Magna Charta the old German nature became roused, and worked powerfully even amongst the barons. It became free under Edward the Third, that prince so ambitious of conquest; the old language and the old law, the one somewhat altered, the other much softened, opened the path to a new era. The nation stood like an oak in the full strength of its leafy maturity, and to this strength the Reformation is indebted for its accomplishment. Elizabeth, the greatest woman who ever sat on a throne, occupied a central position in a golden age of power and literature. Then came the Stuarts, who, with their despotic ideas, outraged the deeply-rooted Saxon individuality of the English, and by their own fall contributed to the surer development of that freedom which was founded so long before. The stern Cromwell and the astute William the Third aided in preparing for the now-advanced nation that path in which it has ever since moved. The Anglo-Saxon race has already attained maturity in the New World, and, founded on these pillars, it will triumph in all places and in every age. Alfred's name will always be placed amongst those of the great spirits of this earth; and so long as men regard their past history with reverence, they will not venture to bring forward any other in comparison with him who saved the West Saxon race from complete destruction, and in whose heart the virtues dwelt in such harmonious concord.

CHRONICLE

OF THE

WEST SAXON HISTORY,

FROM 838 TO 901.

YEAR.	DATE.	LOCALITY.	EVENTS.
838	...	...	King Egbert died.
...	...	On the Stour.	King Ethelwulf.
839	...	Southampton.	King Ethelwulf.
845	...	On the Weg.	King Ethelwulf.
847	...	Canterbury.	King Ethelwulf.
849	...	Wantage.	Alfred born.
852	...	...	Battle near Ockley.
853	Easter (April 4).	Chippenham.	Burhred of Mercia marries Ethelswitha.
...	...	...	Alfred's first journey to Rome.
854	...	Wilton.	King Ethelwulf.
855	...	...	Ethelwulf and Alfred at Rome.
856	July.	France.	Ethelwulf is affianced to Judith.
...	October 1.	Verberie.	Marriage with Judith.
858	January 13.	...	King Ethelwulf dies.
860	July (?)	...	King Ethelbald dies.
861	...	...	Judith returns to France.
...	...	...	Alfred learns to read.
862	July 2.	...	Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, dies
866	February (?)	...	King Ethelbert dies.
867	November 1.	...	Arrival of Hingwar and Hubba.
...	...	...	Ealhstan, Bishop of Sherborne, dies
868	March 21.	...	Battle at York.
...	...	...	Alfred marries Elswitha.
...	...	...	Conflict at Nottingham.
869	September 21.	...	Battle near Kesteven.
870	November 20.	...	King Edmund of East Anglia dies.
871	January (?)	...	The Danes take Reading.
...	After 3 days.	...	Flight at Englafeld.
...	...	...	Battle at Reading.
...	After 4 days.	...	Battle near Ashdune.
...	After 14 days.	...	Battle near Basing.
...	...	...	Assembly at Swineburgh.
...	After 2 months.	...	Battle at Merton.
...	April 23.	...	King Ethelred dies.
...	May.	...	Battle at Wilton.
872	Autumn.	...	Compact of the Danes with Burhred of Mercia.
...	...	...	Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester.
873	...	...	Fall of the kingdom of Mercia.
874	...	Rome.	King Burhred dies.
875	...	...	Division of the Danish army.
...	...	...	A small sea-fight in the Channel.

YEAR.	DATE.	LOCALITY.	EVENTS.
876	...	...	The Danes take Wareham.
877	...	...	The Danes march towards Exeter.
...	August.	...	Sea-fight.
878	...	...	The Danes leave Exeter.
...	...	...	They take Chippenham.
...	...	...	Blockade of Kynwith Castle, in Devonshire.
...	...	...	Alfred in Somerset.
...	Easter (Mar. 23).	Athelney.	Intrenchment there.
...	May 5—12.	...	Sally to Brixton.
...	...	...	Battle at Edington.
...	14 days later.	...	Chippenham taken.
...	July.	...	Treaty of Wedmore.
...	12 days later.	...	Guthorm-Athelstan leaves Wedmore.
879	...	...	Retreat of the Danes.
...	...	...	Hasting in Fulham.
...	...	...	Denewulf, Bishop of Winchester.
882	...	...	Sea-fight.
883	...	...	Embassy to Rome and the East
884	...	Deue.	Asser arrives at Alfred's court.
885	Summer.	...	The Danes land near Rochester.
...	...	..	Sea-fight at the mouth of the Stour.
...	November 11.	Leonaford.	Alfred commences his intellectual pursuits.
886	...	...	London rebuilt, and confided to Ethelred.
887	...	...	Ethelhelm sent on an embassy to Rome.
888	...	...	Beocca sent to Rome.
...	...	Padua.	Queen Ethelswitha dies.
890	...	...	Beornhelm sent ambassador to Rome.
...	...	...	King Guthorm-Athelstan dies.
891	September 1.	...	Battle near Louvaine, on the Dyle.
892	...	...	The Danes land in Kent
894	Easter (Mar. 31).	...	The Danes go into Berkshire.
..	...	...	Battle at Farnham.
..	August 24.	York.	Guthred of Northumbria dies.
..	...	...	Danes in Devonshire.
..	...	...	Storming of the fortress of Bamfleet.
...	...	...	Hasting besieged at Buttington.
...	...	...	Passes the winter near Chester, and in Wales.
895	...	...	Devastations in Wales.
...	...	...	Return to Essex.
896	...	...	Fortifications on the Lea.
...	...	...	The Danes march to Bridgenorth.
...	...	...	Witenagemot at Gloucester.
...	...	...	Dispersion of the Danes.
...	...	...	Sea-fight on the coast of Devonshire.
897	Summer.	Winchester.	Alfred on the coast.
...	...	Wulfamere.	Alfred meets Ethelred and his bishops.
898	...	Celchyth.	The same.
899	October 28.	..	King Alfred dies.
901			

KING ÆLFRED'S

ANGLO-SAXON VERSION

OF

THE HISTORY OF PAULUS OROSIUS.

BOOK I.

I.

URE ýldran ealne ðýsne ymbhpýrft ðýses middangearides. cpæð Orosius. spa spa Oceanus ýmbligeð utan. þone man garsegc hatað. on ðreo todældon. ⁊ hu hý þa þrý dælas on ðreo tonemdon. Asiam. ⁊ Europam. ⁊ Affricam. þeah þe sume men sædon þæt þær næron butan tpegen dælas. Asia. ⁊ þæt oðer Europa :· Asia is befangen mid Oceanus þæm garsecge be suðan. ⁊ norðan. ⁊ eastan. ⁊ spa ealne þýsne middangearð fram ðæm east dæle healfne behæfð :· Ðonne on ðæm norð dæle. þæt is Asia. on þa spiðran healfe. in Danai þære ie. þær Asia ⁊ Europe togædere licgað. ⁊ þonne of þære ilcan ie Danai. suð ⁊lang Pendel sæs. ⁊ þonne pið pestan Alexandria þære býrig. Asia ⁊ Affrica togædere licgað :·

Europe hio ongind. spa ic ær cpæð. of Danai þære ie. Sio is ýrnende of norð dæle of Riffing þæm beorgum. þa sindon neah þæm garsecge þe mon hateð Sarmondisc. ⁊ sio ea Dana ýrnð þanon suðrihte. on pest healfe Alexandres herga. on in Rochouasco ðære ðeode :· Hio pýrcð þæt fænn. þe man hateð Meotedisc. ⁊ þonne forð mid micle flode neah þære býrig þe man hateð Theodosia. pið eastan ut on þa sæ floped þe man hæt Euxinus. ⁊ þonne mid langre nearonesse suð þanon be eastan Constantinopolim Greca býrig ligeð. ⁊ þonne forð þanon ut on Pendel sæ :· Se pest-suð ende Europe land-gemyrce is in Ispania pestepearðum æt þæm garsecge. ⁊ mæst æt þæm iglande þte Gaðes hatte. þær scýt se Pendel sæ up of þæm garsecge þær Ericoles sýla standað :· On þæm ilcan Pendel sæ on hýre pest ende is Scotland :·

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

OF

KING ÆLFRED'S VERSION

OF

THE HISTORY OF PAULUS OROSIUS.

BOOK I.

I.

Our forefathers divided all the orb of this earth, saith Orosius, which is encircled by the ocean that is called *Garsecg*, into three, and named those three parts Asia, and Europe, and Africa, though some men have said that there were only two parts; Asia, and the other Europe. Asia is bounded to the southward, northward, and eastward, by the ocean, and thus comprises half of all this earth from the eastern part. Then in the north part, that is of Asia, and on the right side, Europe and Asia join together in the river Tanais; and then from this same river Tanais, south along the Mediterranean, and west of Alexandria, Asia and Africa join together[1].

Europe begins, as I said before, from the river Tanais, which takes its source from the northern parts of the Riphæan mountains, which are near the ocean that is called the Sarmatian; and the river Tanais thence runs directly south, on the west side of Alexander's temples[2], to the nation of the Rhocovasci. It forms the fen which is called Mæotis, and thence forth with a great flood, near the city called Theodosia, flows to the eastward into the sea called the Euxine, and then with a long narrowness south from thence passes east of Constantinople, the Greek city, and thence out into the Mediterranean. The boundary of the south-west end of Europe is in Spain westward at the ocean, and especially at the island called Cadiz, where the Mediterranean flows from the ocean where Hercules's pillars stand. In this same Mediterranean, to the westward, is Scotland.

Affrica ⁊ Asia hýra land-gemyrco onginnað of Alexandria Egýpta býrig. ⁊ lib þæt land-gemære suð þanon ofer Nilus þa ea. ⁊ swa ofer Ethiopica westenne oð þone suð garsecg. ⁊ þære Affrica norð-west gemære is æt þæm ilcan Wendel sæ. þe of þæm garsecge scýt þær Ercoles sýla standað. ⁊ hýre riht west ende is æt þæm beorge þe man Athlans nemneð. ⁊ æt þæm iglande þe man hæt Fortunatus :·

Scortlice ic hæbbe nu gesæd ýmbe þa þrý dælas ealles þýses middangearðes. ac ic wille nu. swa ic ær gehet. þara þreora land-rica gemære reccan. hu hý mid hýra wætrum tolicgað :·

Asia ongean þæm middele on þæm east ende. þær licgeð se muða ut on þone garsegc þære ea þe man hateð Landis. þone garsegc mon hæt Indisc. be suðan þæm muðan. wið þone garsegc is se port þe mon hæt Caligardamana :· Be suðan-eastan þam porte. is þæt iglanð Deprobane. ⁊ þonne be norðan þæm Landis se muða. þær þær Caucasus se beorh endað. neh þæm garsecge. þær is se port Samera. be norðan þæm porte is se muða þære ie þe man nemneð Octorogorre. þone garsegc man hæt Sericus :·

Ðæt sint Indea gemæro. þær þær Caucasus se beorh is be norðan. ⁊ Indus seo ea be westan. ⁊ seo Reade sæ be suðan. ⁊ se garsegc be eastan :· On Indea lande is feower ⁊ feowertig ðeoda. butan þæm iglande Taprabane. þæt hæfð on him týn býrig. butan oðrum manegum gesetenum iglandum :· Of þære ea Indus. þe be westan eallum þæm lande lið. betwux þære ea Indus. ⁊ þære þe be westan hýre is Tigris hatte. þa flowað buta suð on þone Readan sæ. ⁊ betweoh þæm twam ean sýndon þas land Oracassia. ⁊ Parthia. ⁊ Asilia. ⁊ Passiða. ⁊ Media. þeah þe geprita oft nemnan ealle þa land Media. oððe Assiria. ⁊ þa land sindon swýðe beorhte[1]. ⁊ þær sýnd swýðe sceapre wegas ⁊ stanige :· Ðara landa norð gemæro sýndon æt þæm beorgum Caucasus. ⁊ on suð healfe seo Reade sæ. ⁊ on þæm lande sýndon twa mýccle ea. Iþaspes ⁊ Arbis. on þæm lande is twa ⁊ twentig þeoda. nu hæt hit man eall Parthia :· Ðonne west fram Tigris þære ea oð Euphrate þa ea. þonne betweox þæm ean sýndon þas land Babýlonia. ⁊ Caldea. ⁊ Mesopotamia :· Binnan þæm landum sýndon eahta ⁊ twentig þeoda :· Hýra norð gemæro sýndon æt þæm beorgum Tauro ⁊ Caucaso. ⁊ hýra suð gemæro licgað to þam Readan sæ :· Andlang þæs

Of Africa and Asia the land-boundaries begin from Alexandria, a city of Egypt, and that boundary lies south from thence over the river Nile, and then over the Ethiopian desert, as far as the Southern Ocean. And the north-western boundary of Africa is at the same Mediterranean sea, which flows from the ocean where Hercules's pillars stand; and its right western boundary is at the mountain called Atlas, and at the island called the Fortunate.

Now I have shortly spoken of the three parts of all this earth; and I will now, as I before promised, tell of the boundaries of those three regions, how with their waters they lie to each other.

Towards the middle of Asia, in the eastern part, lies the mouth of the river called Ganges, out in the ocean. This ocean is called the Indian. To the southward of that mouth, on the ocean is the port called Caligardamana. To the south-east of that port is the island Taprobane; and then to the north of the mouth of the Ganges, where mount Caucasus ends, near to the ocean, is the port of Samara; to the north of that port is the mouth of the river called Octorogorra. That ocean is named Sericus.

These are the boundaries of India: there mount Caucasus is to the north, the river Indus to the west, and the Red Sea to the south, and the ocean to the east. In the land of India are four-and-forty nations, besides the island of Taprobane, which has ten cities in it, besides many other inhabited islands. From the river Indus, which lies to the west of all that country, betwixt the river Indus, and the river to the west of it, called the Tigris, both which flow south into the Red Sea, are the countries of Aracosia, Parthia, Assyria, Persia, and Media, though writings often name all these lands Media or Assyria; and these lands are very mountainous[1], and there are very sharp and stony ways. The northern boundaries of those lands are at the mounts Caucasus, and on the south side the Red Sea; and in that country are two great rivers, the Hydaspes and the Arbis; in that land are two-and-twenty nations; now it is all called Parthia. Then west from the river Tigris to the river Euphrates, and between those rivers, are the countries of Babylonia, and Chaldæa, and Mesopotamia. Within those countries are eight-and-twenty nations. Their north boundaries are the mounts Taurus and Caucasus, and their south boundaries lie on the Red Sea. Along the Red

Readan ræf. þæf bæleþ þe þæp noþð fcýt. lið þ lanð Arabia. ⁊ Saben ⁊ Eubomane. ofep þæpe ea Euphpatе. peþt oð þone Penðel ræ. ⁊ noþð fopneah oð ða beopgaf þe man Taupuf hæt. oð þæt lanð þe man hæt Armenie. ⁊ eft fuð oð Egýpte maneg þeoda fýnðon þæf lanðef. þæt if Lomagena. ⁊ Venicia. ⁊ Damafcena. ⁊ Loelle. ⁊ Moab. ⁊ Ammon. ⁊ Idumei. ⁊ Iudea. ⁊ Paleftina. ⁊ Sapracene. ⁊ þeah hit mon hæt eall Syria: Ðonne be noþðan Syria fýnðon þa beopgaf þe man Taupuf hæt. ⁊ bе noþðan þæm beopgum fýnðon þa lanð Cappadocia ⁊ Armenie. ⁊ hio Armenie if be eaftan Cappadocia. ⁊ be peftan Cappadocia if þæt lanð þe man hæt feo Læffe Aria. ⁊ be noþðan Cappadocia if þæt gefýlðe. þe man hæt Temefenaf. þonne betpux Cappadocia. ⁊ pæpe Læffan Ariam if þæt lanð Cilicia. ⁊ Iffaupio:

Seo Aria on ælce healfe hio if befangen mið fealtum pæteре buton on eaft healfe. on noþð healfe if feo fæ Euxinuf. ⁊ on peft healfe feo fæ þe man hæt Pnoponтif. ⁊ Ellefpontuf. ⁊ Penðel fæ be fuðan: On þæpe ylcan Ariam if fe hýhfta beoph Olympuf:

Seo Egýptuf. þe uf neaf if. be noþðan hýne if þæt lanð Paleftine. ⁊ be eaftan hýne Sapracene þæt lanð. ⁊ be peftan hýne Libia þæt lanð. ⁊ be fuðan hyne fe beoph þe Climax mon hatte: Niluf feo ea hýne æþylme if neah þæm clife þæpe Readan fæ. þeah fume men fecgan þæt hýne æþylme fý on peft enðe Affrica. neah þæm beopge Athlanf. ⁊ þonne fulnaðe þæf fie eaft ýpnenðe on þæt fanð. ⁊ þæp fý eft flopenðe up of þæm fanðe. ⁊ þæp þýfcð mycelne fæ. ⁊ þæp heo æpeft uppýlð. hý hatað þa men Nuchul. ⁊ fume men Dapa. ⁊ þonne of þæm fæ þæp hio up of þæm fanðe cýmð. heo if eaft ýpnenðe fnam eaft bæle þuph Ethiopica peftenne. ⁊ þæp man hæt þa ea Ion oð ðone eaft bæl. ⁊ þæp þonne þýnð to miclum fæ. ⁊ þæp þonne befincð eft in on þa eoþðan. ⁊ þonne eft noþð þanon upparpincð neah þæm clife pið þone Readan fæ þe ic æp befopan fæde. þonne of þæm æþylme man hæt þæt pæteр Niluf þa ea. ⁊ þonne fopð peft þanon ýpnenðe. heo tolið on tpa ymb an iglanð þe man hæt Mepeon. ⁊ þanon noþð bugenðe. ut on þone Penðel fæ. þonne on þæm pintpigum tiðum þýnð fe muða fopðpifen fopan fnam þæm noþðepnum pinðum. þæt feo ea bið flopenðe ofep eall Egýpta lanð. ⁊ hio gebeð mið þæm flode fpiðe þicce eopð-pæftmaf on Egýpta lanðe: Sio

Sea, at the part that runs north, lies the land of Arabia, Sabæa, and Eudæmon. Beyond the river Euphrates, westward as far as the Mediterranean, and northward almost as far as the mountains called Taurus, as far as the land called Armenia, and again south as far as Egypt, are many peoples of that land, namely, Commagena, and Phœnicia, and Damascus, and Coelle, and Moab, and Ammon, and Idumæa, and Judæa, and Palestine, and Saracene, though it is all called Syria. Then to the north of Syria are the mountains called Taurus, and to the north of those mountains are the countries of Cappadocia and Armenia, and Armenia is to the east of Cappadocia, and to the west of Cappadocia is the country called the Lesser Asia, and to the north of Cappadocia is the plain called the Themiscyrian; then betwixt Cappadocia and the Lesser Asia is the country of Cilicia and Isauria.

Asia is surrounded on every side with salt water, except on the east side; on the north side is the Euxine Sea, and on the west the sea called Propontis, and the Hellespont; and the Mediterranean is on the south. In this same Asia the highest mountain is Olympus.

To the northward of hither Egypt is Palestine, and to the eastward the land of Saracene, and to the west the land of Libya, and to the south the mountain called Climax. The source of the Nile is near the shore of the Red Sea, though some men say that its source is in the west part of Africa, near mount Atlas, and then rapidly flows running eastward into the sand, and near there again flows up from the sand, and there forms a great lake; and where it first springs up the land is called Nuchul, and by some Dara. And then from that lake, where it rises from the sand, it runs east from the east part, it runs through the Ethiopian desert, and there the river is called Ion, as far as the eastern part, and there then becomes a large lake, and there then sinks again into the earth; and then again north from thence springs up near to the shore of the Red Sea, as I mentioned before; then from that source the water is called the river Nile; and then running from thence westward, it separates in two round an island called Meroë, and thence bending northward out into the Mediterranean. Then, in the winter seasons, the mouth is driven by the northern winds, so that the river is flowing over all the land of Egypt, and makes with that flood very abundant fruits in the land of Egypt. The farther Egypt

ſýrre Egýptuſ lið eaſt andlang þæſ Readan ſæſ on ſuð healfe. ⁊ on eaſt healfe þæſ landeſ lið ʒarſeʒc. ⁊ on hýre veſt healfe iſ ſeo uſ neare Egýptuſ. ⁊ on þæm tvam Egýptum iſ ſeoveſ ⁊ tventiʒ ðeoda :·

Nu hæbbe ve avriten þære Aſiam ſuð dæl. nu ville ve ſon to hýre norð dæle :· Ðæt iſ þonne of þæm beorʒum þe man hæt Laucaſuſ. þe ve ær beforan ſpræcon. þa þe be norðan Indea ſýndon. ⁊ hio onʒinnað æreſt eaſtane of þæm ʒarſecʒe. ⁊ þonne licʒað veſtrihte oð Armenia beorʒaſ. þa land-leode hi hatað Parcoadraſ. þær of þæm beorʒum výlð ſeo ea ſuð-veard Euſrate. ⁊ of þæm beorʒum þe man Parcoadraſ hæt licʒað þa beorʒaſ veſtrihte. þe man Tauroſ hæt. oð Lilicum þæt land :· Ðonne be norðan þæm beorʒum. andlang þæſ ʒarſecʒeſ. oð þone norð-eaſt ende þýſeſ middanʒeardeſ. þær Bore ſeo ea ſcýt ut on þone ʒarſecʒ. ⁊ þanon veſt andlang þæſ ʒarſecʒeſ. on þone ſæ þe man hæt Laſpia. þe þær upſcýt to þæm beorʒum Laucaſuſ. þæt land man hæt þa ealdan Sciððian. ⁊ Ircaniam :· Ðæſ landeſ iſ þreo ⁊ ſeoveſtiʒ þeoda vide toſetene for unvæſtmbærneſſe þæſ landeſ :· Ðonne be veſtan þæm ſæ Laſpia oð Danaiſ ða ea. ⁊ oð þæt ſenn þe man hæt Meotediſc. ⁊ þonne ſuð oð þone Vendel ſæ. ⁊ oð þone beorh Tauruſ. ⁊ norð oð þone ʒarſeʒc. iſ eall Sciððia land binnan. þeah hit man tonemne on tva ⁊ on þritiʒ þeoda :· Ac þa land on eaſt healfe Danaiſ. þe þær neah ſýndon. Albani hý ſynd ʒenemned in Latina. ⁊ ve hý hatað nu Liobene :· Nu hæbbe ve ſcortlice ʒeſæd ýmb Aſia land-ʒemære :·

Nu ville ve ýmbe Europe land-ʒemære reccan. ſva mýcel ſva ve hit ſyrmeſt viton. ſram þære ea Danaiſ veſt oð Rin ða ea ſeo výlð of þæm beorʒe þe man Alpiſ hæt. ⁊ ýrnð þonne norðrýhte on þæſ ʒarſecʒeſ earm. þe þæt land utan-ýmblið þe man Brýttannia hæt. ⁊ eſt ſuð oð Donua þa ea. þære ævýlme iſ neah þære ea Rineſ. ⁊ iſ ſiððan eaſt ýrnende við Lrecaland ut on þone Vendel ſæ. ⁊ norð oþ þone ʒarſeʒc þe man Lven-ſæ hæt. binnan þæm ſýndon maneʒa ðeoda. ac hit man hæt eall Lermania :·

Ðonne við norðan Donua ævýlme. ⁊ be eaſtan Rine ſýndon Eaſt-Francan. ⁊ be ſuðan him ſýndon Svæfaſ. on oðre healfe þære ea Donua. ⁊ be ſuðan him ⁊ be eaſtan ſýndon Bæʒðvare. ſe dæl þe man Reʒneſburh hæt.

lies east along the southern side of the Red Sea, and on the east side of that country lies the ocean, and on its west side is the nearer Egypt to us, and in the two Egypts are four-and-twenty nations.

We have now written of the south part of Asia, now will we proceed to the north part. That is then of the mountains called Caucasus, of which we before spoke, which are to the north of India, which begin first east from the ocean, and then lie due west as far as the Armenian mountains. The people of the country they call Parcoatræ. There from those mountains the river Euphrates flows southward, and from the Parcoatrian mountains lie the mountains due west called Taurus as far as the land of Cilicia. Then to the north of those mountains, along the ocean, as far as the north-east end of this earth where the river Bore runs into the ocean, and thence west along the ocean, into the Caspian Sea, which extends to the mountains of Caucasus; all this land is called Old Scythia, and Hyrcania. In this country are three-and-forty nations, situated at great distances from each other, on account of the barrenness of the soil. Then to the west of the Caspian Sea, unto the river Tanais, and to the fen called Mæotis, and then south to the Mediterranean and mount Taurus, and north to the ocean, is all within the land of Scythia; though it is divided in two-and-thirty nations. But those lands on the eastern side of the Tanais, which are near there, are called, in Latin, the Albani, and we now call them Liobene. Now I have shortly said concerning the boundaries of Asia.

Now we will relate of the boundaries of Europe, so much as we best know concerning them; from the river Tanais, westward to the river Rhine, which takes its rise in the mountains called Alps, and then runs direct north to the arm of the ocean, that surrounds the land called Britain, and again south to the river Danube, whose source is near that of the river Rhine, and then runs eastward towards Greece out into the Mediterranean, and north to the ocean which is called Cwen Sea, within which are many nations: but the whole of it is called Germany.

Then to the north of the source of the Danube, and to the east of the Rhine, are the East Franks, and to the south of them are the Swabians, on the opposite bank of the Danube, and to the south and east of them are the Bavarians,

ȝ ꝑihte be eaſtan him ſýnðon Beme. ȝ eaſt-noꝛð ſýnðon Ðýꝛingaſ. ȝ be noꝛðan him ſýnðon Ealð-Seaxan. ȝ be noꝛðan peꝛtan him ſýnðon Fꝛiſyan. ȝ be peꝛtan Ealð-Seaxum iſ Ælfemuða þæne ea ȝ Fꝛiſylanð. ȝ þanon peſt-noꝛð iſ þæt lanð þe man Ängle hæt ȝ Sillenðe ȝ ſumne ðæl Dena. ȝ be noꝛðan him iſ Äꝑðꝛeðe. ȝ eaſt-noꝛð ſýlte þe man Æſelðan hæt. ȝ be eaſtan him iſ ſmeðalanð. þe man hæt Sýſýle. ȝ eaſt-ſuð oꝑeꝛ ſumne ðæl Maꝛoaꝛo. ȝ hi Maꝛoaꝛo habbað be peꝛtan him Ðýꝛingaſ ȝ Behemaſ ȝ Bæȝðꝑaꝛe healfe. ȝ be ſuðan him on oðꝛe healfe Donua þæne ea iſ þæt lanð Lꝛenðꝛe. ſuð oð ða beoꝛȝaſ þe man hæt Älpiſ. to þæm ilcan beoꝛȝum liȝað Bæȝðꝑaꝛa lanð-ȝemæne ȝ Spæꝛa. ȝ ðonne be eaſtan Lꝛenðꝛan lanðe. beȝeonðan þæm peꝛtenne. iſ Pulȝaꝛa lanð. ȝ be eaſtan þæm iſ Lꝛeca lanð. ȝ be eaſtan Maꝛoaꝛo lanðe iſ ſiſle lanð. ȝ be eaſtan þæm ſinð Datia. þa þe iu pæꝛon Lottan:· Be eaſtan-noꝛðan Maꝛoaꝛa ſýnðon Dalamenſan. ȝ be eaſtan Dalamenſam ſinðon Þoꝛithi. ȝ be noꝛðan Dalamenſam ſinðon Suppe. ȝ be peꝛtan him ſinðon Sýꝛele:· Be noꝛðan Þoꝛithi iſ Mæȝðalanð. ȝ be noꝛðan Mæȝðalanðe Seꝛmenðe oð ða beoꝛȝaſ Riꝑꝑin. ȝ be peꝛtan Suð-Denum iſ þæſ ȝaꝛꝑeczeſ eaꝛm þe lið ymbutan þæt lanð Bꝛittannia. ȝ be noꝛðan him iſ þæſ ſæſ eaꝛm þe man hæt Oſt-ſæ. ȝ be eaſtan him ȝ be noꝛðan him ſýnðon Noꝛð-Dene. æȝþeꝛ ȝe on þæm maꝛan lanðum. ȝe on þæm iȝlanðum. ȝ be eaſtan him ſýnðon Äꝑðꝛeðe. ȝ be ſuðan him iſ Ælfemuða þæne ea. ȝ Ealð-Seaxna ſum ðæl:· Noꝛð-Dene habbað him be noꝛðan þone ilcan ſæſ eaꝛm þe man Oſt-ſæ hæt. ȝ be eaſtan him ſinðon Oſti ða leoðe. ȝ Äꝑðꝛæðe be ſuðan:·· Oſti habbað be noꝛðan him þone ilcan ſæſ eaꝛm. ȝ ſmeðaſ ȝ Buꝛȝenðaſ. ȝ be ſuðan him ſýnðon Þæꝛelðan:· Buꝛȝenðan habbað þone ylcan ſæſ eaꝛm be peꝛtan him. ȝ Speon be noꝛðan. ȝ be eaſtan him ſint Seꝛmenðe. ȝ be ſuðan him Suppe:· Speon habbað be ſuðan him þone ſæſ eaꝛm Oſti. ȝ be eaſtan him Seꝛmenðe. ȝ be noꝛðan oꝑeꝛ þa peꝛtennu iſ Lꝑenlanð. ȝ be peꝛtan-noꝛðan him ſinðon Scꝛiðe-Finnaſ. ȝ be peſtan Noꝛðmenn:·✓

that part which is called Regnesburh, and due east from them are the Bohemians, and to the north-east the Thuringians, and to the north of them are the Old Saxons, and to the north-west of them are the Frisians, and to the west of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the river Elbe, and Friesland, and thence to the north-west is the land which is called Angeln, and Seeland, and some part of Denmark; to the north is Apdrede, and to the north-east the Wylts, who are called Æfeldan, and to the east of them is Wendland, which is called Sysyle, and south-east, over some part, Moravia, and these Moravians have to the west the Thuringians and Bohemians, and part of the Bavarians, and to the south, on the other side of the river Danube, is the country called Carinthia, south as far as the mountains called the Alps. Towards the same mountains lie the boundaries of Bavaria and Swabia; and then to the east of the Carinthian land, beyond the waste is Bulgaria, and to the east of that is Greece, to the east of Moravia is the Vistula land, and to the east of that are the Dacians, who were formerly Goths. To the north-east of the Moravians are the Dalamensæ; east of the Dalamensæ are the Horithi, and north of the Dalamensæ are the Surpe, and to the west of them are the Sysele. To the north of the Horithi is Mægthaland, and north of Mægthaland, Sermende, as far as the Riphæan mountains, and to the west of the South Danes is that arm of the ocean that surrounds Britain, and to the north of it is that arm of the sea which is called the East-Sea, and to the east of that and to the north of it are the North Danes, both on the continent and on the islands; and to the east of them are the Afdrede, to the south is the mouth of the river Elbe, and some part of the Old Saxons. The North Danes have, to the north, that same arm of the sea which is called the East-Sea, and to the east of them is the nation of the Osti, and Afdrede to the south. The Osti have, to the north of them, that same arm of the sea, and the Wends and the Burgundæ, and to the south of them are the Hæfeldan. The Burgundæ have the same arm of the sea to the west of them, and the Swedes to the north; and to the east of them are the Sermende, and to the south of them the Surfe, the Swedes have to the south of them the arm of the East-Sea, and to the east of them Sermende, and to the north, over the wastes, is Cwenland, to the north-west are the Scride-Fins, and to the west the Northmen.

✓ Ohtheþe ƿæbe hiƿ hlaforþe Ælfƿiede kyninczе þæt he ealþa Norðmanna norðmeƿt bube:· Þe cpæð þæt he bube on þæm lanbe norðepeaƿbum þið þa peƿt ƿæ. he ƿæbe ðeah þæt þæt lanð ƿý ƿþýðe lanz norð þanon. ac hit ıƿ eall peƿte buton on ƿeaƿum ƿtoƿum ƿticcemælum þiciað Finnaƿ. on huntaðe on þintþa. ȝ on ƿumeþa on þiƿcoðe be þæþe ƿæ:· Þe ƿæbe þæt he æt ƿumum cýþþe polbe ƿanbian hu lanze þæt lanð norðþihte læze. oððe hpæþeþ ænig man be norðan þæm peƿtene bube:· Ða ƿoþ he norðþihte be þæm lanbe. let him ealne peȝ þæt peƿte lanð on þæt ƿteoþboþð. ȝ þa þið ƿæ on bæcboþð. þþý baȝaƿ. þa þæƿ he ƿþa ƿeoþ norð ƿþa hpæl-huntan ƿýþneƿt ƿaþað:· Ða ƿoþ he þa-ȝýt norðþýhte. ƿþa he mihte on þæm oðþum þþim baȝum ȝeƿeȝhan. þa beah þæt lanð þæþ eaƿtþýhte. oððe þio ƿæ in on þæt lanð. he nýƿte hpæþeþ. buton he þiƿte þæt he þæþ baþ peƿtan þinbeƿ. oððe hpon norðan. ȝ ƿeȝlebe þanon eaƿt be lanbe. ƿþa ƿþa he mihte on ƿeopeþ baȝum ȝeƿeȝhan. þa ƿceolbe he þæþ biðan þyhte norðan þinbeƿ. ƿoþðan þæt lanð þæþ beah ƿuðþihte. oððe ƿéo ƿæ in on þæt lanð. he nýƿte hpæþeþ. þa ƿeȝlebe he þanon ƿuðþihte be lanbe. ƿþa ƿþa he mihte on þiƿ baȝum ȝeƿeȝhan:· Ða læȝ þæþ an mycel ea up in þæt lanð. þa cýnbon hý up in on ða ea. ƿoþþæm hý ne boþƿton ƿoþð be þæþe ea ƿeȝhan ƿoþ unƿþiðe. ƿoþþæm þæt lanð þæƿ eall ȝebun on oðþe healfe þæþe ea:· Ne mette he æþ nan ȝebun lanð ƿýððan he ƿnam hiƿ aȝnum hame ƿoþ. ac him þæƿ ealne peȝ peƿte lanð on þæt ƿteoþboþð butan þiƿceþan. ȝ ƿuȝeleþan. ȝ huntan. ȝ þæt þæþon ealle Finnaƿ. ȝ him þæƿ a þið þæ on þæt bæcboþð:· Ða Beoþmaƿ hæƿbon ƿþiðe pell ȝebun hýþa lanð. ac hi ne boþƿton þæþon cuman. ac þaþa Teþþinna lanð þæƿ eall peƿte. butan þæþ huntan ȝepicobon. oððe þiƿceþaƿ. oððe ƿuȝeleþaƿ:·

Fela ƿpella him ƿæbon þa Beoþmaƿ. æȝþeþ ȝe oƿ hýþa aȝenum lanbe. ȝe oƿ þæm lanbe þe ymb hý utan þæþon. ac he nýƿte hpæt þæƿ ƿoðeƿ þæƿ. ƿoþþæm he hit ƿylƿ ne ȝeƿeah:· Ða Finnaƿ. him þuhte. ȝ þa Beoþmaƿ ƿpþæcon neah an ȝeðeobe:· Spiðoƿt he ƿoþ ðýbeþ. to-eacan þæƿ lanbeƿ ƿceaþunze. ƿoþ þæm hoþƿ-hpælum. ƿoþþæm hi habbað ƿþýðe æðele ban on hýþa toðum. þa teð hý bnohton ƿume þæm cyninczе. ȝ hýþa hýð bið ƿþiðe ȝob to ƿcip-þapum:· Se hpæl bið micle læƿƿa ðonne oðþe hpalaƿ. ne bið he lenzþa

"Ohthere told his lord King Ælfred, that he dwelt northmost of all the Northmen. He said that he dwelt in the land to the northward, along the West-Sea; he said, however, that that land is very long north from thence, but it is all waste, except in a few places, where the Fins here and there dwell, for hunting in the winter, and in the summer for fishing in that sea. He said that he was desirous to try, once on a time, how far that country extended due north, or whether any one lived to the north of the waste. He then went due north along the country, leaving all the way the waste land on the right, and the wide sea on the left, for three days; he was as far north as the whale-hunters go at the farthest. Then he proceeded in his course due north, as far as he could sail within another three days; then the land there inclined due east, or the sea into the land, he knew not which, but he knew that he there waited for a west wind, or a little north, and sailed thence eastward along that land as far as he could sail in four days; then he had to wait for a due north wind, because the land there inclined due south, or the sea in on that land, he knew not which; he then sailed thence along the coast due south, as far as he could sail in five days. There lay a great river up in that land; they then turned up in that river, because they durst not sail on by that river, on account of hostility, because all that country was inhabited on the other side of that river; he had not before met with any land that was inhabited since he came from his own home; but all the way he had waste land on his right, except fishermen, fowlers, and hunters, all of whom were Fins, and he had constantly a wide sea to the left. The Beormas had well cultivated their country, but they did not dare to enter it; and the Terfinna land was all waste, except where hunters, fishers, or fowlers had taken up their quarters.

"The Beormas told him many particulars both of their own land, and of the other lands lying around them; but he knew not what was true, because he did not see it himself; it seemed to him that the Fins and the Beormas spoke nearly one language. He went thither chiefly, in addition to seeing the country, on account of the walrusses, because they have very noble bones in their teeth, some of those teeth they brought to the king: and their hides are good for ship-ropes. This whale is much less than other whales, it being not longer

þonne ſýſan elna lanz. ac on hiſ aznum lanðe iſ ſe beſta hpæl-huntað. þa beoð eahta ⁊ ſeopeptizeſ elna lanze. ⁊ þa mæſtan ſiſtizeſ elna lanze. þaþa he ſæbe þæt he ſýxa ſum oſſloze ſýxtiz on tpam bazum: Þe pæſ ſpýðe ſpebiz man on þæm æhtum þe heopa ſpeba on beoð. þ iſ on pilbeopum: Þe hæſbe þa-zyt. þa he þone cyninze ſohte. tamþa beopa unbebohtþa ſýx hunð: Ða beop hi hatað hþanaſ. þaþa pæþon ſýx ſtæl-hþanaſ. ða beoð ſpyðe býþe mið Finnum. ſoþ-ðæm hý ſoð þa pilðan hþanaſ mið:

Þe pæſ mið þæm ſýþſtum mannum on þæm lanðe. næſðe he þeah ma þonne tpentiz hþýðeþa. ⁊ tpentiz ſceapa, ⁊ tpentiz ſpýna. ⁊ þæt lýtle þæt he eþebe. he eþebe mið hoþſan. ac hýþa aþ iſ mæſt on þæm zaſole þe þa Finnaſ him zýlðað. þæt zaſol bið on beoþa ſellum. ⁊ on ſuzela ſeðeþum. ⁊ hþæleſ bane. ⁊ on þæm ſcip-þapum þe beoð oſ hþæleſ hýðe zeþoþht ⁊ oſ ſeoleſ: Æzhpilc zýlt be hýſ zebýþðum. ſe býþðeſta ſceal zýlðan ſiſtýne meaþðeſ ſell. ⁊ ſiſ hþaneſ. ⁊ an beþan ſel. ⁊ týn ambþa ſeðna. ⁊ beþenne kýþtel oððe ýtepenne. ⁊ tpezen ſcip-þapaſ. æzþeþ ſý ſýxtiz elna lanz. oþeþ ſý oſ hþæleſ hýðe zeþoþht. oðeþ oſ ſioleſ:

Þe ſæðe þæt Noþðmanna lanð pæþe ſpýðe lanz ⁊ ſpýðe ſmæl: Call þæt hiſ man aþeþ oððe ettan oððe epian mæz, þæt hð pið þa ſæ. ⁊ þ iſ þeah on ſumum ſtopum ſpýðe clubiz. ⁊ hiczað pilðe moþaſ pið eaſtan. ⁊ pið uppon emnlanze þæm býnum lanðe: On þæm moþum eaþbiað Finnaſ. ⁊ þæt býne lanð iſ eaſtepeaþð bþaboſt. ⁊ ſýmle ſpa noþðoþ ſpa ſmælþe: Eaſtepeaþð hit mæz bion ſýxtiz mila bþað. oððe hpene bþæðþe. ⁊ miððepeaþð þþitiz oððe bþaðþe. ⁊ noþðepeaþð he cpæð. þæþ hit ſmaloſt pæþe. þ hit mihte beon þþeopa mila bþað to þæm moþe. ⁊ ſe moþ ſýðþan on ſumum ſtopum ſpa bþað ſpa man mæz on tpam pucum oſeþſeþan. ⁊ on ſumum ſtopum ſpa bþað ſpa man mæz on ſýx bazum oſeþſeþan: Ðonne iſ to-emneſ þæm lanðe ſuðepeaþðum on oþþe healfe þæſ moþeſ Speolanð oð ðæt lanð noþðepeaþð. ⁊ to-emneſ þæm lanðe noþðepeaþðum Lpenalanð: Ða Lpenaſ hepziað hþilum on þa Noþðmen oþeþ þone moþ. hþilum þa Noþðmen on hý; þæþ ſinc ſpiðe micle meþaſ ſeþſce zeonð þa moþaſ. ⁊ beþað þa Lpenaſ hýþa ſcýpu oþeþ lanð on þa meþaſ. ⁊ þanon

than seven ells; but in his own country is the best whale-hunting, there they are eight-and-forty ells long, and most of them fifty ells long; of these he said that he and five others had killed sixty in two days. He was a very wealthy man in those possessions in which their wealth consists, that is in wild deer. He had at the time he came to the king, six hundred unsold tame deer. These deer they call rein-deer, of which there were six decoy rein-deer, which are very valuable amongst the Fins, because they catch the wild rein-deer with them.

"He was one of the first men in that country, yet he had not more than twenty horned cattle, and twenty sheep, and twenty swine, and the little that he ploughed he ploughed with horses. But their wealth consists for the most part in the rent paid them by the Fins. That rent is in skins of animals, and birds' feathers, and whalebone, and in ship-ropes made of whales' hides, and of seals'. Every one pays according to his birth; the best-born, it is said, pay the skins of fifteen martens, and five rein-deer's, and one bear's-skin, ten ambers of feathers, a bear's or otter's skin kyrtle, and two ship-ropes, each sixty ells long, made either of whale-hide or of seal's.

"He said that the Northmen's land was very long and very narrow; all that his man could either pasture or plough lies by the sea, though that is in some parts very rocky; and to the east are wild mountains, parallel to the cultivated land. The Fins inhabit these mountains, and the cultivated land is broadest to the eastward, and continually narrower the more north. To the east it may be sixty miles broad, or a little broader, and towards the middle thirty, or broader; and northward, he said, where it is narrowest, that it might be three miles broad to the mountain, and the mountain then is in some parts so broad that a man may pass over in two weeks, and in some parts so broad that a man may pass over in six days. Then along this land southwards, on the other side of the mountain, is Sweden, to that land northwards; and along that land northwards, Cwenland. The Cwenas sometimes make depredations on the Northmen over the mountain, and sometimes the Northmen on them; there are very large fresh meres amongst the mountains, and the Cwenas carry their ships over land into the meres, and thence make

herȝiað on þa Norðmen. hý habbað ſþyðe lýtle ſcipa. ⁊ ſþiðe leohte :·

Ohthere ſæde ꝥ ſio ſcir hatte Halȝoland þe he on bude :· He cþæð ꝥ nan man ne bude be norðan him :· Ðonne iſ an port on ſuðeþeardum þæm lande. þone man hæt Sciringeſ-heal þýder he cþæð ꝥ man ne mihte ȝeſeȝlian on anum monðe. ȝýf man on niht þicode. ⁊ ælce dæȝe hæfde ambýrne þind. ⁊ ealle þa hþile he ſceal ſeȝlian be lande. ⁊ on þæt ſteorbord him bið æreſt Iralanð. ⁊ þonne þa iȝlanð þe ſynd betux Iralande. ⁊ þiſſum lande :· Ðonne iſ þiſ land oð he cýmð to Sciringeſ-heale. ⁊ ealne þeȝ on þæt bæcbord Norðþeȝe. þið ſuðan þone Sciringeſ-heal ſýlð ſþýðe mýcel ſæ up in on þæt land. ſeo iſ bradre þonne æniȝ man oferſeon mæȝe. ⁊ iſ Lotland on oðre healfe onȝean. ⁊ ſiðða Sillende :· Seo ſæ lið mæniȝ hund mila up in on þæt land. ⁊ of Sciringeſ-heale he cþæð ꝥ he ſeȝlode on fif daȝan to þæm porte þe mon hæt æt-Hæðum. ſe ſtent betuh Þinedum. ⁊ Seaxum. ⁊ Anȝle. ⁊ hýrð in on Dene :·

Ða he þiderþeard ſeȝlode fram Sciringeſ-heale. þá þæſ him on þæt bæcbord Denamearc. ⁊ on þæt ſteorbord þid ſæ þrý daȝaſ. ⁊ þa tþeȝen daȝaſ ær he to Hæðum come. him þæſ on þæt ſteorbord Lotland. ⁊ Sillende. ⁊ iȝlanda fela. on þæm landum eardodon Enȝle. ær hi hider on land comon. ⁊ hým þæſ þa tþeȝen daȝaſ on ðæt bæcbord þa iȝland þe into Denemearce hýrað :·

Þulfſtan ſæde ꝥ he ȝefore of Hæðum. þæt he þære on Truſo on ſýfan daȝum ⁊ nihtum. þæt þæt ſcip þæſ ealne þeȝ ýrnende under ſeȝle. Þeonodland him þæſ on ſteorbord. ⁊ on bæcbord him þæſ Lanȝaland. ⁊ Læland. ⁊ Falſter. ⁊ Sconeȝ. ⁊ þaſ land eall hýrað to Denemearcan. ⁊ þonne Burȝendaland þæſ uſ on bæcbord. ⁊ þa habbað him ſýlf cýninȝ :· Ðonne æfter Burȝendalande þæron uſ þaſ land þa ſýnd hatene æreſt Blecinȝa-eȝ ⁊ Meore. ⁊ Eoþland. ⁊ Lotland on bæcbord. ⁊ þaſ land hýrað to Speon. and Þeonodland þæſ uſ ealne þeȝ on ſteorbord. oð Þiſle-muðan :· Seo Þiſle iſ ſþýðe mýcel ea. ⁊ hio tolið Þitland ⁊ Þeonodland. ⁊ þæt Þitland belimpeð to Eſtum. ⁊ ſeo Þiſle lið ut of Þeonodlande. ⁊ lið in Eſtmere. ⁊ ſe Eſtmere iſ huru fiftene mila brad :· Ðonne cýmeð Ilfinȝ eaſtan in Eſtmere of þæm mere þe Truſo ſtandeð in ſtaðe. ⁊

depredations on the Northmen; they have very little ships, and very light.

"Ohthere said that the shire in which he dwelt is called Halgoland. He said that no one dwelt to the north of him; there is likewise a port to the south of that land, which is called Sciringes-heal; thither, he said, no one could sail in a month, if he landed at night, and every day had a ~~fair~~ wind; and all the while he would sail along the land, and on the starboard will first be Iraland, and then the islands which are between Iraland and this land. Then it is this land until he comes to Sciringes-heal, and all the way on the larboard, Norway. To the south of Sciringes-heal, a very great sea runs up into the land, which is broader than any one can see over; and Jutland is opposite on the other side, and then Seeland. This sea lies many miles up in that land. And from Sciringes-heal, he said that he sailed in five days, to that port which is called Æt-Hæthum (Sleswig), which is between the Wends, and Seaxons, and Angles, and belongs to Denmark.

"When he sailed thitherward from Sciringes-heal, Denmark was on his left, and on the right a wide sea for three days, and two days before he came to Hæthum, he had on the right Jutland, Seeland, and many islands. In these lands the Angles dwelt before they came hither to this land. And then for two days he had on his left the islands which belong to Denmark.

"Wulfstan said that he went from Sleswig to Truso in seven days and nights, that the ship was all the way running under sail. Wendland was on his right, but Langeland, Lolland, Falster, and Skaane on his left, and all these lands belong to Denmark, and then Bornholm was on our left, which has a king of its own. Then after Bornholm, the lands of Blekinge, Meore, Oland, and Gothland, were first on our left, and these lands belong to Sweden; and Wendland was all the way on our right, to the Vistula mouth. The Vistula is a very large river, and it separates Witland from Wendland; and Witland belongs to the Esthonians, and the Vistula flows out of Wendland, and flows into the Frische Haff, and the Frische Haff is at least fifteen miles broad. Then comes the Elbing, from the east into the Frische Haff, from the lake on the shore of which stands

cumað ut ſamoð in Eſtmeſe Ilſinz eaſtan of Eaſtlanðe. ⁊ Viſle ſuðan of Vinoðlanðe. ⁊ þonne benimð Viſle Ilſinz hiſe naman. ⁊ liȝeð of þæm meſe veſt. ⁊ noſð on ſæ. foſðý hit man hæt Viſlemuðan :· Ðæt Eaſtlanð iſ ſvýðe mýcel. ⁊ þæſ bið ſvýðe maniȝ buſh. ⁊ on ælceſe býſiȝ bið cýninȝc. ⁊ þæſ bið ſvýðe mýcel huiȝn ⁊ fiſcað. ⁊ ſe cýninȝ ⁊ þa ſicoſtan men ðſincað mýſan meolc. ⁊ þa unſpeðiȝan ⁊ þa þeovan ðſincað meðo :· Ðæſ bið ſvýðe mýcel ȝeſinn betveonan him. ⁊ ne bið þæſ næniȝ ealo ȝebſoven mið Eſtum. ac þæſ bið meðo ȝenoh :·

Ánð þæſ iſ mið Eſtum ðeav. þonne þæſ bið man ðeað. þæt he lið inne unfoſbæſneð mið hiſ maȝum ⁊ fſeonðum monað. ȝe hvilum tveȝen. ⁊ þa kýninȝaſ ⁊ þa oðſe heahðunȝene men ſva micle lencȝ ſva hi maſan ſpeða habbað. hvilum healf ȝeaſ. ꝥ hi beoð unfoſbæſneð. ⁊ licȝað buſan eoſðan on hýſa huſum. ⁊ ealle þa hvile þe þæt lic bið inne. þæſ ſceal beon ȝeðſýnc ⁊ pleȝa. oð þone ðæȝ þe hi hine foſbæſnað :· Ðonne þý ýlcan ðæȝe hi hine to þæm aðe beſan výllað. þonne toðælað hi hiſ feoh. þæt þæſ to laſe bið æfteſ þæm ȝeðſýnce ⁊ þæm pleȝan. on fif oððe ſýx. hvilum on ma. ſva ſva þæſ feoſ anðeſn bið :· Alecȝað hit þonne foſhvæȝa on anſe mile. þone mæſtan ðæl fſam þæm tune. þonne oðeſne. ðonne þæne þſiððan. oþ þe hýt eall aleð bið on þæſe anſe mile. ⁊ ſceall beon ſe læſta ðæl nýhſt þæm tune. þe ſe ðeaða man on lið :·

Ðonne ſceolon beon ȝeſamnoðe ealle þa menn þe ſvýftoſte hoſſ habbað on þæm lanðe foſhvæȝa on fif milum. oððe on ſýx milum fſam þæm feo :· Ðonne æſnað hý ealle toveaſið þæm feo. þonne cýmeð ſe man ſe þæt ſvifte hoſſ haſað to þæm æſeſtan ðæle. ⁊ to þæm mæſtan. ⁊ ſva ælc æfteſ oðſum. oð hit bið eall ȝenumen. ⁊ ſe nimð ðone læſtan ðæl ſe nyhſt ðæm tune ðæt feoh ȝeæſneð. ⁊ ðonne ſiðeð ælc hýſ veȝeſ mið ðan feo. ⁊ hýt motan habban eall. ⁊ foſðý þæſ beoð þa ſvifſtan hoſſ unȝefohȝe ðýſe :· Ánð ðonne hýſ ȝeſtſeon beoð þuſ eall aſpenðeð. þonne býſð man hine ut. ⁊ foſbæſneð mið hiſ væpnum ⁊ hſæȝle. ⁊ ſviðoſt ealle hýſ ſpeða hý foſſpenðað. mið þan lanȝan leȝeſe þæſ ðeaðan manneſ inne. ⁊ þæſ þe hý be þæm veȝum alecȝað. þe ða fſemðan to-æſnað. ⁊ nimað :·

⁊ þæt iſ mið Eſtum ðeav. ðæt þæſ ſceal ælceſ ȝeðeoðeſ man

Truso, and the Elbing flows from the east from Eastland, and the Vistula from the south from Wendland, and then the Vistula deprives the Elbing of its name, and runs out of that mere west, and north into the sea; therefore it is called the Vistula's mouth. Eastland is very large, and there are in it many towns, and in every town is a king; and there is also a great quantity of honey and fishing, and the king and the richest men drink mares' milk, and the poor and the slaves drink mead. They have many contests amongst themselves, and there is no ale brewed among the Esthonians, for there is mead enough.

"And there is a custom among the Esthonians, that when any one is dead there, he lies unburnt with his relations and friends for a month, sometimes two, and the kings and other great men, as much longer as they have more wealth; sometimes it is half a year that they are unburnt, and lie above ground in their houses. And all the while that the corpse is in the house there are drinking and sports till the day on which it is burnt. Then the same day that they carry it to the pile, they divide his property which is left, after these drinking bouts and sports, into five or six, sometimes into more, according to the value of the property. They then lay the largest part about a mile from the dwelling, then another, then a third, until it is all laid within the mile; and the least portion must be nearest to the dwelling in which the dead man lies.

"Then shall be assembled all the men who have the swiftest horses in that country, that is, within five or six miles from the property. They then all run towards the property; then he who has the swiftest horse comes to the first and largest portion, and so each after other, till the whole is taken, and he takes the least portion who takes that which is nearest the dwelling, and then every one rides away with the property, and they may have it all; and, on this account, swift horses are there excessively dear. And when his wealth is thus dispersed, then they carry him out and burn him, with his weapons and clothes; and chiefly they spend the whole wealth of the deceased, by the dead man's continuing so long in the house, and because they lay on the way that to which the strangers run and take.

"And it is a custom with the Esthonians, that people of

beon forbærned. ⁊ gýf ðar man an ban findeð unforbærned. hi hit sceolan miclum gebetan :· ⁊ þær is mid Eastum an mægð þæt hi magon cýle gepýrcan. ⁊ þý ðær licgað ða deadan men spa lange ⁊ ne fúliað. ꝥ hý þýrcað þone cýle hine on. ⁊ þeah man asette tpegen fætels full ealað oððe pæteres. hý gedoð ꝥ oðer bið oferfroren. sam hit sý sumor. sam pinter[1] :·

Nu pille pe secgan be suðan Donua þære ea ýmbe Crecaland. þe lið þýð eastan Constantinopolim Creca býrig. is se sæ Propondicis[2]. ⁊ be norðan Constantinopolim Creca býrig. scýt se sæ earm up of þæm sæ pestrihte. þe man hæt Euxinus. ⁊ be pestan-norðan þære býrig Donua muða þære ea scýt suð-east ut on þone sæ Euxinus. ⁊ on suð healfe. ⁊ on pest healfe þæs muðan sindon Moesi Creca leode. ⁊ be pestan þære býrig sindon Traci. ⁊ be eastan þære býrig Macedonie. ⁊ be suðan þære býrig. on suð healfe þæs sæs earmes þe man hæt Egeum sindon Athena. ⁊ Corinthus þa land. ⁊ be pestan-suðan Corinthon is Achaie ꝥ land. æt þæm Pendel sæ :· Ðas land sýndon Creca leode. ⁊ be pestan Achaie. andlang þæs Pendel sæs is Dalmatia þæt land. on norð healfe þæs sæs. ⁊ be norðan Dalmatia sindon Pulgare ⁊ Istria. ⁊ be suðan Istria is se Pendel sæ þe man hæt Adriaticum. ⁊ be pestan þa beorgas þe man hæt Alpis. ⁊ be norðan þæt pesten. ꝥ is betux Carendran ⁊ Pulgarum :·

Ðonne is Italia land pest-norð lang. ⁊ east-suð lang. ⁊ hit belið Pendel sæ ýmb eall utan buton pestan-norðan :· Æt þæm ende hit belicgað ða beorgas þe man hæt Alpis. þa onginnað pestane fram þæm Pendel sæ in Narbonense þære ðeode. ⁊ endiað eft east in Dalmatia þæm lande æt ðæm sæ. þa land þe man hæt Callia Belgica :· Be eastan þæm is sio ea þe man hæt Rin. ⁊ be suðan þa beorgas þe man hæt Alpis. ⁊ be pestan-suðan se garsecg þe man hæt Britanisca. ⁊ be norðan on oðre healfe þæs garsecges earme is Brittannia :· Ðæt land be pestan Ligore is Æquitania land. ⁊ be suðan Æquitania is þæs landes sum dæl Narbonense. ⁊ be pestan-suðan Ispania land. ⁊ be pestan garsecg be suðan Narbonense is se Pendel sæ þær þær Rodan seo ea ut-scýt. ⁊ be eastan

every language shall be burnt; and if any one finds a bone unconsumed, they must make compensation with a large sum. And there is among the Esthonians, a tribe that can produce cold, and therefore the dead, in whom they produce that cold, lie so long there and do not putrefy; and if any one sets two vessels full of ale or water, they contrive that one shall be frozen, be it summer or be it winter."

Now will we speak concerning the south of the river Danube, about Greece. To the east of Constantinople, a Greek city, is the Propontis, and to the north of Constantinople an arm of the sea issues due west from the sea called the Euxine to the westward, and to the north-west of that city, the mouth of the river Danube flows out south-east into the Euxine sea, and on the south side and west side of this mouth are the Mœsians, a Greek nation, to the west of that city are the Thracians, and to the east of that city the Macedonians; and to the south of that city, on the south side of the arm of the sea called the Ægean, are the lands Athens and Corinth, and to the south-west of Corinth is the land of Achaia, near the Mediterranean. These countries are Greek nations, and to the west of Achaia, along the Mediterranean, is the land of Dalmatia; on the north side of that sea, and to the north of Dalmatia are Bulgaria and Istria, and to the south of Istria is the mediterranean sea called Adriatic; and to the west the mountains called Alps; and to the north that desert which is between Carinthia and Bulgaria.

Then is Italy long to the north-west and south-east, and the Mediterranean surrounds it on every side but the north-west. At that end it is inclosed by the mountains called Alps, which begin west from the Mediterranean in the Narbonese country, and end east in the land of Dalmatia, at the sea, those lands that are called Gallia Belgica. To the east of it is the river called Rhine, and to the south the mountains called Alps, and to the south-west the ocean called the British, and to the north, on the other side of this arm of the ocean, is Britain. The land to the west of Liguria is Aquitaine; and to the south of Aquitaine is some part of the Narbonese country, and to the south-west is the land of Spain, and to the west of the ocean, to the south of the Narbonese, is the Mediterranean, where the river Rhone flows out, and to the east of it the Provence

him Profent sæ. ⁊ be vestan him Profent sæ ofer þa vestenu. seo us nearre Ispania. ⁊ be vestan him ⁊ norðan Equitania. ⁊ Vascan be norðan :· Profent sæ hæfð be norðan hýre þa beorgas þe man Alpis hæt. ⁊ be suðan hýre is Vendel sæ. ⁊ be norðan hýre ⁊ eastan sýnd Burgende. ⁊ Vascan be vestan[1] :·

Ispania land is þrýscýte. ⁊ eall mid fleote utan-ýmbhæfd ge eac binnan-ýmbhæfd ofer þa land. ægþer ge of þæm garsecge ge of þam Vendel sæ. ⁊ an ðæra garena[1] lið suð-vest ongean þæt igland þe Lades hatte. ⁊ oðer east ongean þæt land Narbonense. ⁊ se ðridda norð-vest. ongean Brigantia Lallia burh. ⁊ ongean Scotland. ofer ðone sæs earm. on gerýhte þæne muðan þe mon hæt Scene :· Seo us fýrre Ispania hýre is be vestan garsecg ⁊ be norðan. Vendel sæ be suðan ⁊ be eastan. seo us nearre Ispania. be norðan þære synt Equitania. ⁊ be norðan-eastan is se veald Pýreni. ⁊ be eastan Narbonense. ⁊ be suðan Vendel sæ :·

Brittannia þæt igland. hit is norð-east lang. ⁊ hit is eahta hund mila lang. ⁊ tva hund mila brad. þonne is be suðan him. on oðre healfe þæs sæs earmes. Lallia Belgica. ⁊ on vest healfe on oþre healfe þæs sæs earmes is Ibernia þæt igland. ⁊ on norð healfe Orcadus þæt igland :· Ibernia. ꝥ ve Scotland hatað. hit is on ælce healfe ýmbfangen mid garsecge. ⁊ forðon þe sio sunne þær gæð near on setl þonne on oðrum lande. þær sýndon lýðran vedera þonne on Brittannia :· Ðonne be vestan-norðan Ibernia is þæt ýtemeste land þæt man hæt Thila. ⁊ hit is feavum mannum cuð for þære ofer-fýrre :·

Nu hæbbe ve gesæd ýmbe ealle Europe land-gemæro. hu hi tolicgað. nu ville ve ýmbe Affrica hu þa land-gemæro tolicgað :· Ure ýldran cvædon ꝥ hio være se ðridda dæl ðýses middangeardes. næs na forðam þe þæs landes sva fela være. ac forðam þe se Vendel sæ hit hæfð sva todæled. forðan þe he brýcð sviðor on þone suð dæl þonne he do on þone norð dæl. ⁊ sio hæte hæfð genumen þæs suð dæles mare þonne se cýle ðæs norð dæles hæbbe. forðon þe ælc viht mæg bet við cyle þonne við hæte. for þam þingon is Affrica ægþer ge on landum ge on mannum læsse þonne Europe :·

sea; and to the west of the Provence sea, over the wastes, is the nearer part of Spain, to the north-west of it Aquitaine, and Gascony to the north. The Provence sea has to the north of it the mountains called Alps, to the south of it is the Mediterranean, and to the north-east of it the Burgundi, and to the west the Gascons.

The land of Spain is triangular, and all about surrounded with water, and also over the country inclosed either by the ocean or by the Mediterranean. And of the three angles one lies south-west opposite to the island called Cadiz; another east towards the land of the Narbonese; and the third north-west towards Brigantia, a town of Gaul, and towards Scotland, over the arm of the sea, and opposite to the mouth of the Seine. That [part of] Spain, which is farthest from us, has to the west and the north the ocean, the Mediterranean to the south and to the east. The [part of] Spain nearer to us has to the north Aquitaine, and to the north-east the wold [called] Pyreni, and to the east the Narbonese, and to the south the Mediterranean.

The island of Britain is long towards the north-east, and it is eight hundred miles long and two hundred miles broad: then to the south of it, on one side of the arm of the sea, is Belgic Gaul, and on the west side, on the other side of the arm of the sea, is the island of Ireland, and on the north side the Orcades. Ireland, which we call Scotland, is surrounded on every side by the ocean, and because it is nearer to the setting sun than any other country, the seasons are milder than in Britain. Then to the north-west of Ireland is that utmost land called Thule, which is known to few, on account of its distance.

Now have we said concerning all the boundaries of Europe, how they are divided; now we will [speak] of Africa, how those boundaries are divided. Our forefathers said that it was the third part of this earth; not because there was so much of this land, but because the Mediterranean has so separated it, because it breaks with greater force on the south part than it does on the north part; and the heat has consumed more of the south part than the cold of the north; because every creature may withstand cold better than heat; for which reason Africa is less than Europe, both in lands and men.

Affrica onginð. sva ve ær cvæðon. eastan vestverð fram Egyptum. æt þære ea þe man Nilus hæt. þonne is sio eastmeste þeod haten Libia Lirimacia. hire is be eastan sio us heanre Ægyptus. ⁊ be norðan Vendel sæ. þe man hæt Libia Æthiopicum. ⁊ be vestan Syrtes maiores :·

Be vestan Libia Æthiopicum is sio us fyrre Ægyptus. ⁊ be suðan se garsecg þe man hæt Ethiopicum. ⁊ be vestan Rogathitus Tribulitania sio þeod. þe man oðre naman hæt Arzuges. hio hæfð be eastan hyre þone Syrtes maiores ⁊ Rogaþite þa land. ⁊ be norðan þone Vendel sæ. þe man hæt Adriaticum. ⁊ þa þeode þe man hæt Syrtes minores. ⁊ be vestan Bizantium. oð þone sealtan mere. ⁊ be suðan hyre Natabres. ⁊ Leothulas. ⁊ Laramantes oð þone garsegc Bizantium :· Sio þiod þær sæ-beorh[1] is Adrumetis ⁊ Seuges. ⁊ sio þiod þær sio myc leburh is Lartaina. ⁊ Numidia sio þeod hi habbað be eastan him ðæt land Syrtes minores ⁊ þone sealtan mere. ⁊ be norðan him is Vendel sæ. ⁊ be vestan him Mauritania. ⁊ be suðan him Uzera þa beorgas. ⁊ be suðan þam beorgum þa simbel-farendan Æthiopes. oð ðone garsecg Mauritania. hyre is be eastan Numedia. ⁊ be norðan Vendel sæ. ⁊ be vestan Malua sio ea. ⁊ be suðan Astrix ymb þe beorgas þe todælað ꝥ væstmbære land. ⁊ þæt Seað vylle sand. þe sýððan lið suð on þone garsecg Mauritania. þe man oðre naman hæt Tingetana. be eastan hyre is Malua sio ea. ⁊ be norðan Abbenas þa beorgas ⁊ Lalpis. oðer beorh. þær scyt se ende up of þam garsecge. betuh þan tvam beorgum eastveard. þær Ercoles sýla standað. ⁊ be vestan him is se beorh Athlans. oð ðone garsecg. ⁊ suðan þa beorgas þe man hæt Æsperos. ⁊ be suðan him Aulolum sio þeod oð ðone garsecg :·

Nu hæbbe ve ymb Affrica land-gemærco gesæd :· Nu ville ve secgan ymb þa igland þe on þa Vendel sæ sindon :· Lippos þæt igland hit lið ongean Lilicia ⁊ Issaurio. on þam sæs earme þe man hæt Mesicos. ⁊ hit is an hund mila lang ⁊ fif ⁊ hund-sýfantig ⁊ an hund mila brad ⁊ tva ⁊ tventig :· Lreto ꝥ igland him is be eastan se sæ þe man Arfatium hæt. ⁊ vestan

Africa, as we have before said, begins from the east westward from Egypt at the river called Nile; and the most eastern nation is called Libya Garamantica; to the east of which is the [part] of Egypt nearest to us, and to the north the Mediterranean, which is called Libya Æthiopica, and to the west the Syrtes Majores.

To the west of Libya Æthiopica is the farther Egypt, and to the south the ocean called Æthiopicum, and to the west of Rogathitus is the nation of Tripolitania, which is called by another name, Arzuges, this nation has to the east of it the Syrtes Majores, and the land of Rogathiti; to the north the mediterranean sea, which is called the Adriatic, and the nation called the Syrtes Minores; and to the west of Byzacium, to the salt mere; and to the south of it the Natabres, Getuli, and Garamantes, to the sea of Byzacium. The principal sea-ports there are Hadrumetum and Zeuges, and the principal large town there is Carthage. And the people of Numidia have to the east of them the country of the Syrtes Minores and the salt mere, and to the north of them is the Mediterranean, and to the west of them Mauritania, and to the south of them the mountains of Uzara, and to the south of the mountains the ever-wandering Ethiopians, to the Mauritanian ocean. To the east of them is Numidia, and to the north the Mediterranean, and to the west is the river Malva, and to the south the Astrix, near the mountains which divide the fruitful country from the barren and welling sands, which lie south towards the Mauritanian ocean, which by another name is called the Tingetanian. To the east of it is the river Malva, to the north the mountains of Abbenis, and Calei, another mountain; there the end of the ocean flows between the two mountains eastward, where Hercules's pillars stand; and to the west of them is Mount Atlas, as far as the ocean; and to the south the mountains called Hesperius, and to the south of them the nation of the Auloli, as far as the ocean.

We have now said concerning the boundaries of Africa; we will now speak of the islands that are in the Mediterranean. The island of Cyprus lies opposite to Cilicia and Isauria, on that arm of the sea called the Mesic; and it is a hundred and seventy-five miles long, and a hundred and twenty-two miles broad. To the east of the island of Crete is the sea called the Carpathian, and to the west and

⁊ be norðan Creticum se sæ. ⁊ be westan Sicilium. þe man oðre naman hæt Adriaticum. hit is an hund mila long. ⁊ hund-sýfantig ⁊ fiftig mila brad :· Ðara iglanda þe man hæt Ciclades þara sindon þreo ⁊ fiftig. ⁊ be eastan him is se Risca sæ. ⁊ be suðan se Cretisca. ⁊ be norðan se Egisca. ⁊ be westan Adriaticum :· Sicilia þæt iglanð is ðrysscýte. on ælces sceatan ende sindon beorgas. þone norð sceatan man hæt Pelores. þær is seo burh neah Messana. ⁊ se suð sceata hatte Pachinum. þær neah is sio burh Siracussana. ⁊ þone west sceatan man hæt Lilibeum. þær is seo burh neah þe man hæt Lilibeum. ⁊ hit is an hund ⁊ sýfan ⁊ fiftig mila lang suð ⁊ norð. ⁊ se þridda sceata is an hund ⁊ sýfan ⁊ hund-sýfantig west lang. ⁊ be eastan þæm lande is se Vendel sæ þe man hæt Adriaticum. ⁊ be suðan þam man hæt Affricum. ⁊ be westan þe man hæt Tirrenum. ⁊ be norðan is se sæ þe ægðer is ge nearo ge hreoh :·

Við Italia þam lande Sardinia ⁊ Corsica þa iglanð todæleð an lýtel sæs earm. se is twa ⁊ twentig mila brad. Sardinia is þreo ⁊ þritig mila lang ⁊ twa ⁊ twentig mila brad. him is be eastan se Vendel sæ. þe man hæt Tirrenum. þe Tiber sio ea ut scýt on. ⁊ be suðan se sæ þe lið ongean Numedia lande. ⁊ be westan þa twa iglanð. þe man hæt Balearis. ⁊ be norðan Corsica þæt iglanð :· Corsica him is Rome burh be eastan. ⁊ Sardinia be suðan. ⁊ be westan þa iglanð Balearis. ⁊ be norðan Tuscania þæt lanð. hit is sýxtene mila lang. ⁊ nýgan mila brad :· Balearis þa tu iglanð. him is be norðan Affrica. ⁊ Cades be westan. ⁊ Ispania be norðan :· Scortlice hæbbe we nu gesæd be þæm gesetenessum iglandum. þe on þæm Vendel sæ sindon :·

II.

Ær þæm þe Romeburh getimbred wære þrim hund wintra. ⁊ þusend wintra. Ninus Assýria kýning ongan manna ærest ricsian on ðýsum middangearde. ⁊ mid ungemætlicre gewilnunge anwaldes he wæs herienðe ⁊ feohtende fiftig wintra. oð he hæfde ealle Asiam on his gewealð genýð. suð fram þæm Readan sæ. ⁊ swa norð oð þone sæ þe man hæt Euxinus. butan þæm þe he eac oftræðlice for mid miclum gefeohtum

north the Cretan Sea, and to the west the Sicilian, which by another name is called the Adriatic; it is a hundred miles long, and a hundred and twenty miles broad. There are three-and-fifty of the islands called the Cyclades; and to the east of them is the Risca Sea, to the south the Cretan; to the north the Ægean, and to the west the Adriatic. The island of Sicily is triangular, at each angle there are mountains; the north angle is called Pelorus, near which is the town of Messina; and the south angle is called Pachytum, near to which is the city of Syracuse; and the west angle is called Lilybæum, near to which is the city called Lilybæum; and it is a hundred and fifty-seven miles long, south and north, and the third angle is a hundred and seventy-seven long west; and to the east is the mediterranean sea, called the Adriatic, and to the south of it the African, to the west the Tyrrhenian, and to the north the sea is both narrow and rough.

Opposite to the land of Italy a small arm of the sea separates Sardinia and Corsica, which is two-and-twenty miles broad; Sardinia is three-and-thirty miles long, and two-and-twenty miles broad; to the east of it, is [that part of] the Mediterranean called the Tyrrhenian Sea, into which the river Tiber runs; and to the south, the sea which lies opposite to the land of Numidia; and to the west the two islands called the Balearic; and to the north the island of Corsica. To the east of Corsica is the city of Rome, and Sardinia to the south, and on the west the Balearic islands, and the country of Tuscany to the north; it is sixteen miles long, and nine miles broad. Africa is to the south of the two Balearic islands, and Cadiz to the west, and Spain to the north. Thus have we now shortly spoken the positions of the islands that are in the Mediterranean Sea.

II.

Thirteen hundred years before the building of Rome, Ninus, king of Assyria, began first of men to reign in this world; and having great desire of power, he committed devastations, and carried on wars for fifty years, till he had reduced all Asia to the south of the Red Sea into his power, and to the north as far as the Euxine. Not to mention that he likewise often invaded hostilely the north countries of

on Sciððie þa norð land. þa ðe zecþeðene sýndon þa hearðestan men. þeah hý sýn on þýson þorold-zesælþon ða unspeðzestan. ⁊ hý þa. undeþ þæm þe he him onþinnende þæs. þurðon zeþade þizcræfta. þeah hi æþ hýþa lif býlþitlice alýfden. ⁊ hý him æfteþ þæm zþimme forzuldon þone þizcræft. þe hý æt him zeleorhoðon. ⁊ him ða þearð emleof on hýþa moðe ꝥ hý zesaþon manneſ bloð azoten. sþa him þæſ þaþa nýtena meolc þe hý mæſt bilibbað :· And he Ninus Soroastrem Bactriana cýninz. se cuðe manna æþeſt ðrýcræftaſ. he hine ofeþþann ⁊ offloh. and þa æt nýhſtan he þæſ feohtende þið Sciððie on ane burh. ⁊ þæþ þearð offcoten mið anþe flane. ⁊ æfteþ hiſ ðeaðe Sameþamiſ hiſ cþen fenzc æzþeþ ze to þæm zeþinne ze to þæm þice. ⁊ hio þæt ylce zeþin þe hio hine on beſþon mið manizfealðum fiþen-luſtum. tþa ⁊ feoþeþtiz þintþa þæſ ðþeozende. ⁊ hýþe þa-zýt to lýtel þuhte þæſ anþaldeſ þe se cýninzc æþ zeþunnen hæfðe. ac hio mið þiflice niðe þæſ feohtende on þæt undeþiende folc Æthiopiam[1]. ⁊ eac on Indeaſ. þa nan man ne æþ ne ſýððan mið zefeohte ne zefoþ buton Alexandeþ :· Þio þæſ þilniende mið zeþinnum þæt hio hý ofeþſþiððe. þeah hio hit ðurhteon ne mihte :· Sio zitſunz þa ⁊ þa zeþin þæþon zþimlicþan þonne hý nu ſýn. foþðon hý hýþa nane býſene æþ ne cuðan. ſþa men nu þiton. ac on bilþitneſſe hýþa lif alýfðon :·

Seo ýlce cþen Sameþamiſ. ſýððan ꝥ þice þæſ on hýþe zeþealðe. naleſ ꝥ an þæt hio ðýþſtende þæſ on ſýmbel manneſ bloðeſ. ac eac ſþelce mið unzemetlicþe þþænneſſe manizfeald zeliziþe fþemmende þæſ. ſþa þæt ælcne þaþa þe hio zeacſian mýhte. þæt kýne-kýnneſ þæſ. hio to hýþe zeſþon foþ hýþe zeliziþneſſe. ⁊ ſýððan hio hý ealle mið facne beſþac to ðeaðe. ⁊ þa æt nehſtan hýþe azenne ſunu hio zenam hýþe to zeliziþe. ⁊ foþðon þe hio hýþe fiþen-luſte fulzan ne moſte butan manna býſmþunze. hio zeſette ofeþ eall hýþe þice. þæt nan foþbýþð næþe æt zeliziþe betuh nanþe ſibbe :·

III.

Æþðam þe Romebuþh zetimbþeð þæþe þuſend þintþa ⁊ an hund ⁊ ſýxtiz. þæt þæſtmbæþe land. on þæm Soðome ⁊ Lomoþþe þa býþiz on þæþon. hit þearð fþam heofonlicum fýþe fþiobæþneð :· Ðæt þæſ betuh Aþabia ⁊ Paleſtina þa maniz-

Scythia, who are considered the hardiest men, although in the goods of this world they are the poorest. By his making war against them, however, they straightways became warlike, although they had previously lived a life of innocence; and they paid him dearly afterwards for the art of war, which they had learned from him; and then it became as pleasant to their minds to see man's blood shed, as it was the milk of cows, on which they chiefly live. And Ninus overcame and slew Zoroaster, king of Bactria, who first of men understood the magic arts, and then at last he was fighting against the Scythians, against a town, and was there shot with an arrow; and after his death his queen, Semiramis, succeeded both to the war and to the kingdom; and that same war which she had drawn on him by her manifold sinful passions, she carried on for two-and-forty years; and still the empire which Ninus had conquered appeared to her too small. But she, with feminine hate, made war on the innocent Æthiopians, and also on the Indians, whom no one, neither before nor since, overran with war, except Alexander. She was very desirous to subdue them by war, although she could not effect it. Cupidity and wars were then fiercer than they now are, because they had no previous examples, as men now have, but had passed their lives in innocence.

This same Queen Semiramis, after the empire was in her power, was not only constantly thirsting for human blood, but was also with boundless lust perpetrating manifold prostitutions, so that every one of those she might hear of that was of royal race, she enticed to her for her lewdness, and afterwards deceived, and put them to death; and then at last took her own son to lie with her; and because she could not follow her sinful lusts without the reproach of men, she established throughout her realm that there should be no obstacle to intercourse between any relations.

III.

A thousand and sixty years before the building of Rome the fruitful land on which Sodom and Gomorra stood was burnt by heavenly fire. It was between Arabia and Palestine those mani-

ꝼealdan ꝼæꞅtmaꞅ ꝼæꞃon. ꝼoꞃðam ꞅꝼiðoꞅt þe Ioꞃdaniꞅ ꞅeo ea ælce ȝeaꞃe þæt land middeꝼeaꞃd oꝼeꞃꝼleoꝼ mid ꝼoteꞅ þicce ꝼlode. ⁊ hit þonne mid ðam ȝedýnȝed ꝼeaꞃð ⁝· Ða ꝼæꞅ þæt ꝼolc þæꞅ micclan ꝼelan unȝemetlice bꞃucende. oð þæt him on ꞅe miccla ꝼiꞃen-luꞅt on innan aꝼeox. ⁊ him com oꝼ þæm ꝼiꞃen-luꞅte Lodeꞅ ꝼꞃaco. þæt he eal ꝥ land mid ꞅꝼeꝼlenum ꝼýꞃe ꝼoꞃbæꞃnde. ꞅ ꞅiððan þæꞃ ꝼæꞅ ꞅtandende ꝼæteꞃ oꝼeꞃ þam lande. ꞅꝼa hit þæꞃe[1] ea-ꝼlod æꞃ ȝeꝼleoꝼ. ⁊ þæꞅ dæleꞅ ꞅe dæl ꞅe ꝥ ꝼlod ne ȝꞃette. ýꞅ ȝýt to-dæȝ ꝼæꞅtmbæꞃende on ælceꞅ cýnneꞅ blædum. ⁊ þa ꞅýndon ꞅꝼýðe ꝼæȝeꞃe ⁊ luꞅtumlice on to ꞅeonne. ac þonne hiȝ man on hand nýmð. þonne ꝼeoꞃðað hiȝ to acxan ⁝·

IV.

Æꞃ ðæm þe Romebuꞃh ȝetimbꞃed ꝼæꞃe þuꞅend ꝼintꞃa ⁊ hund-ꞅýꞃantiȝ. Theleꞅciꞅeꞅ ⁊ Liaꞃꞅathi þa leode betuh him ȝeꝼin uphoꝼon. ⁊ þæt dꞃuȝon oð hi mid ealle oꝼꞅleȝene ꝼæꞃon. butan ꞅꝼýðe ꝼeaꝼum. ⁊ ꞅꝼa-þeah ꝥ þæꞃ to laꝼe ꝼeaꞃð þaꞃa Theleꞅciꞅa. hý heoꞃa land oꝼȝeaꝼan. ⁊ ȝeꝼoꞃan Roðum þæt iȝland. ꝼilniende ꝥ hý ælcum ȝeꝼinne oðꝼloȝen hæꝼdon. ac hý Lꞃeacaꞅ þæꞃ onꝼundon. ⁊ hý mid ealle ꝼoꞃdýdon ⁝·

V.

Æꞃ ðam þe Romebuꞃh ȝetimbꞃed ꝼæꞃe eahta hund ꝼintꞃa. mid Eȝýptum ꝼeaꞃð ꞅýꞃan ȝeaꞃ ꞅe unȝemetlica eoꞃð-ꝼela. ⁊ hý æꝼteꞃ þam ꝼæꞃon on þam mæꞅtan hunȝꞃe oðꞃe ꞅýꞃan ȝeaꞃ. ⁊ him þa Ioꞅeph. ꞃihtꝼiꞅ man. mid ȝodcunde ꝼultume ȝehealp ⁝· Fꞃom ðam Ioꞅepe Pompeiuꞅ[2]. ꞅe hæþena ꞅcop. ⁊ hiꞅ cniht Iuꞅtinuꞅ ꝼæꞃan ðuꞅ ꞅinȝende. Ioꞅeph ꞅeþe ȝinȝꞅt ꝼæꞅ hýꞅ ȝebꞃoðꞃa. ⁊ eac ȝleaꝼꞃa oꝼeꞃ hi ealle. ꝥ him þa ondꞃædendum þæm ȝebꞃoðꞃum. hý ȝenamon Ioꞅeph ⁊ hine ȝeꞅealdon in Eȝýpta land. Ða ꞅæde he Pompeiuꞅ ꝥ he þæꞃ dꞃýcꞃæꝼtaꞅ ȝeleoꞃnode. ⁊ oꝼ þæm dꞃýcꞃæꝼtum ꝥ he ȝeꝼunode moniȝe ꝼundoꞃ to ꝼyꞃcenne. ⁊ ꝥ he mihte ꞅꝼa ꝼel ꞅꝼeꝼn ꞃeccan. ⁊ eac þæt he oꝼ þæm cꞃæꝼte Phaꞃaone þæm cýninȝe ꞅꝼa leoꝼ ꝼuꞃde. ⁊ he ꞅæde ꝥ he oꝼ þæm dꞃýcꞃæꝼte ȝeleoꞃnode ȝodcundne ꝼiꞅdom. ꝥ he þæꞅ landeꞅ ꝼæꞅtmbæꞃneꞅꞅe þaꞃa ꞅýꞃan ȝeaꞃa æꞃ beꝼoꞃan ꞅæde. ⁊ þaꞃa oðeꞃa ꞅýꞃan ȝeaꞃa ꝼædle.' þe þæꞃ æꝼteꞃ com. ⁊ hu he ȝeȝadeꞃode on þam æꞃꞃan ꞅýꞃan ȝeaꞃan mid

fold fruits were, because the river Jordan annually overflowed the midst of the country with a flood a foot thick, with which it was afterwards manured. Then was that nation enjoying to the utmost this great prosperity, till enormous sinful lust waxed within them, and for that sinful lust God's vengeance came on them, so that he burned the whole country with sulphureous fire; and afterwards water was standing over the land as the deluge had formerly overflowed it; and that part which the flood did not touch, is to this day fertile in every kind of fruit, and which are very fair and delightful to look upon; but when any one takes them into his hand, then they turn to ashes.

IV.

'In the year a thousand and seventy before the building of Rome, the Telchises and Carsathii began a war between them, and carried it on till they were all slain except a very few, and yet those of the Telchises who survived, abandoned their country, and went to the island of Rhodes, hoping that they had escaped from all war; but there the Greeks found them, and entirely destroyed them.

V.

Eight hundred years before the building of Rome there was a vast plenty, for seven years, in Egypt, and after that for the next seven years there was a terrible famine; and Joseph, a righteous man, much assisted them by the divine support. Of this Joseph, Pompeius, the heathen poet, and his servant, Justin, thus sang. Joseph was the youngest of his brethren, and also wiser than them all; so that his brethren, dreading him, took Joseph and sold him in the land of Egypt. Pompeius then said that he there learned magic, and through that magic was wont to work many wonders; that he could well interpret dreams, and also that he was beloved by Pharaoh, the king, for that craft: and he said that by magic he had learned heavenly wisdom, so that he foretold the seven years of fruitfulness, and the other seven years of famine which came after; and how he gathered in the first seven years, through

hýſ ꝑiſdome. ꝥ he þa æfteꝛan ſýfan ȝeaꝛ eall ꝥ folc ȝeſcýlde ꝑið þone miclan hunȝoꝛ. ⁊ ſæde ꝥ Moýſeſ ꝑæꝛe þæſ Ioſepeſ ſunu. ꝥ him ꝑæꝛan fꝛam him dꝛýcꝛæftaſ ȝecýnde. foꝛðon þe he moniȝe ꝑundoꝛ ꝑoꝛhte in Eȝýptum. ⁊ foꝛ þæm ꝑole þe on þæt land becom. ſe ſcop ꝑæſ ſecȝende ꝥ Eȝýpti adꝛifen Moýſeſ ut mid hiſ leodum. foꝛðon ſæde Pompeiuſ ⁊ þa Eȝýptiſcan biſceopaſ. ꝥ þa Lodeſ ꝑundoꝛ þe on hioꝛa landum ȝeꝑoꝛden. ꝑæꝛon to þon ȝedon ꝥ hi hioꝛa aȝnum ȝodum ȝetealde ꝑæꝛon. ꝥ ſint dioꝛolȝild. naleſ þam ſoðan Lode. foꝛðon þe hioꝛa ȝodu ſýndon dꝛýcꝛæfta laꝛeoꝑaſ. ⁊ ꝥ folc nu ȝýt ꝥ tacn Ioſepeſ ȝeſetneſſe æfteꝛ-fýlȝeað. ꝥ iſ ꝥ hý ȝeaꝛa ȝehꝑilce þone fiftan dæl ealꝛa hioꝛa eoꝛð-ꝑæſtma þæm cýninȝe to ȝafole ȝeſýllað :·

Ꝑæſ ſe hunȝeꝛ on þæſ cýninȝeſ daȝum on Eȝýptum. þe mon hæt Amoſeſ. þeah ðe hioꝛa þeaꝑ ꝑæꝛe ꝥ hy ealle hioꝛa cýninȝaſ hetan Phaꝛaon :· On þæꝛe ýlcan tide ꝛicſade Baleuſ ſe cýninȝ in Aſſiꝛia þæꝛ æꝛ ꝑæſ Ninuſ :· On þæm leodum þe mon Aꝛȝi hæt ꝛicſade Apiſ ſe cýninȝc :· On þæꝛe tide næſ na ma cýninȝa anꝑealda. butan þýſan þꝛim ꝛicum. ac ſyððan ꝑæſ ſio býſen of him ofeꝛ ealle ꝑoꝛld :· Ac ðæt iſ to ꝑundꝛianne. þæt þa Eȝýpti ſꝑa lýtle þoncunȝe ꝑiſton Ioſepe. þæſ þe he hý æt hunȝꝛe ahꝛedde. ꝥ hi hýſ cyn ſꝑa ꝛaðe ȝeunaꝛedon. ⁊ hý ealle to nýdlinȝum him ȝedýdon :· Sꝑa eac iſ ȝýt on ealꝛe þýſſe ꝑoꝛulde. þeah Lod lanȝꝛe tide ꝑille hꝑam hýſ ꝑillan to-foꝛlætan. ⁊ he þonne þæſ eft lýtelꝛe tide þoliȝe. ꝥ he ſona foꝛȝýt ꝥ ȝod ꝥ he æꝛ hæfde. ⁊ ȝeðencð þæt ýfel þæt he þonne hæfð :·

VI.

Æꝛ ðæm þe Romebuꝛh ȝetimbꝛed þæꝛe eahta hund ꝑintꝛa ⁊ týn ȝeaꝛan. ꝛicſode Ambictio ſe cýninȝ in Athena Lꝛeca býꝛiȝ :· Þe ꝑæſ ſe þꝛidda cýninȝ þe æfteꝛ Lecꝛope þæm cýninȝe ꝛicſade. þe æꝛeſt ꝑæſ þæꝛe buꝛȝe cýninȝ :· On þæſ Ambictioneſ tide ꝑuꝛdon ſꝑa mýcele ꝑæteꝛ-flod ȝeond ealle ꝑoꝛld. ⁊ þeah mæſt in Thaſalia Lꝛeca býꝛiȝ ýmb þa beoꝛȝaſ þe man hæt Paꝛnaſſuſ. þæꝛ ſe cýninȝ Theuhaleon ꝛicſode. ꝥ foꝛneah eall ꝥ folc foꝛꝑeaꝛð. ⁊ ſe cýninȝc Theuhaleon ealle þa þe to him mid ſcýpum oðfluȝon to þæm beoꝛȝum. he hý þæꝛ onfenȝc. ⁊ hý þæꝛ afedde :· Be þæm Theuhaleon ꝑæſ ȝecꝑeden. ſꝑilce mon biſpel ſæde. ꝥ he ꝑæꝛe moncýnneſ

his wisdom, so that in the second seven years he protected all the people against the great famine, and said that Moses was this Joseph's son, from whom he learned magic, because he wrought many wonders in Egypt. And on account of the plague which happened in that land, the poet says that the Egyptians drove Moses out with his people; because, said Pompeius and the Egyptian bishops, that those miracles of God which were performed in their land were done that they might be ascribed to their own gods, who are devils, not to the true God, because their own gods are teachers of magic. And that nation still follows that token of Joseph's ordinance, that is, that they every year give a fifth of the fruits of the earth to their king for a tax.

This famine happened in the days of the king of Egypt, called Amasis; though it was their custom to call all their kings Pharaoh. At the same time King Baleus ruled in Assyria, where Nimus had been previously. Over those people, who are called Argivi, King Apis ruled. In those days there were no governments of kings but in these three kingdoms; but afterwards the example of them was [followed] over all the world. But is it to be wondered at, that the Egyptians showed so little gratitude to Joseph for having delivered them from famine, that they so quickly dishonoured his kin, and made them all their slaves. So, however, it still is in this world; though God permits every one to have his will for a long time, and he then suffer for a short time, he soon forgets the good which he had before, and remembers the evil which he then has.

VI.

Eight hundred and ten years before the building of Rome, King Amphictyon reigned in Athens, a city of Greece. He was the third king that reigned after Cecrops, who was the first king of that city. In the time of this Amphictyon, there was so great a flood over the whole world, and particularly in Thessaly, a Greek town, near the hills called Parnassus, where King Deucalion reigned, that almost all the folk perished; and the King Deucalion received and fed all those who fled to him for refuge in ships to the mountains. It was said of this Deucalion, as if told as a fable, that he was

týdrienð. ſpa ſpa Noe pæſ :· On þæm dazum pæſ ſe mæſta man-cpealm in Æthiopian Affrica leoðe. ſpa þæt heora feapa to laſe purðon :· Eac on þæm dazum pæſ ꝥ Liber Pater oferpan þa underizendan Indea ðeoðe. ⁊ hý forneah mið-ealle fordýðe. æzþer ze mið druncennýſſe. ze mið firen-luſtum. ze mið man-ſlýhtum. þeah hý hine eft æfter hýſ dæze heom for zoð hæfðon. ⁊ hý ſæðon ꝥ he pære ealleſ zepinneſ palðend :·

VII.

Ær ðam þe Romeburh zetimbreð pære eahta hund pintra. ⁊ fif pintrum. zepearð þæt Moýſeſ læðde Iſrahela folc of Æzýptum. æfter þæm manezum pundrum þe he þær zeðon hæfde :· Ðæt pæſ þæt forme. ꝥ hýra pæter purðon to bloðe :· Ða pæſ þæt æfterre. ꝥ froxaſ comon zeonð eall Ezýpta land. ſpa fela ꝥ man ne mihte nan peorc pýrcan. ne nanne mete zezýrpan. ꝥ þara pýrma nære emfela þæm mete ær he zezearpoð pære :· Ðriðde ýfel pæſ æften þam. ꝥ znættaſ comon ofer eall þæt land. ze inne ze ute. mið fýrſmeortendum bitum. ⁊ æzðer ze þa men ze þa nýtenu unablinnenlice piniende pæron :· Ða pæſ þæt feorðe. þæt ealra ſcamlicoſt pæſ. ꝥ hundeſ fleozan comon zeonð eall þæt mancýn. ⁊ hý cruron þæm mannum betpuh þa ðeoh. ze zeonð eall þa limu. ſpa hit eac pell zeðafenoðe. þæt Loð þa mæſtan oferrmetto zeniðroðe mið þære biſmerliceſtan pface. ⁊ þære unpeorðlicoſtan :· Dæt fifte pæſ hýra nýtena cpealm :· Ðæt ſýxte pæſ. þæt eall folc pæſ on blæðran. ⁊ ða pæron ſpiðe hreoplice berſtende. ⁊ þa porrmſ utſionde :· Ðæt ſýfeðe pæſ. ꝥ ðær com hazol ſe pæſ pið fýre zemenzeð. þæt he æzðer ſloh ze þa menn. ze þa nýtenu. ze eall þæt on þæm lande pæſ peaxendeſ ⁊ zroſendeſ :· Ðæt eahtoðe pæſ. þæt zærſtapan comon. ⁊ fræton ealle þa zærſ-ciðaſ. þe bufan þære eorðan pæron. ze furðon þa zærſ-ciðaſ. ⁊ þa pýrtruman ſceorfende pæron :· Ðæt nýzoðe pæſ. þæt þær com hazol ⁊ ſpa mýcel þýſterneſ. ze dæzeſ ze nihteſ. ⁊ ſpa zeðrefeðlic. ðæt hit man zefelan mihte :· Ðæt teoðe pæſ. þæt ealle þa cnihtaſ. ⁊ ealle þa mæðena þe on þæm lande frumcennede pæron. purðon on anre niht acpealde. ⁊ þeah þæt folc nolde ær Loðe abuzan. hý hpæðre þa hýra unðanceſ him zehýrſume pæron. ſpa ſpýðe ſpa hi ær Moýſe. ⁊ hýſ folce þæſ ut-færelðeſ

the parent of mankind, as Noah was. In those days there was the greatest plague in Ethiopia, a nation of Africa, so that few of them survived. In those days also it was, that Liber Pater subdued the innocent Indian people, and almost entirely destroyed them, either by drunkenness and sinful lusts, or slaughters; though after his day they held him for a god, and said he was ruler of all war.

VII.

"Eight hundred and five years before the foundation of Rome, it happened that Moses led the people of Israel out of Egypt, after the many miracles that he had performed there. The first was, that their water was turned to blood. The second was, that frogs came over the whole land of Egypt, so many that no one could do any work, nor prepare any meat, so that there were not reptiles as much as meat before it could be dressed. The third evil was, that gnats came over all the land, both within doors and without, with bites smarting like fire, and both men and cattle were unceasingly pained. Then was the fourth, which was the most shameful of all, that dog-flies came over all that people, creeping between men's thighs, yea, over all their limbs; so that it was also well fitting that God should humble the greatest pride with the most ignominious and most humiliating vengeance. The fifth was the plague of their cattle. The sixth was, that all the people had boils, which burst very virulently, and thence issued corruption. The seventh was, that hail came mixed with fire, which killed both men and cattle, yea, everything that waxed and grew on the land. The eighth was, that locusts came and devoured every blade of grass which was above the earth, yea, even gnawed off the grass and the roots. The ninth was, that hail came, and such great darkness, both by day and night, and so thick that it might be felt. The tenth was, that all the boys and all the maidens, who were the first-born in the land, were killed in one night; and though that people would not before submit to God, yet they then, against their wills, were obedient to Him; as much as they before had forbidden Moses and his people to depart from Egypt, so much were they the more

ƿẏꝛnðon. ſƿa mıcle hẏ ƿæꝛon ȝeoꝛnꝛan. þæt hy hım ꝼꝛam ꝼulȝen ⁝· Ac ſeo hꝛeoƿſunȝ. þe hım þa ȝeƿeaꝛð. ſƿẏðe ꝛaðe on ƿẏꝛſan ȝeþanc ȝehƿẏꝛꝼeð ⁝· Þꝛæðlıce ſe cẏnınȝc þa mıð hıſ ꝼolce heom ƿæſ æꝼtep-ꝼẏlȝenðe. ⁊ hẏ ȝecẏꝛꝛan ƿolðe eꝼt to Eȝẏꝛtum ⁝· Se kẏnınȝc Phaꝛaon hæꝼðe ſẏx hunð ƿıȝ-ƿæȝna. ⁊ ſƿa ꝼela þæſ oðꝛeſ heꝛeſ ƿæſ. ꝥ man mæȝ þanon oncnaƿan. þa hım ſƿa ꝼela manna onðꝛeðon ſƿa mıð Moẏſe ƿæꝛon. þæt ƿæſ ſẏx hunð þuſenða manna ⁝· Þƿæðꝛe Loð þa mıclan Phaꝛaoneſ menȝe ȝelẏtloðe. ⁊ hẏꝛa oꝼeꝛmætan oꝼeꝛmetto ȝenẏðeꝛoðe. ⁊ beꝼoꝛan Moẏſe ⁊ hıſ ꝼolce. ⁊ ðone Reaðan ſæ on tƿelꝼ ƿeȝaſ aðꝛıȝðe. þæt hı ðꝛıȝan ꝼotan þæne ſæ oꝼeꝛꝼeꝛðon ⁝· Ða þæt ȝeſaƿon þa Eȝẏꝛte. hẏ þa ȝetꝛẏmeðon hẏꝛa ðꝛẏaſ. Leameſ ⁊ Mambꝛeſ. ⁊ ȝetꝛuƿeðon mıð hẏꝛa ðꝛẏcꝛæꝼtum. þæt hẏ on ðone ılcan ƿeȝ ꝼeꝛan meahtan. þa hı þa on ınnan þæm ſæ-ꝼæꝛelðe ƿæꝛon. þa ȝeðuꝼon hı ealle ⁊ aðꝛuncon ⁝· Ðæt tacn nu ȝẏt ıſ oꝛȝẏte on þæſ ſæſ ſtaðe hƿæꝛ þaꝛa ƿıȝ-ƿæȝna hƿeol onȝanȝenðe ƿæꝛon ⁝· Ðæt ðeð Loð to tacne eallum mancẏnne. ꝥ þeah hıt ƿınð oððe ſæſ ꝼloð mıð ſonðe oꝼeꝛðꝛıꝼen. ꝥ hıt ðeah bıð eꝼt ſƿa ȝeſẏne ſƿa hıt æꝛ ƿæſ ⁝· On þæꝛe tıðe ƿæſ ſıo oꝼeꝛ-mẏccle hæto on ealꝛe ƿoꝛulðe. naleſ ꝥ an ꝥ men ƿæꝛon mıclum ȝeſƿencte. ac eac ealle nẏtenu ſƿẏðe neah ꝼoꝛƿuꝛðon. ⁊ þa ſuðmeſtan Æthıoꝛıan hæꝼðon bꝛẏne ꝼoꝛ ðæꝛe hæte. ⁊ Scıððıe ða noꝛðmeſtan hæꝼðon unȝeƿunelıce hæton ⁝· Ða hæꝼðon monıȝe unƿıſe menn hım to ƿoꝛðe. ⁊ to leaſunȝ-ſpelle. ꝥ ſıo hæte næꝛe ꝼoꝛ hıoꝛa ſẏnnum. ac ſæðon ꝥ hıo ƿæꝛe ꝼoꝛ Fetontıſ ꝼoꝛſcaƿunȝe. aneſ manneſ ⁝·

VIII.

Æꝛ ðæm þe Romebuꝛh ȝetımbꝛeð ƿæꝛe ſẏx hunð ƿıntꝛan ⁊ ꝼıꝼ. ın Eȝẏꝛtum ƿeaꝛð on anꝛe nıht ꝼıꝼtıȝ manna oꝼſleȝen. ealle ꝼꝛam hıoꝛa aȝnum ſunum. ⁊ ealle þa men comon ꝼꝛam tƿam ȝebꝛoðꝛan ⁝· Ða þıſ ȝeðon ƿæſ þa-ȝẏt lẏꝼeðan þa ȝebꝛoðꝛa ⁝· Se ẏlðꝛa ƿæſ haten Danauſ. þe þæſ ẏꝼeleſ oꝛðꝼꝛuma ƿæſ. ſe ƿeaꝛð oꝼ hıſ ꝛıce aðꝛæꝼeð. ⁊ on Aꝛȝe þæt lanð he ꝼleonðe becom. ⁊ hıſ ſe cẏnınȝ þæꝛ Tenelauſ mılðelıce onꝼenȝ. þeah he hıt hım eꝼt mıð ẏꝼele ꝼoꝛȝulðe. þa he hıne oꝼ hıſ ꝛıce aðꝛæꝼðe ⁝· On þæm ðaȝum on Eȝyptan ƿæſ þæſ kẏnınȝeſ

desirous that they should depart from them. But the repentance which then came over them was very soon turned to worse thoughts. Quickly was the king, with his people, following after them, and would bring them back again to Egypt. King Pharaoh had six hundred war-chariots, and there were so many of the other host, which may thence be known, when so many men dreaded them as were with Moses, that was six hundred thousand men. God, however, lessened the great multitude of Pharaoh, and humbled their excessive pride before Moses and his people, and dried up the Red Sea into twelve ways, so that they crossed that sea with dry feet. When the Egyptians saw that, their magicians, Geames and Mambres, encouraged them, and they trusted that by their sorceries they could cross over the same road; but when they were in the sea-road, they all sank and were drowned. The track is still known on the sea-shore where the wheels of their war-chariots passed. God does this as a token to all mankind, so that, though the wind or sea-flood cover it with sand, yet it will be again seen as plain as it was before. At that time was the very intense heat all over the world, so that not only men were sorely afflicted, but also all the cattle were very near perishing. And the southmost Ethiopians had burning in place of heat; and the Scythians, the most northern, had unusual heats. Then many unwise men uttered the opinion and falsehood, that the heat was not for their sins, but said that it was through the transformation of Phaëton, [who was only] a man!

VIII.

In the year six hundred and five before the building of Rome, fifty men were slain in Egypt in one night, all by their own sons, and all these men came from two brothers. When this was done, the brothers were yet living. The elder was named Danaus, who was the author of this evil. He was driven from his kingdom, and came a fugitive to the land of Argos, and there, Sthenelaus, the king, received him kindly, though he afterwards requited him with evil, when he expelled him from his kingdom. In those days it was the

þeaþ Boſiriðiſ. ⁊ ealle þa cuman. þe hine ȝeſohton. he to blote ȝeðýðe. ⁊ hiſ ȝoðum bebeað :·

Ic þolðe nu. cþæð Oroſiuſ. ⁊ me þa ȝeanðþýrðan. þa þe ſecȝað þæt þeoſ þorlð ſý nu þýrſe on ðýſan criſtenðome. þonne hio ær on þæm hæþenſcýþe þæne. þonne hi ſþýlc ȝeblot ⁊ ſþýlc morð ðonðe þæron. ſþýlc ic her ær beſoran ſæðe :· Þþær iſ nu on æniȝan criſtenðome. betuh him ſýlfum. ⁊ mon him þurfe ſþilc onðræðan. ⁊ hine mon æniȝum ȝoðum blote. oððe hþær ſýnðon ure ȝoðaſ. þe ſþýlcra mana ȝýrnen. ſþilce hiora þæron ? :·

On þæm ðaȝum Perſeuſ ſe cýninȝc of Creca lanðe in Aſiam mið ſýrðe for. ⁊ on þa ðeoðe þinnenðe þæſ. oð hi him ȝehýrſume þæron. ⁊ þæne þeoðe oðerne naman aſcop be him ſyluum. ſþa hi mon ſyððan hæt Perſi :·

Ic þat ȝeare. cþæð Oroſiuſ. ⁊ ic hiſ ſceal her ſela oferhebban. ⁊ þa ſpell þe ic ſecȝe ic hi ſceal ȝeſcýrtan. forðon þe Aſſýrie hæfðon LX. þintra ⁊ an hunð ⁊ an þuſenð unðer fiftiȝan cýninȝa rice: ðæt hit na buton ȝeþýnne næſ. oðþæt Sarðanapoliſ ofſleȝen þearð. ⁊ ſe anþalð ſiððan on Mæðe ȝehþearf :· Þþa iſ þæt eall ða ýfel þe hi ðonðe þæron aſecȝean mæȝe oððe areccean ? :· Eac ic þille ȝeſþiȝian Tontoliſ ⁊ Philopeſ. ðara ſcanðliceſtera ſpella. hu maneȝa biſmerlice ȝeþin Tontoluſ ȝefremeðe. ſýððan he cýninȝc þæſ. ýmb þone cniht þe he neaðinȝa ȝenam. Canemeþiſ. ⁊ hu he hiſ aȝenne ſunu hiſ ȝoðum to blote acþealðe. ⁊ hine him ſýlf ſiððan to mete ȝeȝýrþeðe :· Eac me ſceal aðreotan ýmbe Philopeſ. ⁊ ýmbe Tarðanuſ. ⁊ ýmbe ealra þara Troiana ȝeþin to aſecȝenne. forðon on ſpellum ⁊ on leoðum hiora ȝeþin cuðe ſinðon :· Ic ſceall eac ealle forlætan. þa ðe of Perſeo ⁊ of Cadmo ȝeſæðe ſýnðon. ⁊ eac ða þe of Thebani ⁊ of Spartani ȝeſæðe ſýnðon :· Eac ic þille ȝeſþiȝian þara man-ðæða þara Lemniaðum. ⁊ Panthioniſ þæſ cýninȝeſ. hu hreoþlice he þearð aðræfeð of Athenientium hiſ aȝenre þeoðe. ⁊ Atreȝaſ ⁊ Thiȝeſðeſ. hu hi heora fæðeraſ ofſloȝan. ⁊ ýmb hiora hetelican forliȝneſſa. ic hit eall forlæte :· Eac ic her forlæte Aðipuſ. hu he æȝðer ofſloh ȝe hiſ aȝenne fæðer. ȝe hiſ ſteop-fæðer. ȝe hiſ ſteop-ſunu :· On þæm ðaȝum þæron ſþa unȝemetlice ýfel. ⁊ þa men ſýlf ſæðon. ðæt heſoneſ tunȝul hiora ýfel fluȝon :·

custom of the king, Busiris, in Egypt, that all strangers who resorted to him he sacrificed and offered to his gods.

I would now, says Orosius, that those would answer me, who say, that this world is now worse, in this Christianity, than it was before in heathenism, when they were enacting such sacrifices and murders, as I have just now mentioned. Where is there now, in any [part of] Christendom, among themselves that men need to dread being sacrificed to any gods? or where are our gods who desire such atrocities as those were?

In those days Perseus the king went from Greece into Asia with an army, and made war on that people until they were obedient to him; and gave another name to the nation from himself, so that they were afterwards called Persians.

I well know, says Orosius, that I shall here omit many things of this [time], and that those narratives which I shall relate, I shall shorten; because the Assyrians, for 1160 years, under the reigns of fifty kings, were never without war, till Sardanapalus was slain, and the power was then transferred to the Medes. Who is there that can relate or enumerate all the evils that they did? I will also pass by in silence the most abominable histories of Tantalus and Pelops; how many disgraceful wars Tantalus carried on after he was king, on account of the youth Ganymede, whom he forcibly took; and how he sacrificed his own son to his gods, and afterwards prepared him for himself for food. It would weary me also to relate about Pelops, and about Dardanus, and about all the wars of the Trojans; because their wars are known in histories and in songs. I shall likewise omit all that has been said about Perseus and Cadmus, and also what has been said of the Thebans and Spartans. I will also pass in silence the crimes of the Lemnians, and of King Pandion, how cruelly he was driven from the Athenians, his own people; and of Atreus and Thyestes, how they slew their fathers, and about their execrable lusts, I shall omit it all; I shall also here omit Oedipus, how he slew both his own father and his stepfather, and his stepson. In those days there was such enormous evil that men said that the stars of heaven flew from their wickedness.

IX.

Ær ðam þe Romeburh getimbred wære sýx hund wintrum ⁊ sýxtýgum. weard ꝥ ungemetlice mýcle gefeoht betweoh Lretense ⁊ Atheniense þæm folcum. ⁊ þa Lretense hæfdon ðone grimlican sige. ⁊ ealle ða æðelestan bearn þara Atheniensa hý genamon. ⁊ sealdon ðæm Minotauro to etanne. ꝥ wæs healf mann healf leo :· On ðæm dagum wæs ꝥ Laphite ⁊ Thessali wæron winnende him betweonan. ðonne ða Laphite gesawon Thessali ꝥ folc of hiora horsan beon feohtende wið hi. þonne hetan hi Lentauri. ꝥ sýndon healf hors ⁊ healf men. forðon ðe hi on horse feohtan ne gesawon ær þa :·

X.

Ær þæm ðe Romeburh getimbred wære feower hund wintran ⁊ hund-eahtatigum. Vesoges Egýpta cyning wæs winnende on suð dæle Asiam. oð þe him se mæsta dæl weard underðeoded. ⁊ he Vesoges Egýpta cýning wæs sýððan mid fýrde farende on Sciððie on þa nord dælas. ⁊ his ærendracan beforan asende to þære ðeode. ⁊ him untweogendlice secgan het. ꝥ hi oðer scoldon. oððe ꝥ land æt him alýsan. oððe he hi wolde mid gefeohte fordon ⁊ forhergian :· Þý him þa gescadwislice andwýrdon ⁊ cwædon. ꝥ hit gemahlic wære ⁊ unrihtlic. ꝥ swa oferwlenced cýning sceolde winnan on swa earm folc swa hi wæron. hetan him þeah ꝥ andwýrde secgan. ꝥ him leofre wære wið hine to feohtanne. þonne gafol to gýldenne :· Þi ꝥ gelæston swa. ⁊ sona ðone cýningc geflýmdon mid his folce. ⁊ him æfter folgiende wæron. ⁊ ealle Egýpta awestan. butan ðæm fen-landum anan. ⁊ þa hi hamweard wendon. be westan þære ea Eufrate. ealle Asiam hý genýddon ꝥ hi him gafol guldon. ⁊ ðær wæron fiftýne gear ꝥ land hergiende ⁊ westende. oð hiora wif him sendon ærendracan æfter. ⁊ him sædon. ꝥ hi oðer dýdon. oððe ham come. oððe hi him woldon oðerra wera ceosan :· Þi þa ꝥ land forleton. ⁊ him hamweard ferdon :·

IX.

In the year six hundred and sixty before the foundation of Rome, happened that exceedingly great fight between the Cretans and Athenians, and the Cretans had a bloody victory, and they took all the noblest children of the Athenians, and gave them to the Minotaur to be eaten, which was half man half lion. In those days it was that the Lapithæ and Thessalians warred with each other. When the Lapithæ saw the Thessalians fighting against them on horseback, they called them Centaurs, that is half horse half man; because they had never before seen fighting on horseback.

X.

Four hundred and eighty years before the building of Rome, Vesoges, king of Egypt, carried on a war in the south part of Asia, till most of it was subjected to him; and he, Vesoges, king of Egypt, afterwards marched with an army into the north parts, into Scythia, and sent his ambassadors before him to that nation, and commanded them to say unequivocally, that they should either redeem that land from him, or he would ruin and desolate them with war. They thereupon discreetly answered him, and said, that it was wicked and unjust, that so highly exalted a king should make war on so poor a nation as they were. They, however, bade that answer to be given him: that it was more agreeable to them to fight against him than to pay him tribute. That they made good, and soon put the king with his people to flight; and pursued him and laid all Egypt waste, except the fen-lands alone. And as they returned homewards, on the west of the river Euphrates, they compelled all Asia to pay tribute to them, and they were there plundering and ravaging that country for fifteen years, till their wives sent messengers after them, and said to them that they must do one or the other, either return home, or they would choose other husbands. They then left that country and went homewards.

On þære ýlcan tiðe þurðon tþeȝen æðelinȝaſ aſlýmðe oſ Sciððian. Pleniuſ ⁊ Scoloþetiuſ þæran hatene. ⁊ ȝeſoran ꝥ land. ⁊ ȝebuðon betþeoh Lappaðociam ⁊ Pontum. neah þære læſſan Aſiam. ⁊ ðær þinnende þæron. oðꝥ hi him þær earð ȝenamon. ⁊ hi þær. æſter hræðlice tiðe. ſram þæm landleoðum ðurh ſeara oſſleȝene þurðon ⁝ Ða þurðon hiora þiſ ſþa ſariȝe on hiora moðe. ⁊ ſþa ſþiðlice ȝeðreſeð. æȝðer ȝe ðara æðelinȝa þiſ. ȝe þara oðerra manna. ðe mið him oſſleȝene þæran. ꝥ hi þæpna naman. to þon ꝥ hi heora þeraſ þrecan ðohtan. ⁊ hi þa hræðlice æſter þæm oſſloȝon ealle þa þæpneð-menn þe him on neaþeſte þæron ⁝ Forðon hý ðýðon ſþa þe hi þolðon þæt þa oðre þiſ þæran emſariȝe heom. ꝥ hý ſýððan on him ſultum hæſðon. ꝥ hi ma meahton hýra þeraſ þrecan ⁝ Hi þa þa þiſ ealle toȝæðere ȝecýrðon. ⁊ on þæt ſolc þinnende þæron. ⁊ þa þæpneð-men ſleande. oð hi þæſ landeſ hæſðon mýcel on hiora anþealðe ⁝ Ða undeſ ðæm ȝeþinne. hi ȝenamon ſrið þið ða þæpneð-men ⁝ Sýððan þæſ hiora ðeaþ. ꝥ hi ælce ȝeare ýmbe tþelſ monað toſomne ſerðon. ⁊ þær ðonne bearn aſtrýndon. eſt ðonne þa þiſ heora bearn kendon. ðonne ſeddon hi þa mæðen-cild. ⁊ ſloȝon þa hýſe-cild. ⁊ ðæm mæðen-cildan hi ſortendon ꝥ ſþýþre breoſt ſoran. ꝥ hit þeaxan ne ſceolðe. ꝥ hi hæſðan þý ſtrenȝran ſcýte. ſorðon hi mon het on Lreaciſc Amazonaſ. ꝥ iſ on Enȝliſc ſortende ⁝ Hiora tþa þæran heora cþena. Marpeſia ⁊ Lampiða þæran hatene. hý heora here on tþa toðældon. oðer æt ham beon. hiora land to healðenne. oðer ut-ſaran to þinnanne ⁝ Hý ſýððan ȝeeoðon Europam ⁊ Aſiam ðone mæſtan dæl. ⁊ ȝetimbreðon Effeſum ða burh. ⁊ moniȝe oðre on þære læſſan Aſiam. ⁊ ſiððan hiora hereſ þone mæſtan dæl ham ſendon mið hiora here-hýðe. ⁊ ðone oðerne dæl þær leton. ꝥ land to healðenne ⁝ Ðær þearð Marpeſia ſio cþen oſſlaȝen. ⁊ mýcel þæſ hereſ þe mið hýre bæſtan þæſ ⁝ Ðær þearð hýre ðohtor cþen. Sinope. ſio ýlce cþen Sinope. to-eacan hýre hþætſcýpe ⁊ hýre moni-ſealðum ðuȝuðum. hýre liſ ȝeendoðe on mæȝðhaðe ⁝

On þæm ðaȝum þæſ ſþa mýcel eȝe ſram þæm þiſmannum. ꝥ Europe ne Aſia ne ealle þa neah ðeoða ne mihtan aðencan ne acræſtan. hu hý him þiðſtandan mihtan ærðon hi ȝecuron Ercol ðone ent. ꝥ he hi ſceolðe mið eallan Lreaca cræſtum beſþican. ⁊ ðeah ne ðorſte he ȝeneðan ꝥ he hi mið ſýrðe ȝe-ſore. ær he onȝan mið Lreaca ſcýpum. þe mon Dulmunuſ

At that same time two princes were expelled from Scythia, their names were Plenus and Scolopythus, and proceeded to and ruled the country between Cappadocia and Pontus, near to the Lesser Asia, and there carried on war till they took their habitation there, and there in a short time were slain by the country people by treachery. Then were their wives so sorrowful in their minds, and so afflicted, both the wives of the two princes, as well as of the other men who were slain with them, that they took arms to avenge their husbands, and soon afterwards killed all the males nearest to them. They did so, because they would that the other wives should be as sorry as they, that they might then have support in them, that they might better avenge their husbands. All these wives then combined together, and carried on the war against the people and slew the males of the country, until they had much of the country in their power. Then during the war, they made peace with the males. Afterwards it was their custom every year or twelve month to come together, and there then to beget children. Then, when the women had brought forth their children, they fed the maiden-children, and slew the male children; and of the maiden-children they burned off the right breast, that it might not grow, that they might have the stronger shooting power; therefore they were called in Greek, Amazonas, that is English *burned*[1]. Two of these were their queens; their names were Marpesia and Lampedo. They divided their army into two; one [part] to be at home to defend the land, the other to go out to war. They afterwards overran the greatest part of Europe and Asia, and built the city of Ephesus, and many others in the Lesser Asia, and afterwards sent home the greater part of their army, with their booty, and left the other part there, to keep possession of the country. There was the queen Marpesia slain, and many of the army that remained behind with her. Then was queen her daughter, Sinope, that same Queen Sinope, who in addition to her bravery and manifold virtues, ended her life in maidenhood.

In those days there was so great dread from those women, that neither Europe, nor Asia, nor all the nations near could devise or resolve how they might withstand them, till they chose the giant Hercules, to overreach them with every kind of Grecian cunning. And yet he durst not venture to invade them with an army before he had commenced with

hæt. þe man ſecȝð ꝥ an ſcip mæȝe an ðuſenð manna[1]. ⁊ ða nihteſ on unȝearþe hi on beſtæl. ⁊ hi ſþiðe ſorſloh ⁊ ſorðýðe. ⁊ hþæþere ne meahte hi þæſ lanðeſ benæman :· On ðæm ðaȝum þær þæran tþa cþena. þa þæran ȝeſþeoſtra. Anthiopa ⁊ Orithia. ⁊ þær þearð Orithia ȝeſanȝen :· Æfter hýre ſenȝc to þæm rice Pentheſilia. ſio on þæm Troianiſcan ȝeſeohte ſþiðe mære ȝeþearð :·

Þit iſ ſcondlic. cþæð Oroſiuſ. ýmb ſþýlc to ſþrecanne. hþýlc hit þa þæſ. þa ſþa earme þiſmen [⁊ ſþa elðeoðȝe hæſðon ȝeȝan þone cræftȝeſtan ðæl. ⁊ þa hþateſtan men ealleſ þiſeſ miððanȝearðeſ. þæt þæſ Aſiam ⁊ Europe þel ſorneah mið-ealle aþurþon. ⁊ ealða ceaſtra. ⁊ ealð beriȝ toþurþon. ⁊ æfter ðam hie ðýðon æȝðer ȝe cýninȝa ricu ſæcan. ȝe niþe ceaſtra timbreðon. ⁊ ealle þa þorolð on hiora aȝen þill onþenðenðe þæron ſolneah C. þintra. ⁊ ſþa ȝeþunoðe men þæron ælceſ broceſ. þætte hie hit ſolneah to nanum laðe næſðon. þætte hie[2]] hý ſþa tintreȝeðon. ⁊ nu þa Lotan comon oſ þam hþateſtan mannan Lermania. þe æȝðer ȝe Pirruſ ſe reða Lreaca cýninȝc. ȝe Alexanðer. ȝe Iuliuſ ſe cræftiȝa caſere. hie alle ſram him onðreðon. ꝥ hi hi mið ȝeſeohte ſohte[3] :· Þu unȝemetlice ȝe Romþare beſmurcniað ⁊ beſþrecað. þæt eoþ nu þyrſ ſie on þýſan criſtenðome. þonne þæm ðeoðum þa þære. ſorðon þa Lotan eoþ hþon oſerherȝoðan. ⁊ eoþre burh abræcon. ⁊ eoþer ſeaþe oſſloȝan. ⁊ ſor hiora cræftum ⁊ ſor hiora hþætſcýþe eoþra ſelſra anþalðeſ eoþreſ unðanceſ habban mihtan. þe nu luſtlice ſibſumeſ ſriðeſ. ⁊ ſumne ðæl lanðeſ æt eoþ biððenðe ſýndon. to ðon ꝥ hi eoþ on ſultume beon moton. ⁊ hit ær ðýſan ȝenoh æmetiȝ læȝ ⁊ ȝenoh þeſte. ⁊ ȝe hiſ nane note næſðon :· Þu blindlice moniȝe þeoða ſþrecað ýmb ðone criſtenðom. ꝥ hit nu þýrſe ſý þonne hit ær þære. ꝥ hi nellað ȝeðencan. oððe ne cunnan. hþær hit ȝeþurðe ær ðæm criſtenðome. ꝥ æniȝ ðeoð oðre hýre þillum ſriðeſ bæðe. buton hýre ðearſ þære. oððe hþær æniȝ ðeoð æt oðre mýhte ſrið beȝitan. oððe mið ȝolðe. oððe mið ſeolſre. oððe mið æniȝan ſeo. butan hi him unðerðeoðeð þære :· Ac ſýððan Lriſt ȝeboren þæſ. þe ealleſ miððanȝearðeſ iſ ſibb ⁊ ſrið. naleſ ꝥ an ꝥ men hi mihtan alýſan mið ſeo oſ ðeoþðome. ac eac ðeoða him betþeonan. butan ðeoþðome. ȝeſibſume þæron :· Nu þene ȝe hþýlce ſibbe þa þeraſ hæſðon ær ðæm criſtenðome. þonne hiora þiſ ſþa moniȝſealð ýſel ðonðe þæron on ðýſan miððanȝearðe :·

those Grecian ships, which are called dulmuns[1], of which it is said that one ship may contain a thousand men, and then stole upon them in the night unawares, and slew and destroyed vast numbers of them; and yet he could not take the country from them. In those days there were two queens, who were sisters, Antiope and Orithyia, and Orithyia was taken prisoner. After her Penthesilea succeeded to the kingdom, who gained great glory in the Trojan war.

It is shameful, says Orosius, to speak about such [a state of things] as was, when such miserable women [and so foreign] had subdued the most powerful part and the bravest men of all this earth: that was, Asia and Europe they well nigh totally prostrated, and destroyed old cities and old towns; and after that they sought royal realms, and built new cities, and turned the whole world according to their will, for very near one hundred years, and so accustomed men were to every calamity, that they almost accounted it no evil that they so tormented them. And now the Goths came from the bravest men of Germany, of whom Pyrrhus, the fierce king of Greece, and Alexander, and the powerful Julius, all stood in dread, lest they should seek them in warfare. How immoderately ye Romans murmur, and complain that ye are now worse in this Christianity than those Gentiles were; because the Goths have plundered you a little, and taken your city, and slain a few of you; and by their crafts and bravery might have had dominion over you in your own despite; who now ardently pray you for a tranquil peace, and some portion of land, that they be of aid to you; which land previously lay sufficiently unoccupied and sufficiently waste, and ye had no enjoyment of it. How blindly many people speak about Christianity: that it is worse now than it was before, and will not or cannot call to mind where it happened before Christianity, that any nation voluntarily sued another for peace, without having need of it, or where any nation could obtain peace from another, either with gold or with silver, or with any money, without being subjected to it. But since Christ was born, who is the peace and love of all the earth, not only might men redeem themselves from thraldom with money, but nations also were at peace with each other, without slavery. Now, think what peace men had before Christianity, when their women did so much evil on this earth.

XI.

Ær ðam þe Romeburh ȝetimbreð þære feoþer hund þintra ⁊ þritiȝ þintra. ȝeþearð ꝥ Alexander. Priamiſeſ ſunu. ðæſ cýninȝeſ oſ Troiana ðære býriȝ. ȝenam þæſ cýninȝeſ þiſ Monelauſ. oſ Læcedemonia. Creaca býriȝ. Elena :· Ymb hi þearð ꝥ mære ȝeþin ⁊ þa miclan ȝefeoht. Creaca ⁊ Troiana. ſþa þæt Creacaſ hæfðon M̄. ſcipa þara miclena ðulmuna. ⁊ him betþeonum ȝeſþoran. ꝥ hi næfre nolðan on cýððe cuman. ær hi heora teonan ȝeþræcon. ⁊ hi þa týn ȝear ýmb ða burh ſittende þæſton ⁊ feohtende :· Hþa iſ ꝥ ariman mæȝe hþæt þær moncýnneſ forþearð on æȝðre hand? ꝥ Omeruſ ſe ſcop ſþeotolicoſt ſæde. forðon niſ me þæſ þearf. cþæð Oroſiuſ. to ſecȝenne. forðon hit lanȝſum iſ ⁊ eac moneȝum cuð :· Ðeah ſþa hþilcne mon ſþa lýſte ꝥ þitan. ræde on hiſ bocum hþilc unȝetima ⁊ hþilce tiberneſſa. æȝðer ȝe on mon-ſlýhtan. ȝe on hunȝre. ȝe on ſcib-ȝebrýce. ȝe on miſlicre forſceapunȝe. ſþa mon on ſpellum ſeȝð :·

Ða folc him betþeonum fulle týn þinter þa ȝeþinn þrecende þæron. ȝeðence ðonne ðara tiða. ⁊ nu ðýſſa. hþæðer him bet lician :·

Ða ſona oſ ðam ȝefeohte þæſ oðer æfter-fylȝende. Eneaſ mið hiſ fýrde for oſ þæm Troianiſcan ȝefeohte in Italiam. ꝥ mæȝ man eac on bocum ſceaþian. hu maneȝa ȝeþinn ⁊ hu maneȝa ȝefeoht he þær ðreoȝende þæſ :·

XII.

Ær ðæm þe Romeburh ȝetimbreð þære feoþer ⁊ ſyxtiȝ þintra. ricſade Sarðanapoluſ ſe cýninȝ in Aſſiria. þær Ninuſ ſe cýninȝ æreſt ricſade. ⁊ Sarðanaroluſ þæſ ſe ſiðmeſta cýninȝc. þe on ðæm lande ricſode :· Þe þæſ ſþiðe furðumlic man ⁊ hneſclic. ⁊ ſþýðe þræne. ſþa ꝥ he ſþiðor lufade þifa ȝebæra þonne þæpneð-manna :· Ðæt þa onfunde Arbatuſ hiſ ealdorman. þe he ȝeſet hæfde ofer Meðaſ ꝥ land. he onȝan ſirþan mið þam folce þe he ofer þæſ. hu he hine beſþican mihte. ⁊ aſpeon him fram ealle þa þe he ondreð ꝥ him on fýlſte beon þolðon :· Ða ſe cýninȝ ꝥ onfunde. þæt him man ȝeſþicen hæfde. he þa hine ſýlfne forbærnde. ⁊ ſýððan hæfðon Mæðe

XI.

Four hundred and thirty years before the building of Rome, it happened that Alexander, son of Priam, king of the city of Troy, took Helen, the wife of Menelaus, king of Lacedæmon, a Greek city. For her was that long war and those great battles between the Greeks and Trojans, such that the Greeks had a thousand ships of those great dulmuns, and had sworn among them that they would never return to their country ere they had avenged their wrongs; and they were ten years investing the city, and fighting. Who is there that can number the human beings that perished on each side? as Homer the poet has most manifestly said: therefore, says Orosius, there is no need for me to say it, because it is long, and also known to many; though whoever desires to know it, let him read in his books what mishaps and what sacrifices, either by slaughter, or by hunger, or by shipwrecks, and by various vicissitudes, as it is said in histories.

These nations continued at war between them for full ten years. [Let any one] think then of those times, and now of these, which he likes best.

Immediately after that war another ensued. Eneas with his army went from the Trojan war to Italy. It may also be seen in books, how many wars and how many battles he was there engaged in.

...

XII.

Sixty-four years before Rome was built, King Sardanapalus reigned in Assyria, where King Ninus had first ruled, and Sardanapulus was the last king that reigned in that land. He was a very wonderful man, very effeminate, and very libidinous, so that he more loved the manners of women than of men. When his viceroy Arbaces, whom he had set over the land of the Medes, found this, he began to plot with the people, over whom he was, how he might deceive him and entice from him all those who he feared would be a support to him. When the king found that he had been deceived, he burned himself, and the Medes then had sway over the

onpalb opep Ayrinie:· Dit ir unýðe to recgenne hu manega gepin rýðdan pæpan betuhx Mæðum. ⁊ Ealdeum. ⁊ Sciððian. ac þæt mon mæg pitan. þonne rpa opepmætlicu picu onrcyneðe pæpon. hu manige mirrenlice mon-cpealmar on þam gepinne gepuphon:·

Æftep ðæm picrade Fnaoptep pe cýninge in Meðen. æftep ðæm Fnaoptе picroðe Diocler. pe Mæða pice rpiðe gemiclade. æftep ðam Diocle þenz Aftiai to pice. pe næfðe nænne runu. ac he nam hir nepan him to runa of Pepran þæpe ðeoðe. Liput pær haten. pe þa mið ðon þe he gepeox. him þa opðincenðum ⁊ þam Pepreum. þ hi on hir eamer anpalðe pæpon. ⁊ on ðapa Meða. ac[1] hi gepin uphopon:· Þe þa Aftiai pe cýnige beðohte rpiðopt to Anpeller hir ealðepmen. þ he mið hýr cpæfte hir nepan mið gepeohte piðftoðe. popðon þe pe cýnige ne gemunðe þapa manegna teonena. þe hiopa ægðep oðrum on æp-ðagum gebýðe. ⁊ hu pe cýninge het hýr runu opplean. ⁊ hýne rýðdan ðæm fæðep to mete gezýnpan:· Ðeah hiopa gepinn þa ge-remeð pæpe. he þa pe ealðepman mið fýnðe fop onzean þæm Pepreum. ⁊ rona þær folcer ðone mæftan ðæl fleonde mið-ealle foplæðde. ⁊ mið reapipe ðæm Pepreo cýninge on anpalð gebýðe. ⁊ on þam gepeohte Mæða cpæft ⁊ hiopa ðuguð gepeol:· Ða pe cýninz þ facn onrunde. þe pe ealðepman þið hine gebon hæfde. he ðeah gezaðepoðe þone fultum þe he þa mihte. ⁊ þið þam nepan fýnð gelæðde. ⁊ he Liput. Pepra cýninge. hæfðe þnýðan ðæl hýr fýnðe bæftan him. on þ gepað. zif æniz pæpe þe fýnfluge[2] þe on þæm gepeohte pær. þonne to þæm folce þe þæp bæftan pær. þ hine mon floze rpa naðe rpa mon hiopa fýnð polde:· Ða þeah-hpæþepe gebýnede him. þ hi hpæt-hpapa ge-buzan to fleonne. hi þa hiopa pif him onzean ýnnende hý rpiðe topn fýnðon. ⁊ ahrebon. zif hi peohtan ne ðorrtan. hpiðep hi fleon polðon. þ hi oðep zenep næfðon. buton hi on hýna pira hnif gepiten:· Þi þa hpæðlice. æftep ðæm ðe þa pif hi rpa rcanðlice gepæht hæfðon. gepenðon eft onzean ðone cýninz. ⁊ ealne hýr hepe gerlýmðon. ⁊ hine fýlfne gepenzon:· Þe þa Liput azeaf ðæm cýninge. hýr eame. ealle þa ape þe he æp hæfde. butan þ he cýnige næfre. ⁊ he þæt pær eall fopfacenðe. popðon þe him Anpellaf fe ealðopman æp to berpice peapð mið hir azenpe þeoðe. ac him Liput hir nepa gefealðe Incaniam

Assyrians. It is not easy to say how many wars there were afterwards between the Medes, and Chaldeans, and Scythians; but any one may easily know that, when such immense kingdoms were excited, how many various slaughters happened in that warfare.

After this, King Phraortes reigned in Media; after Phraortes, Deioces reigned, who greatly increased the empire of the Medes; after Deioces, Astyages succeeded to the kingdom, who had no son, but he adopted his nephew, called Cyrus, a Persian by nation, who, when he grew up, both he and the Persians taking it ill that they were under the dominion of his uncle and the Medes, raised up a war. King Astyages then chiefly bethought him of Harpagus, his general, that he with his power might withstand his nephew in war; for the king did not remember the wrongs which one had formerly done to the other; and how the king had commanded his son to be slain, and afterwards to be prepared as food for his father. Though their enmity was then appeased, he, the general, having gone with an army against the Persians, soon taking to flight, completely betrayed the greater portion of the people, and treacherously delivered them into the power of the Persian king, and in that battle the power and valour of the Medes fell. When the king discovered the guile that the general had used against him, he, nevertheless, collected what force he could, and led his army against his nephew. And Cyrus, king of Persia, had a third part of his army behind him, in order that, if any one fled who was in the battle, towards the people that were behind, they should slay him as readily as they would their enemies. When, nevertheless, it happened that they inclined somewhat to flee, their wives, running towards them, were highly incensed, and asked, if they durst not fight, whither they would flee; that they had no other place of refuge, unless they would pass into the wombs of their wives. They then quickly, after their wives had so reproachfully addressed them, turned again against the king, and put to flight all his army, and took himself prisoner. Cyrus then gave up to the king, his uncle, all the possessions he had previously had, except that he was not [longer] king; and he renounced all that, because his general, Harpagus, had deceived him with his own

ða þeode on anpalð to habbenne ⁊ Ðær ꝑeaꝑð Mæðe onpalð ȝeenðoð. ac Liꝑuꝑ miþ Peꝑꝑeum to þæm anpalðe ꝑenȝ. ac þa bỳꝑiȝ. þe on monezum þeoðum Mæðum æꝑ ȝaꝑol ȝulðon. þuꝑðon Liꝑuꝑe to monezum ȝeꝑeohtum ⁊

On ðæm ðazum ꝑilnaðe ꝑum æðelinȝc to ꝑiꝑianne in Æꝑȝentine þæꝑe þeoðe. Faloꝑeꝑ þæꝑ haten. he þæꝑ oꝑ Sicilia ðæm lanðe. ⁊ miþ unȝemetlicne ꝑinunȝe he þæꝑ þ ꝑolc cꝑilmenðe. to ðon þ hi him anbuȝon ⁊ Ða þæꝑ þæꝑ ꝑum aꝑi-ȝeoteꝑne. ꝑemihte ðon miꝑꝑenlica anlicneꝑꝑa. he ða ꝑe ȝeoteꝑne ȝebeaþ ðæm æðelinȝe. ꝑoꝑðon þe he him cpeman þohte. þ he him æt þæꝑe ꝑinunȝe ꝑỳlꝑtan polðe. þe he þæm ꝑolce ðonðe þæꝑ. he ða ꝑꝑa bỳðe. ⁊ ȝepeoꝑhte aneꝑ ꝑeaꝑꝑeꝑ anlicneꝑꝑe oꝑ aþe. to ðon þonne hiꝑ haꝑ þæꝑe. ⁊ mon þa eaꝑman men on innan ðon polðe. hu ꝑe hlỳn mæꝑꝑ þæꝑe. ðonne hi þæꝑ ꝑuꝑl þæꝑ on þꝑoꝑienðe þæꝑon. ⁊ eac þæꝑ ꝑe æðelinȝc æzðeꝑ hæfðe ȝe hiꝑ plezan ȝe hiꝑ ȝepill. þonne he þaꝑa manna tintꝑezo oꝑeꝑhỳðe ⁊ Ða þæꝑ þa onhæꝑ þæꝑ. ⁊ eall ȝeðon ꝑꝑa ꝑe ȝeoteꝑne þæm æðelinȝe æꝑ beheꝑ. ꝑe æðelinȝc þ þa ꝑceaꝑoðe ⁊ cpæð. þæꝑ ðæm peoꝑce nanum men æꝑ ne ȝeꝑiꝑe beꝑ to ꝑanðienne þonne þam þỳꝑhtan þe hiꝑ þoꝑhte. heꝑ hine þa niman. ⁊ þæꝑon beꝑcuꝑan ⁊ Foꝑ hꝑi beꝑꝑicað nu men þaꝑ cꝑiꝑtenan tiða. ⁊ ꝑeczað þ nu þỳꝑꝑan tiða ꝑỳn þonne þa pæꝑan. þa þeah hꝑa pæꝑe miþ þam cỳninȝum on hioꝑa ȝepill ỳꝑel ðonðe. þ hi ꝑꝑa-ðeah æt him ne meahton miþ þỳ nane aþe ꝑinðan? ⁊ nu cỳninȝaꝑ. ⁊ caꝑepaꝑ. þeah hꝑa piþ hioꝑa pillan ȝeȝỳlte. hi ðeah ꝑoꝑ Loðeꝑ luꝑan. be þæꝑ ȝỳlteꝑ mæðe. ꝑoꝑȝiꝑneꝑꝑe ðoð ⁊

XIII.

Æꝑ ðam þe Romebuꝑh ȝetimbꝑeð pæꝑe þꝑitiȝ pintꝑa. þæꝑ þæt Peloꝑenꝑium. ⁊ Atheniencium. Lꝑeaca þeoða. miþ eallum hioꝑa cꝑæftum him betꝑeonum pinnenðe pæꝑon. ⁊ hi to ðon ꝑþiðe ꝑoꝑꝑlezene puꝑðon on æȝþꝑe hanð. þ heoꝑa ꝑeaꝑe to laꝑe puꝑðon ⁊ On þæꝑe ỳlcan tiðe. pæꝑan eft oðꝑe ꝑiðe þa piꝑmen pinnenðe on Æꝑiam þe æꝑ on Sciððian pæꝑan. ⁊ hi ꝑþỳðe apeꝑtan ⁊ ꝑoꝑheꝑȝoðan ⁊

people; but Cyrus, his nephew, gave him to rule over the land of Hyrcania. Then was ended the power of the Medes, and Cyrus, with the Persians, succeeded to the sovereignty; but the cities, which, in many countries, previously had paid tribute to the Medes, cost Cyrus many wars.

In those days a certain prince aspired to reign in the country of Agrigentum, who was named Phalaris; he was of the land of Sicily, and destroyed the people with unheard-of torments in order to make them submit to him. There was at that time a brass-founder there who could make various likenesses, and this founder offered to the prince, thinking to please him, that he would assist him in the torments he was inflicting on the people. And he did so, and wrought in brass the likeness of a bull, in order that when it was hot, and when the miserable men were thrown into it, [he might hear] how great the cry would be, when they were suffering torment in it, and also that the prince might have both his diversion and his will, when he heard the torments of the men. When it was heated, and all done as the founder had previously directed the prince, the prince looked at it, and said, That no one was better fitted first to make trial of the work than the workman who made it. He ordered him then to be seized, and shoved into it. Why do men now complain of these Christian times, and say that now times are worse than those were; when, although any one were with those kings doing evil at their desire, they might not yet find any mercy from them? And now, kings and emperors, though any one sin against their will, yet, for love of God, grant forgiveness according to the degree of guilt.

XIII.

Thirty years before the building of Rome, it was that the Peloponnesians and Athenians, nations of Greece, carried on war with each other with all their powers, and so many were slain on each side, that few of them remained. At the same time the women, who were formerly in Scythia, again, a second time, made war on Asia, and greatly laid it waste and ravaged it.

XIV.

Æſ ðæm ſe Romeburh ȝeteombreð ſæſe tpentiȝum pintpum. Læceðemonie ȝ Meſiane. Eſeaca leoðe. him betpeonum pinnenðe ſæſan tpenti pintſa. ſoſðon Meſiane nolðon ſ Læceðemonia mæȝðen-men mið hioſa oſſſieðen. ȝ hioſa ȝoðum onſræȝðen:· Ða æt nyhſtan hi hæſðon ȝetoȝen eall Eſeaca ſolc to ſæm ȝeſinnum. ſa Læceðemonian beſæton ſa burh Mæſe tyn pinteſ. ȝ aðaſ ȝeſſoſan ſ hi næſne nolðan æt ham cuman. æſ hi ſæt ȝeſſecen hæſðon:· Ða næððan hi him betpeonum. ȝ cpæðon. ſ hi to naðe polðon ſultumleaſe beon æt hioſa beaſn-teamum. ſa hi ſæſ ſſa lanȝe ſohton to beonne. ȝ ſ mið hioſa peðdum ȝeſæſtnoð hæſðon. ȝ ſ hi hioſa ſeondum bet dyðe ðonne pyſſ:· Mið ſam ȝecpæðan ſa. ſæt ſa ſe æſ æt ðæm aðum næſe. ſæt ſa ham ȝeſendan. ȝ be eallan hyſa piſum beaſn aſtſynðe. ȝ ða oðſe ſittendе ſæſan ymb ða burh. oð ſe hi hy ȝeſunnene hæſðon. ſeah hi him lytle hſile ȝehyſſume ſæſon:· Ac ȝecuſan him ænne ſcop to cynincȝe oſ Athenienſem. ȝ eſt mið ſynðe ſoſan pið ſa Meſſene:· Ða hi him ȝenealæhton. ſa ȝetpeonoðe hi hſæðeſ hi ſið him mihte[1]:· Se hioſa cyninȝ onȝan ða ſinȝan. ȝ ȝiddian. ȝ mið ſam ſcopleoðe hioſa moð ſſiðe ȝetynemeðe. to ſon ſ hi cpæðon ſ hi Meſiana ſolce piðſtanðan mihten. heoſa ðeah puðon ſeaſe to laſe on-aðne hanð. ȝ ſæt Eſeaca ſolc ſela ȝeaſa him betpeonan ðneoȝenðe ſæſon. æȝðeſ ȝe oſ Læceðemonia. ȝe oſ Meſiane. ȝe oſ Boetium. ȝe oſ Atheniencium. ȝ monicȝe oðſa ðioða to ſam ilcan ȝeſinne ȝetuȝon:·

Nu iſ hit ſcoſtlic ymbe ſæt ȝeſæð ſæt æſ ȝepeaſð æſ Romeburh ȝetimbreð ſæne. ſ ſæſ ſnam ſliymðe miðdanȝeaſðeſ ſeoſeſ ðuſenð pintſa. ȝ ſeoſeſ hunð. ȝ tpa ȝ hundeahtatiȝ. anð æſtеſ ſæm ſe hio ȝetimbreð ſæſ. ſæſ uneſ Dnihtcneſ akenneſ ymb ſyſan hunð pintſa ȝ tyne:·

Deſ endað ſio ſoſme boc. ȝ onȝinð ſio æſtеſe:·

XIV.

Twenty years before the building of Rome, the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, Greek people, were at war with each other for twenty years; because the Messenians would not permit the Spartan virgins to make offerings with theirs and sacrifice to their gods. When at last they had drawn all the Grecian people into those wars, the Lacedæmonians besieged the town of Messena for ten years, and swore oaths, that they never would return home, till they had avenged it. Then they consulted together, and said, that they should very soon be helpless on the part of their families, as they thought of being there so long, and had bound themselves by their pledges, and that they were rather doing better for their enemies than worse. They determined, therefore, that those who were not at those oaths, should return home and beget children on all their wives, and the others should besiege the town, till they had conquered it; although they were but a little while obedient to them. But they chose them an Athenian poet for king, and again marched with an army against the Messenians. When they approached them, they doubted whether they could go against them. Their king then began to sing, and make verses, and with his poetry so greatly confirmed their courage, that they said they should be able to oppose the Messenians. Yet few were left on either side, and the Grecian nation suffered for many years among themselves, either from the Lacedæmonians, or the Messenians, or the Bœotians, or the Athenians, and drew many other nations into that same war.

Now it has been shortly said, what happened before the building of Rome, that was from the beginning of the world four thousand four hundred and eighty-two years; and after it had been built seven hundred and ten, years, was the nativity of our Lord.

Here ends the first book, and begins the second.

BOOK II.

I.

·IL ƿene. cƿæð Oꞃoꞃiuꞃ. þæt nan ƿiꞃ man ne ꞃẏ. butan he ʒenoh ʒeaꞃe ƿite. ꝥ Loꞇ þone æꞃeꞃtan man ꞃihtne ⁊ ʒoꞇne ʒeꞃceoꞃ. ⁊ eall mancẏnn miꞇ him :· Ānꞇ ꞃoꞃðon þe he ꝥ ʒoꞇ ꞃoꞃlet. þe him ʒeꞃealꞇ ƿæꞃ. ⁊ ƿẏꞃꞃe ʒeceaꞃ. hit Loꞇ ꞃẏððan lanʒꞃumlice ƿꞃecenꞇe ƿæꞃ. æꞃeꞃt on him ꞃẏluum. ⁊ ꞃẏðþan on hiꞃ beaꞃnan. ʒeonꞇ ealne ðẏꞃne miꞇꞇanʒeaꞃꞇ. miꞇ moniʒꞃealꞇum bꞃocum ⁊ ʒeƿinnum. ʒe eac þaꞃ eoꞃðan þe ealle cƿice ƿihta bi libbað. ealle hẏꞃe ƿæꞃtmbæꞃo he ʒelẏtlaꞇe :· Nu ƿe ƿitan ꝥ uꞃe Dꞃihten uꞃ ʒeꞃcoꞃ. ƿe ƿitan eac ꝥ he uꞃe ꞃeccenꞇ iꞃ. ⁊ uꞃ miꞇ ꞃihtlican þinʒan[1] luꞃað þonne æniʒ mon :· Nu ƿe ƿitan ꝥ ealle anƿalꞇaꞃ ꞃꞃam him ꞃẏnꞇan. ƿe ƿitan eac þæt ealle ꞃicu ꞃẏnꞇan ꞃꞃam him. ꞃoꞃðon ealle anƿalꞇaꞃ oꞃ ꞃice ꞃẏnꞇon :· Nu he ðaꞃa læꞃꞃena ꞃica ꞃeccenꞇ iꞃ. hu micle ꞃƿiðoꞃ ƿene ƿe ꝥ he oꞃeꞃ þa maꞃan ꞃẏ. þe on ꞃƿa unʒemetlicum anƿalꞇum ꞃicꞃeꞇan :· Ān ƿæꞃ Babẏlonicum. þæꞃ Ninuꞃ ꞃicꞃaꞇe :· Þæt oðeꞃ ƿæꞃ Eꞃeaca. þæꞃ Alexanꞇeꞃ ꞃicꞃaꞇe :· Þꞃiꞇꞇa ƿæꞃ Aꞃꞃꞃicanum. þæꞃ Phtolomeuꞃ ꞃicꞃeꞇon :· Se ꞃeoꞃða iꞃ Romane. þe ʒẏt ꞃicꞃienꞇe ꞃinꞇon :· Ðaꞃ ꞃeoƿeꞃ heaꞃoꞇlicu ꞃicu ꞃinꞇon ꞃeoƿeꞃ enꞇaꞃ þẏꞃeꞃ miꞇꞇanʒeaꞃꞇeꞃ. miꞇ unaꞃecʒenꞇlicꞃe Loꞇeꞃ tacnunʒe :· Ðæt Babẏlonicum ƿæꞃ ꝥ ꞃoꞃme. ⁊ on eaꞃteƿeꞃꞇum :· Þæt æꞃteꞃe ƿæꞃ ꝥ Eꞃeciꞃce. ⁊ on noꞃðeƿeꞃꞇum :· Þæt ðꞃiꞇꞇe ƿæꞃ þæt Aꞃꞃꞃicanum. ⁊ on ꞃuðeƿeaꞃꞇum :· Þæt ꞃeoꞃðe iꞃ Romane. ⁊ on ƿeꞃteƿeaꞃꞇum :· Babẏloniꞃce ꝥ æꞃeꞃte. ⁊ Romane ꝥ ꞃiðmeꞃte. hi ƿæꞃan ꞃƿa ꞃæꞇeꞃ ⁊ ꞃunu. þonne hi hioꞃa ƿillan motan ƿell ƿealꞇan :· Þæt Eꞃeciꞃce. ⁊ þæt Aꞃꞃꞃicaniꞃce. ƿæꞃan ꞃƿa ꞃƿa hi him hẏꞃꞃumeꞇon. ⁊ him unꞇeꞃðeoꞇeꞇ ƿæꞃe :· Ðæt ic ƿille eac ʒeꞃcaꞇƿiꞃlicoꞃ ʒeꞃecʒan. ꝥ hit man ʒeoꞃnoꞃ aʒẏtan mæʒe :·

Se æꞃeꞃta cẏninʒ ƿæꞃ Ninuꞃ haten. ꞃƿa ƿe æꞃ beꞃoꞃan ꞃæꞇan. ⁊ þa hine mon ꞃloh. þa ꞃenʒ Sameꞃamiꞃ hiꞃ cƿen to þæm ꞃice. ⁊ ʒetimbꞃeꞇe þa buꞃh Babẏlonie. to ðon ꝥ hio ƿæꞃe heaꞃoꞇ eallꞃa Aꞃꞃiꞃia. ⁊ hit ꞃela ƿintꞃa ꞃiððan on þæm ꞃtoꞇ. oð þæt Aꞃbatuꞃ. Meða ealꞇoꞃman. Saꞃðanapolum. Babẏlonia cẏninʒc. oꞃꞃloh :· Ða ƿeaꞃð Babẏlonia ⁊ Aꞃꞃiꞃia anƿalꞇ ʒeenꞇ-

BOOK II.

I.

I SUPPOSE, said Orosius, that there is no wise man but full well knows that God created the first man just and good, and all mankind with him; and because he forsook the good which was given to him, and chose worse, God slowly avenged it, first on himself, and afterwards on his children, throughout all this world with manifold miseries and wars, yea, also of this earth, by which all living creatures live, he diminished the fruitfulness. Now we know that our Lord created us, we know also that he is our ruler, and with all righteousness loves us more than any man. Now we know that all powers are from him, we know also that all kingdoms are from him, because all powers are derived from a kingdom. Now he is the ruler of the smaller kingdoms, how much more may we think that he is over the greater, which ruled over such immense powers? One was the Babylonian, where Ninus reigned; the second was the Greek, where Alexander ruled; the third was the African, where the Ptolemies ruled; the fourth is the Roman, who are still ruling. These four principal empires are at the four ends of this earth by the ineffable dispensation of God. The Babylonian was the first and eastward; the second was the Grecian and to the northward; the third was the African and to the southward; the fourth is the Roman and to the westward. The Babylonian the first, and the Roman the last, were as father and son, when they could well command their will; the Grecian and the African were as though they obeyed them and were subordinate to them. That I will also more distinctly explain, that it may be the better understood.

The first king was called Ninus, as we before said; and when he was slain, Semiramis, his queen, succeeded to the kingdom, and built the city of Babylon, that it might be the capital of all Assyria; and it so continued many years after, till Arbatus, a prefect of the Medes, slew Sardanapalus, king of Babylon. Then was the power of the Babylonians and

oð. ⁊ ȝehƿeaꝛꝼ on Meðaꝛ :· On þæm ẏlcan ȝeaꝛe þe þiꝛ ƿæꝛ. Pꝛocoꝛ. Numetoꝛeꝛ ꝼæðeꝛ. onȝan ꝛicꝛian in Italia þæm landе. þæꝛ æꝼt Romeburh ȝetimbꝛeð ƿeaꝛð :· Se Pꝛocoꝛ ƿæꝛ Numetoꝛeꝛ ꝼæðeꝛ. ⁊ Mulieꝛeꝛ. ⁊ ƿæꝛ Siluian eam :· Sio Siluie pæꝛ Remuꝛeꝛ moðoꝛ ⁊ Romuleꝛ. þe Romeburh ȝetimbꝛeðon :· Ðæt ƿille ic ȝecẏðan. ꝥ þa ꝛicu oꝼ naneꝛ manneꝛ mihtum ꝛƿa ȝecꝛæꝼtȝaðe ne ƿuꝛðon. ne ꝼoꝛ nanꝛe ƿẏꝛðe butan ꝼꝛam Loðeꝛ ȝeꝛtihtunȝe :· Ealle ꝛtæꝛ-ƿꝛiteꝛaꝛ ꝛecȝeað. ꝥ Aꝛꝛiꝛia ꝛice æt Ninuꝛe beȝunne. ⁊ Romana ꝛice æt Pꝛocoꝛe beȝunne :· Fꝛam þæm æꝛeꝛtan ȝeaꝛe Ninuꝛeꝛ ꝛiceꝛ. oð þæt Babẏlonia buꝛh ȝetimbꝛeð ƿæꝛ. ƿæꝛan ꝼeoƿeꝛ ⁊ ꝛẏxtiȝ ƿintꝛa. eac oꝼ þæm ilcan ȝeaꝛe ðe Pꝛocoꝛ ꝛicꝛoðe in Italia ƿæꝛan eac ꝛƿẏlce ꝼeoƿeꝛ ⁊ ꝛẏxtiȝ ƿintꝛa. æꝛ mon Romeburh ȝetimbꝛeðe :· Ðẏ ẏlcan ȝeaꝛe. þe Romana ꝛice ƿeaxan onȝan ⁊ mẏclian. on Pꝛocoꝛ ðæȝe. þæꝛ cẏninȝeꝛ. ðẏ ẏlcan ȝeaꝛe ȝeꝼeol Babẏlonia. ⁊ eall Aꝛꝛiꝛia ꝛice. ⁊ hioꝛa anƿalð :· Æꝼteꝛ ðæm þe mon hioꝛa cẏninȝc oꝼꝛloh. Saꝛðanapolum. ꝛiððan hæꝼðon Laldei þa landе ȝebun on ꝼꝛeoðome. þe nẏhꝛt þæꝛe bẏꝛiȝ ƿæꝛon. þeah Meðe hæꝼðe þone anƿalð oꝼeꝛ hi. oððæt Liꝛuꝛ. Peꝛꝛa cẏninȝ. ꝛicꝛian onȝan. ⁊ ealle Babẏlonia aƿeꝛte. ⁊ ealle Aꝛꝛiꝛie. ⁊ ealle Meðe on Peꝛꝛa anƿalð ȝeðẏðe. ꝥ þa ꝛƿa ȝelamp ꝥ on þæꝛe ẏlcan tiðe. þe Babẏlonia þeoƿðome onꝼenȝ ꝼꝛam Liꝛuꝛe þæm cẏninȝe. ꝥ Romana alẏꝛeð ƿeaꝛð oꝼ þeoƿðome þaꝛa unꝛihtƿiꝛeꝛtena cẏninȝa. ⁊ þaꝛa oꝼeꝛmoðiȝeꝛtena. þe mon heꝛ Taꝛcuinie. ⁊ þa þæt eaꝛtꝛice in Aꝛꝛiꝛia ȝeꝼeoll. þa eac ꝥ ƿeꝛt-ꝛice in Romana aꝛaꝛ :· Lẏt ꝛceall ic. cƿæð Oꝛoꝛiuꝛ. maniȝꝼealðlicoꝛ ꝛꝛꝛecan ƿið ða þe ꝛecȝað ꝥ þa anƿalðaꝛ ꝛẏn oꝼ ƿẏꝛða mæȝenum ȝeƿoꝛðene. naleꝛ oꝼ Loðeꝛ ȝeꝛtihtunȝe :·

Þu emlice hit ȝelamp ẏmb þaꝛ tƿa heaꝼoð-ꝛicu. Aꝛꝛiꝛia ⁊ Romana. ꝛƿa ꝛƿa ƿe æꝛ ꝛæðon. ꝥ Ninuꝛ ꝛicꝛaðe on þone eaꝛtꝛice tƿa ⁊ ꝼiꝼtiȝ ƿintꝛa. ⁊ æꝼteꝛ him hiꝛ cƿen. Sameꝛamiꝛ. tƿa ⁊ ꝼeoƿeꝛtiȝ ƿintꝛa. ⁊ on miððeƿeaꝛðum hẏꝛe ꝛice hio ȝetimbꝛeðe Babẏlonia þa buꝛh :· Fꝛam þæm ȝeaꝛe þe heo ȝetimbꝛeð ƿeaꝛð. ƿæꝛ hẏꝛe anƿalð þuꝛenð ƿintꝛa ⁊ an hunð ⁊ ꝛẏxtiȝ ⁊ ꝼulneah ꝼeoƿeꝛ. æꝛ hio hẏꝛe anƿalðeꝛ benumen ƿuꝛðe. ⁊ beꝛƿicen ꝼꝛam Aꝛbate. hẏꝛa aȝenum ealðoꝛmen. ⁊ Meða kẏninȝe. þeah ꝛẏððan ẏmb þa buꝛh lẏtle hƿile ꝼꝛeoðom ƿæꝛe butan anƿalðe. ꝛƿa ƿe æꝛ ꝛæðon. ꝼꝛam Laldei þam leoðum. ⁊ ꝛƿa eac ꝛƿẏlce ƿeaꝛð Romeburh ẏmb M̄. ƿintꝛa. ⁊ an hunð ⁊ ꝛẏxtiȝ ⁊

Assyrians ended, and devolved on the Medes. In that same year that this happened Procas, father of Numitor, began to reign in the land of Italy, where Rome was afterwards built: This Procas was the father of Numitor and Amulius, and was uncle to Silvia. Silvia was the mother of Remus and Romulus, who built Rome. That I will declare, that those kingdoms were not rendered so mighty by the powers of any man nor through any fate, but by God's dispensation. All historians say, that the Assyrian empire began with Ninus, and the Roman empire with Procas. From the first year of Ninus's empire till Babylon was built, were sixty-four years; also from the same year that Procas reigned in Italy were likewise sixty-four years before Rome was founded. That same year, in which the Roman empire began to flourish and increase, in the days of Procas the king, in that same year Babylon and all the Assyrian empire and their power fell. After their king Sardanapalus was slain, the Chaldeans had inhabited those lands in freedom which were nearest to the city, though the Medes had sway over them, till Cyrus, king of Persia, began to reign, and laid waste all Babylonia and all Assyria, and reduced all the Medes under the Persian power. It then so happened, that at the same time in which Babylonia received servitude from Cyrus, the Romans were delivered from servitude to their most unrighteous, and most proud kings, who were called Tarquins; and when the east empire in Assyria fell, then also the west empire of the Romans arose. I shall yet, says Orosius, more fully speak against those who say that powers are from the influences of fate, not from the dispensation of God.

How similarly it befel with regard to these two chief empires, the Assyrian and the Roman! as we before said, that Ninus reigned in the east empire two and fifty years; and after him his queen Semiramis two and forty years; and in the middle of her reign she built the city of Babylon. From the year in which it was built, its empire continued nearly eleven hundred and sixty-four years, before it was deprived of its power and overthrown by Arbatus, their own prefect, and king of the Medes; though afterwards, around the city, for a little while, there was freedom without dominion, as we before said, under the Chaldean nation. And so in like manner was Rome about a thousand one hundred and nearly four

ꝼulneah ꝼeoꝼeꝛ. ꝥ Ꞓallꝛica. hiꝛe ealdoꝛman. ⁊ Lotona cýninȝ. hýꝛe anꝼaldeꝼ hi beniman ꝼolðan. ⁊ hio hꝼæþeꝛe onꝼealh on hiꝛe onꝼalde æꝼteꝛ ðæm þuꝛhꝼunade :· Þeah æȝþeꝛ ðýꝼꝼa buꝛȝa þuꝛh Lodeꝼ diȝelneꝼꝼa þuꝼ ȝetacnad ꝼuꝛde. æꝛeꝼt Babýlonia. þuꝛh hýꝛe aȝenne ealdoꝛman. þa he hýꝛe cýninȝc beꝼꝼac. ꝼꝼa eac Roma. þa hi hiꝛe aȝen ealdoꝛman. ⁊ Lotona cýninȝ. hýꝛe anꝼaldeꝼ beniman ꝼolðon. hit þeah Lod ꝼoꝛ hioꝛa cꝛiꝼtendome ne ȝeþaꝼode. naþeꝛ ne ꝼoꝛ hioꝛa caꝼeꝛaꝼ. ne ꝼoꝛ hýꝛa ꝼýlꝼꝛa. ac hi nu ȝýt ꝼýnd ꝛicꝼiende. æȝþeꝛ ȝe mid hioꝛa cꝛiꝼtendome. ȝe mid hioꝛa anꝼalde. ȝe mid hioꝛa caꝼeꝛan :·

Ðiꝼ ic ꝼꝼꝛece nu. ꝼoꝛðæm þe ic ꝼolde ꝥ þa onȝeaton þe þa tida uꝛeꝼ cꝛiꝼtendomeꝼ leahtꝛiað. hꝼilc miltꝼunȝ ꝼiððan ꝼæꝼ. ꝼýððan ꝼe cꝛiꝼtendom ꝼæꝼ. ⁊ hu maniȝꝼeald ꝼolbæꝛneꝼ þæꝛe ꝼoꝛulde æꝛ ðæm ꝼæꝼ. ⁊ eac ꝥ hi oncnaꝼen hu ȝelimplice uꝛe Lod on ðæm æꝛꝛan tidum þa anꝼaldaꝼ ⁊ þa ꝛicu ꝼette. ꝼe ýlca ꝼeþe ȝýt ꝼettende iꝼ. ⁊ ꝼendende ælce anꝼaldaꝼ ⁊ ælc ꝛice to hiꝼ ꝼillan. hu ȝelic anȝin þa tꝼa býꝛiȝ hæꝼdon. ⁊ hu ȝelice hioꝛa daȝaꝼ ꝼæꝛan. æȝþeꝛ ȝe on ðæm ȝode. ȝe on ðæm ýꝼele :· Ac hioꝛa anꝼalda endaꝼ ꝼæꝛan ꝼꝼiðe unȝelice. ꝼoꝛðon þe Babýlonie mid moniȝꝼealdum unꝛihtum ⁊ ꝼiꝛen-luꝼtum. mid hioꝛa cýninȝe. buton ælcꝛe hꝛeoꝼe. libbende ꝼæꝛon. ꝥ hi hit na ȝebetan noldan. æꝛðon hi Lod mid þæm mæꝼtan biꝼmeꝛe ȝeeaðmedde. þa he hi æȝþꝛeꝼ benam. ȝe hioꝛa cýninȝeꝼ. ȝe heoꝛa anꝼaldeꝼ :· Ac Romane mid hioꝛa cꝛiꝼtenan cýninȝe Lode þeoꝼiende ꝼæꝛan. ꝥ he him ꝼoꝛ ðæm æȝðꝛeꝼ ȝeuðe. ȝe hioꝛa kýninȝeꝼ. ȝe heoꝛa anꝼaldeꝼ :· Foꝛðæm maȝan hioꝛa ꝼꝼꝛæce ȝemetȝian þa þe ðæꝼ cꝛiꝼtendomeꝼ ꝼiðeꝛꝼlitan ꝼind. ȝýꝼ hý ȝemunan ꝼillað hioꝛa ýldꝛena unclænneꝼꝼa. ⁊ hioꝛa ꝼolȝeꝼinnan. ⁊ hioꝛa moniȝꝼealdan unꝼibbe. ⁊ hioꝛa unmiltꝼunȝe. þe hi to Lode hæꝼdon. ȝe eac him ꝼelꝼum betꝼeonum. ꝥ hi nane mildheoꝛtneꝼꝼe ðuꝛhteon ne mihtan. æꝛðon him ꝼio bot oꝼ þæm cꝛiꝼtendome com. þe hi nu ꝼꝼiðoꝼt tælað :·

II.

Ymb ꝼeoꝼeꝛ hund ꝼintꝛa. ⁊ ýmb ꝼeoꝼeꝛtiȝ. þæꝼ þe Tꝛoiana. Lꝛeaca buꝛh. aꝼeꝼted ꝼæꝼ. ꝼeaꝛð Romeburh ȝetimbꝛed. ꝼꝛam tꝼam ȝebꝛoðꝛan. Remuꝼ ⁊ Romuluꝼ. ⁊ ꝛaðe æꝼteꝛ ðan. Romuluꝼ hioꝛa anȝin ȝeunclænꝼode mid hiꝼ bꝛoðoꝛ ꝼleȝe. ⁊ eac ꝼýððan mid hiꝼ hiꝼunȝe. ⁊ hiꝼ ȝeꝼeꝛena. hꝼýlce býꝼena he þæꝛ ꝼtellende ꝼæꝼ. mid þæm þe hi bædan Sabine þa buꝛhꝼaꝛe. ꝥ hi

years, when Alaric, her count, and king of the Goths, would deprive her of her power, and yet she continued after that unbroken in her dominion. Although both of these cities, through God's secrets, were thus distinguished; first Babylon by her own prefect, when he deceived her king, so also Rome, when her own count and king of the Goths would deprive her of power; yet God, on account of their Christianity, would not permit it, not for their Cæsars nor on their own account: but they are now yet ruling with their Christianity and their power, and with their Cæsars.

This I say now because I am desirous that those may understand who inveigh against these times of our Christianity, what mercy there was after Christianity was, and how manifold was the world's calamity before that was; and also that they may know how fitly our God in those early times established those dominions and those realms, the same who yet establishes them and turns every power and every realm to his will; how like a beginning those two cities had, and how alike were their days, both in good and in evil: but the ends of their power, however, were very unlike; for the Babylonians, with their manifold unrighteousnesses, and sinful lusts, together with their king, were living without any repentance, so that they would not amend before God had humbled them with the greatest ignominy, when he deprived them both of their king and their power. But the Romans, with their Christian king, served God, so that he granted them both their king and their power. Therefore may those moderate their speech who are adversaries of Christianity, if they will recollect the uncleanness of their forefathers, and their calamitous wars, and their manifold dissensions, and their cruelty, which they had to God and also between themselves, so that they would perform no mercy, before the atonement of Christianity came, which they now vehemently reproach.

II.

About four hundred and forty years after the destruction of Troy, the Greek city, Rome was built by two brothers, Remus and Romulus, and Romulus soon afterwards defiled their undertaking with his brother's slaughter, and also afterwards with the marriage of himself and his associates. What examples he there set, when they asked the Sabine towns-

him ȝeuðan heopa ðohtna him to piſum to hæbbenne. ⁊ hi heom þæna bena ſoppýrnðon. hi ſpa-ðeah hiopa unðancef mið ſpicðome hi beȝeaton. mið þæm þe hi bæðan þ hi him ſýlfcan moftan. þ hi hiopa ȝoðum þe ýð blotan meahton. þa hi him þæf ȝetiðoðan. þa hæfðan hi him to piſum. ⁊ hiopa fæðepum eft aȝýfan nolðan:· Ymb þæt peapð þ mæfte ȝepin moniȝ ȝeap. oð þe hi ſopneah mið-ealle ſopflezene ⁊ ſopporðene pæpan on-æȝþepe healfe. þ hi mið nanum þinge ne mihtan ȝefemeðe pýrðan. æp ðapa Romana piſ. mið hiopa cildum. ýrnenðe pæpan ȝemanȝ þam ȝefeohte. ⁊ hýna fæðepum pæpon to ſocum ſeallenðe. ⁊ biddenðe þ hi. ſop ðapa cilda luſan. þæf ȝepinnef ſumne enðe ȝeðýðen:· Spa peoplice ⁊ ſpa milðelice þæf Romebuph on ſnuman ȝehalȝoð mið bnoðop bloðe. ⁊ mið ſpeopa. ⁊ mið Romuluſef eame Numetopef. þone he eac oſſloh. þa he cýninȝc pæf. ⁊ hým ſýlf ſýððan to þæm pice ſenȝc:·

Ðuf ȝebletſoðe Romuluf Romana pice on ſnuman. mið hif bnoðop bloðe þone peall. ⁊ mið ðapa ſpeopa bloðe þa cýpican. ⁊ mið hif eamef bloðe þ pice. ⁊ ſiððan hif aȝenne ſpeop to beaðe beſſac. þa he hine to him aſpeon. ⁊ him ȝehet þ he hif pice pið hine bælan polðe. ⁊ hine unðep þæm oſſloh:· Þe ða Romuluf æftep ðýſan unðepſenȝ Liminenſa ȝepinn. þapa buphpapana. ſopðon þe he ða-ȝýt lýtel land-pice hæfðe. butan þæpe býpiȝ anre:· Fopðon þe Romuluf ⁊ ealle Romepape oðpum ſolcum unpeopðe pæpon. ſopðon þe hi on cnihthaðe pæpan oðþa manna nýðlinȝaf:· Ða hi þa hæfðon Liminenſa þa buph ýmbſeten. ⁊ þæp mýcelne hunȝep þolienðe pæpan. þa ȝecpæðan hý. þ him leoſſe pæpe. þ hi on ðæm ýpmðum hiopa lif ȝeenðaðe. þonne hi þæt ȝepinn ſopletan. oððe ſpið ȝenaman:· Þi pæp þa pinnenðe pæpan. oð hi ða buph abpæcon. ⁊ æftep þæm pið ða lanðleoðe on ælce healfe. unablinnenlice pinnenðe pæpan. oð hi þæp ýmbutan hæfðon moneȝa býpiȝ beȝitene:·

Ac þa cýninȝaf. ðe æftep Romuluſe picſeðan. pæpan ſopcuðpan ⁊ eaſȝpan þonne he pæpe. ⁊ þæm ſolcum laðpan ⁊ unȝetæſpan. oðþæt Tapcuiniuf. þe pe æp ýmb ſæðon. þe hiopa eallpa ſpacoðoft pæf. æȝþep ȝe eaſȝoft. ȝe ſpænoft. ȝe oſepmoðiȝaft:· Calle þapa Romana piſ. þa þe he mihte. he to ȝeliȝpe ȝenýðe. ⁊ hif ſuna ȝeþafoðe. þ he læȝ mið Latinuf piſe. Lucpetie hatte. Bputuſef ſpeoftop. þa hi on ſýnðe pæ-

men to give them their daughters for wives, and they refused their prayer; yet they got them against their will by treachery, whilst they intreated their assistance that they might the more easily sacrifice to their gods; when they had complied with this, they took them for wives, and would not restore them to their fathers! On account of that there was a very great war for many a year, until they were almost all slain and destroyed on either side, so that they could not by any means be reconciled, before the wives of the Romans with their children ran amongst the combatants, and fell at their fathers' feet, and intreated, that for love of their children they would put an end to the war. So worthily and so mildly was the city of Rome first hallowed with the blood of a brother and of their fathers-in-law, and of Romulus's grandfather, Numitor, whom he also slew whilst he was king, and himself succeeded to the kingdom!

Thus did Romulus at first bless the empire o Rome: the wall with his brother's blood, and the temples with the blood of their fathers-in-law, and the kingdom with his grandfather's; and afterwards treacherously put to death his own father-in-law, when he enticed him to him and promised to divide his kingdom with him, and under that [pretext] slew him. After this, Romulus made war against the Cæninenses, because he had as yet little land-dominion, but only the city. The Romans were despised by other nations, because in their boyhood they had been slaves to others. Now when they had besieged the town of Cænina, and were suffering greatly from hunger, they said that they had rather end their lives in those miseries, than abandon the war, or accept peace. They then continued the war there, till they took the town, and after that they warred incessantly with the people of the country on every side, till they had acquired many cities thereabout.

But the kings who reigned after Romulus, were more depraved and wicked than he was, and more hateful and noxious to the people; till Tarquin, of whom we have before spoken, who was the most detestable of them all, the most depraved, the most libidinous, the proudest. He debauched all the Roman women that he could, and allowed his son to lie with Collatinus's wife, named Lucretia, the sister of Brutus, while they were engaged in war, although they were the most

ꝛon. þeah hi Romana bꝛýmuſte ꝑæꝛon to þæm cýninge :· Þio þa Lucꝛetie hý ſýlfe foꝛ ðæm acꝑealde :· Ða þæt Latinuſ. hýꝛe ꝑeꝛ. geahſode. ⁊ Bꝛutuſ. hyꝛe bꝛoðoꝛ. þa foꝛleton hi ða fýꝛde. þe hi beꝑitan ſceoldan. ⁊ þa hi ham coman, þa adꝛæfdon hý æghꝛ ge þone cýninge. ge hiſ ſunu. ge ealle ða þe þæꝛ cýne-cýnneſ ꝑæꝛan. of ðý ꝛice mid-ealle :· Þim þa Romane æfteꝛ þæm undeꝛ-latteoꝑaſ geſettan. þe hi Conſulaſ heton. ꝥ hioꝛa ꝛice heolde. an geaꝛ. an man :·

III.

Æfteꝛ ðæm þe Romebuꝛh getimbꝛed ꝑæſ tꝑa hund ꝑintꝛa ⁊ feoꝑeꝛ. þæt Bꝛutuſ ꝑæſ foꝛma conſul :· Romuluſ. hioꝛa foꝛma cýninge. ⁊ Bꝛutuſ. heoꝛa foꝛma conſul. ꝑuꝛdon emn ꝛeðe :· Romuluſ ſloh hiſ bꝛoðoꝛ. ⁊ hiſ eam. ⁊ hiſ ſꝑeoꝛ. Bꝛutuſ ſloh hiſ fif ſuna. ⁊ hiſ ꝑifeſ tꝑegen bꝛoðꝛa. foꝛðan þe hý ſꝑꝛæcon þæt hit beteꝛe ꝑæꝛe. þæt Romane eft heoꝛa cýne-cýnne onfenzon. ſꝑa hý æꝛ hæfdon. foꝛ ðam he hý het gebindan. ⁊ befoꝛan eallum þam folce mid beſman ſꝑingan. ⁊ ſýððan mid æxum hýꝛa heafod of-aceoꝛfan :· Taꝛcuinuſ þa. þe æꝛ Romana cyninge ꝑæſ. aſꝑeon Tuſcea cýninge him on fultum. Poꝛſenna ꝑæſ haten. ꝥ he þe eað mihte ꝑinnan ꝑið Bꝛutuſe. ⁊ ꝑið eallum Romanum :· Þe þa Bꝛutuſ gecꝑæð anꝑig ꝑið þæne cýninge. embe heoꝛa feondſcipe. ac him Taꝛcuinuſ oðeꝛne ðegn onzean ſende. Aꝛꝛunſeſ. ſunu þæſ ofeꝛmodigan. ⁊ heoꝛa þæꝛ æghꝛ oðeꝛne ofſloh :· Æfteꝛ þam Poꝛſenna ⁊ Taꝛcuinuſ. þa cýningaſ. embſætan Romebuꝛh. ⁊ hý eac begeaton þæꝛ. gif Mutiuſ næꝛe. an man of þæꝛe býꝛig. he hý mid hiſ ꝑoꝛdum geegſode. þa hý hine gefenzon :· Þa ꝑinedan hý hine mid þam þæt hý hiſ hand bæꝛndon. anne fingeꝛ ⁊ anne. ⁊ hine ſecgan heton. hu fela þaꝛa manna ꝑæꝛe. þe ꝑið þam cýninge Taꝛcuine ſꝑiðoſt ꝑiðſacen hæfde. þa he þæt ſecgan nolde. þa ahſodon hi hine. hu fela þæꝛ ſꝑýlceꝛa manna ꝑæꝛe ſꝑýlce he ꝑæſ. þa ſæde he heom. þæt þæꝛ fela þaꝛa manna ꝑæꝛe. ⁊ eac geſꝑoꝛen hæfdon þæt hý oðeꝛ foꝛleoſan ꝑolban. oððe heoꝛa agen lif. oððe Poꝛſenneſ. þæſ cýningeſ :· Ða þæt þa Poꝛſenna gehýꝛde. he þæt ſetl ⁊ þæt geꝑinn mid-ealle foꝛlet. þe he æꝛ þꝛeo ꝑinteꝛ dꝛeogende ꝑæſ :·

illustrious of the Romans [next] to the king[1]. For this Lucretia then killed herself. When Collatinus, her husband, and Brutus, her brother, heard this, they left the army which they were appointed to command, and when they came home they drove both the king and his son, and all there who were of royal race, altogether from the kingdom. After this the Romans appointed under-leaders, whom they called Consuls; who should hold the government, one year one man.

III.

After that the city of Rome had been built two hundred and four years, Brutus was the first consul. Romulus, their first king, and Brutus, their first consul, were equally cruel. Romulus slew his brother, and his grandfather, and his father-in-law; Brutus slew his five sons and his wife's two brothers, because they said it would be better that the Romans received their royal race again, as they had before. For this he ordered them to be bound and scourged with rods, before all the people, and then to have their heads cut off with axes. Tarquin then, who had before been king of the Romans, induced the king of the Etruscans, named Porsena, to assist him, that he might the more easily make war against Brutus and against all the Romans. Brutus then offered single combat against the king for their enmity; but Tarquin sent against him another officer, Aruns the son of the proud [tyrant], and each of these there slew the other. Afterwards the kings, Porsena and Tarquin, besieged Rome, and they would also have taken it, if it had not been for Mucius, a man of the city; he terrified them with his words when they had taken him prisoner. They then tortured him by burning his hand, one finger after another, and commanded him to say how many men there were of those who had most strongly declared against king Tarquin. When he would not say that, they asked him how many of such men as he was there were? Then said he to them, that there were many of those men, and who had also sworn either to lose their own lives, or to kill king Porsena. When Porsena heard that, he abandoned the siege, and the war altogether, which he had been carrying on for three years.

IV.

Æfter ðam þæs þæt Sabinisce geþinn. ⁊ him Romana þæt sþýðe ondræðende þæron. ⁊ him gesetton. þæt hyra an latteoþ þære þonne hýra consul. þæne þe hý Tictatores heton[1]. ⁊ hi mið þam tictatore mýcelne sige hæfdon :· Æfter þam Romane betþux him sýlfum. þa rican menn ⁊ þa earmran. mýcel geþinn up-ahofan. ⁊ him þæt to langsumre þrace come. þær hi þe hraðor ne gesemeð ne þurðon :· On þam dagum þæron þa mæstan ungetima on Romanum. ægþer ge on hungre. ge on man-cþealme. undeþ þam tþam consulum. Tita ⁊ Publia hatton. ⁊ hý heora gefeohta þa hþile hý gereston. þeah hý þæs hungres ⁊ þæs man-cþealmes ne mihtan. ac þa menigfealdan ýrmða þa þerigan burh sþýðe brocigende þæron :· Ærðam þe seo þol geendoð þære. Ueigentes ⁊ Etrusci. þa leoda. þið Romanum geþinn up-ahofon. ⁊ þið þam tþam consulum. Marcuse ⁊ Lnease. ⁊ þa Romane him ongean foran. ⁊ heom betþeonum aðas gesþoron. þæt heora nan nolde eft eard gesecan. butan hi sige hæfdon :· Ðær þæron Romane sþa sþýðe forslagene. þeah hý sige hæfdon. þæt hýra an consul. þe heom to lafe þearð. forsoc þæne triumphan. þe him man ongean brohte. þa he hampeard þæs. ⁊ sæde þæt hý hæfdon bet geþyrhte ꝥ him man mið heofe ongean come. þonne mið triumphan :· Ðæt hý triumphan heton. ꝥ þæs þonne hý hþýlc folc mið gefeohte ofercumen hæfdon. þonne þæs heora þeaþ. þæt sceoldon ealle hýra senatas cuman ongean hýra consulas. æfter þam gefeohte. sýx mila fram þære býrig. mið cræt-þæne. mið golde ⁊ mið gimstanum gefrætþedum. ⁊ hi sceoldon bringan feoþer-fetes. tþa hþite. þonne hi hampeard foron. þonne sceoldon hýra senatas riðan on cræt-þænum þið-æftan þam consulum. ⁊ þa menn beforan him drýfan gebundene. þe þær gefangene þæron. þæt heora mærða sceoldon þe þrymlicran beon :· Ac þonne hý hþýlc folc butan gefeohte on hýra geþeald genýddon. þonne hý hampeard þæron. þonne sceolde him man bringan ongean. of þære býrig. cræt-þæn. se þæs mið seolfre gegýred. ⁊ ælces cýnnes feoþer-fetes feos an. heora consulum to mærðe :· Ðæt þæs þonne triumpheum :· Romulus gesette ærest manna senatum. þæt þæs an hund manna. þeah heora æfter

IV.

After that was the Sabine war, which the Romans greatly dreaded, and decreed that they would have one leader, who should be above their consul, whom they called a Dictator, and with that dictator they had a great victory. After this the Romans among themselves, the rich men and the poorer, raised a great war, and which would have come to a lengthened vengeance, if they had not quickly been reconciled. In those days were the greatest misfortunes on the Romans, both by famine and pestilence, under the two consuls, called Titus and Publius; and they rested the while from their battles, though they could not from the hunger and the plague; but these manifold miseries continued to afflict the distressed city. Before the pestilence was ended, the Veientes and Etrusci raised up war against the Romans, and against the two consuls, Marcus and Gneus; and the Romans marched against them, and swore oaths among themselves that none of them would again seek their country, unless they had victory. There were the Romans so terribly slaughtered, though they had the victory, that the one of their consuls who was left refused the triumph, which was brought to meet him, when he returned homewards, and said that they would have done better to have met him with lamentation than with a triumph. What they called a triumph, that was when they had overcome any people in war, it was then their custom that after the war all their senators should meet their consuls six miles from the city with a chariot, ornamented with gold and precious stones, and should bring four-footed [cattle], two of them white, when they proceeded homewards: then should their senators ride in chariots behind the consuls, and drive before them the men that had been captured, that their glory might be the grander. But when they had reduced any nation under their power without fighting, when they were on their return home, then they were met by a chariot ornamented with silver, and one of every kind of four-footed cattle, in honour to their consuls. That then was a triumph. Romulus, first of men, established the senate, that was a hundred men, although after a

ƒýrſte þære þreo hund :· Ða þæron ſýmble binnan Rome-
býriȝ þuniȝende. to ðan ꝥ hý heora ræð-þeahteraſ þæron. ⁊
conſulaſ ſetton. ⁊ þæt ealle Romane him hýrſumedon. ⁊ þæt
hi beþiſton eall ꝥ liȝende ſeoh undeꝛ anum hroſe. þæt hi
beȝeaton. oððe on ȝaſole. oððe on herȝunȝe. ꝥ hý hit ſýððan
mihton him eallum ȝemænelice to nýtte ȝedon. þam þe þæꝛ
buton þeoþdome þæron :· Ða conſulaſ. þe on þam daȝum
þæt Sabiniſce ȝeþinn underfenȝon. þe man het eall hyra cýnn
Fabiane. forðan hit ealra Romana ænlicoſt þæſ ⁊ cræft-
eȝoſt :· Nu ȝýt to dæȝe hit iſ on leoðum ſunȝen. hþýlcne
demm hi Romanum ȝeſeollan :· Eac þam maneȝa ea ſýndon
be naman nemnede. for þam ȝeſeohte. ⁊ eac þa ȝeata. þe hi
ut of Romebýriȝ to þam ȝeſeohte ferdon. him man a ȝeſceop
þa naman þe hý ȝýt habbað[1] :· Æfteꝛ þam Romane cuꝛon
þreo hund cempena ⁊ ſýx cempan. ꝥ ſceoldon to anþiȝe
ȝanȝan þið ſþa ſela Sabina. ⁊ ȝetruþedon ꝥ hi mid heora
cræftum ſceoldon ſiȝe ȝeſeohtan. ac Sabini. mid heora
ſearþum. hi ealle þæꝛ oſſloȝon. butan anum. ſe ꝥ laðſpell æt
ham ȝebodode :· Næſ na on Romane anum. ac ſþa hit on
ſceop-leoðum ſunȝen iſ. þæt ȝeond ealne middanȝearð þære
caru. ⁊ ȝeþinn. ⁊ eȝe :·

Liruſ. Perſa cýninȝ. þe þe æꝛ beforan ſædon. þa hþile
þe Sabini ⁊ Romane þunnon on þam þeſt-dæle. þa hþile
þann he æȝþeꝛ ȝe on Sciððiȝe ȝe on Indie. oð he hæfde
mæſt ealne þæne eaſt-dæl aþeſt. ⁊ æfteꝛ þam ſýrde
ȝelædde to Babýlonia. þe þa þeleȝre þæſ þonne æniȝ oðeꝛ
burh. ac hine Landeſ ſeo ea lanȝe ȝelette þæſ oſeꝛ-fæꝛeldeſ.
forðam þe þæꝛ ſcipa næron :· Þæt iſ eallra ferſcra
þæteꝛa mæſt. butan Euſrate :· Ða ȝebeotode an hiſ þeȝena
ꝥ he mid ſunde þa ea oſeꝛfaꝛan polde mid tþam týncenum.
ac hine ſe ſtream forðraf :· Ða ȝebeotode Liruſ ꝥ he hiſ
þeȝen on hyre ſþa ȝeþrecan polde. þa he ſþa ȝram þearð on
hiſ mode. ⁊ þið þa ea ȝebolȝen. þæt hi mihton þifmenn be
heora cneoþe oſeꝛþadan. þæꝛ heo æꝛ þæſ nýȝan inila brad.
þonne heo ſlede þæſ :· Þe þæt mid dædum ȝelæſte. ⁊ hi
up-forlet on ſeoþeꝛ hund ea. ⁊ on ſýxtiȝ ea. ⁊ ſýððan mid hiſ
ſýrde þæꝛ oſeꝛfoꝛ ⁊ æfteꝛ þam Euſrate þa ea. ſeo iſ mæſt
eallra ferſcra þæteꝛa. ⁊ iſ ýrnende ðurh middeþearde Babý-
lonian burh. he hý eac mid ȝedelſe on meniȝe ea upp-forlet.
⁊ ſýððan mid eallum hiſ folce on þære ea-ȝanȝ. on þa burh

time there were three hundred of them. These always dwelt within the city of Rome, that they might be their counsellors, and appoint the consuls, and that all the Romans might obey them, and that they might have the care of all the treasure under one roof, which they got either by taxes or from plunder, that they might afterwards employ it in common for the benefit of all who were not in a state of slavery. The consuls, who in those days undertook the Sabine war, were of the race, all of which were called the Fabian, because it was the most eminent of all the Romans, and the most strenuous. Now yet to this day it is sung in ballads what a loss they were to the Romans." Many rivers, too, are named after their name, on account of that contest, and also the gates, out of which they went from Rome to that war, have ever since borne the names which they yet have. After this the Romans chose three hundred and six champions, who should go to combat so many Sabines, trusting that they with their might would gain the victory; but the Sabines, with their stratagems, slew them all save one, who announced the sad tidings at home. Not alone among the Romans, but, as it is sung in poems, throughout all the world, there was care, and war, and terror.

Cyrus, the king of the Persians, as we before said, while the Sabines and Romans were warring in the west, was at the same time warring both in Scythia and in India, until he had laid waste almost all the eastern parts, and afterwards led an army to Babylon, which was then more opulent than any other city; but the river Gyndes long prevented his crossing, because there were no ships there. That is of all fresh waters the greatest except the Euphrates. Then one of his officers declared that he would cross the river by swimming with two "tyncens," but the stream carried him away. Cyrus then threatened that he would so avenge his officer on it (as he was so exasperated in his mind and angry with the river), that women might wade over it, [the water only reaching] to their knees, where it before was nine miles broad, when it was flood. That he made good by deeds, and drew it off in four hundred and sixty rivers, and then with his army crossed over, and afterwards the river Euphrates, which is the greatest of all fresh waters, and runs through the middle of the city of Babylon: this he also by digging drew off into many rivers, and afterwards with all his folk proceeded in

ꝑaꝑenbe pæꝛ. ⁊ hi ȝeꝑæhte:· Spa unȝelyꝛeðlic ıꝛ ænıȝum men þ̄ to ꝛecȝanne. hu ænıȝ man mihte ꝛþ́lce buꝑh ȝepýncan, ꝛþ́lce ꝛeo pæꝛ. oððe eꝛt abꝑecan:·

Nembꝑaðꝛe ent onȝan æꝑeꝛt timbꝑian Babilonia. ⁊ Ninuꝛ ꝛe cýninȝ æꝛteꝑ him. ⁊ Sameꝑamıꝛ hıꝛ cꝑen hi ȝeenbabe æꝛteꝑ him on miðbeꝑeꝑbum hýꝛe ꝑice:· Seo buꝑh pæꝛ ȝetimbꝑaþ .on ꝑilbum lanbe. ⁊ on ꝛþ́ðe emnum. ⁊ heo pæꝛ ꝛþ́ðe ꝑæȝeꝑ on to locianne. ⁊ heo pæꝛ ꝛþ́ðe ꝑihte ꝑeoꝑeꝑꝛcýte. ⁊ þæꝛ pealleꝛ mýcelnýꝛꝛ ⁊ ꝑæꝛtnýꝛꝛ ıꝛ unȝelýꝛeðlic to ꝛecȝenne. þ̄ ıꝛ þ̄ he ıꝛ L. elna bꝑaþ. ⁊ II. hunð elna heah. ⁊ hıꝛ ýmbȝanȝ ıꝛ hunð-ꝑeoꝑantıȝ mila. ⁊ ꝑeoꝑeðan ðæl anꝑe mile. ⁊ he ıꝛ ȝeꝑoꝑht oꝑ tıȝelan. ⁊ oꝑ eoꝑð-týꝑepan. ⁊ ýmbutan ꝑone peall ıꝛ ꝑeo mæꝛta bıc. on þam ıꝛ ýꝑnenbe ꝛe unȝeꝑotlicoꝛta ꝛtꝑeam. ⁊ ꝑiðutan ðam bıce ıꝛ ȝeꝑoꝑht tꝑeȝꝑa elna heah peall. ⁊ buꝑan þam maꝑan pealle. oꝑeꝑ eallne þone ýmbȝonȝ. he ıꝛ miþ ꝛtænenum ꝑiȝhuꝑum bepoꝑht:· Seo ylce buꝑh Babýlonia. ꝑeo þe mæꝛt pæꝛ ⁊ æꝑeꝛt ealꝑa buꝑȝa. ꝑeo ıꝛ nu læꝛt ⁊ peꝛtaꝛt. Nu ꝑeo buꝑh ꝛþ́lce ıꝛ. þe æꝑ pæꝛ eallꝑa peoꝑca ꝑæꝛtaꝛt ⁊ punbꝑlicoꝛt. ⁊ mæꝑaꝛt. ȝelice ⁊ heo pæꝑe to býꝛne aꝛtealb eallum miðbaneaꝑbe. ⁊ eac ꝛþ́lce heo ꝛýlꝼ ꝛþ́ꝑecenbe ꝛý to eallum mancýnne. ⁊ cꝑeðe. Nu ıc þuꝛ ȝehꝑoꝑen eom. ⁊ apeȝ-ȝepıten. hpæt ȝe maȝon on me onȝıtan ⁊ oncnapan. þ̄ ȝe nanuht miþ eoꝑ nabbað pæꝛteꝛ ne ꝛtꝑanȝeꝛ þ̄te þuꝑhꝑunıan mæȝe:·

On þam ðaȝum þe Liꝑuꝛ. Peꝑꝛa cýnȝ. Babýlonia abꝑæc. þa pæꝛ Lꝑoeꝑuꝛ. ꝛe Liða cyninȝ. miþ ꝛýꝑbe ȝeꝑaꝑen Babýlonium to ꝑultume. ac þa he ꝑiꝛte þ̄ hý him on nanum ꝑúltume beon ne mihte. ⁊ þ̄ ꝛeo buꝑh abꝑocen pæꝛ. he him hampeaꝑþ ꝑeꝑbe. to hıꝛ aȝenum ꝑice. ⁊ him Liꝑuꝛ pæꝛ æꝛteꝑ-ꝑýlıȝenbe oð he hine ȝeꝑenȝ ⁊ oꝑꝑloh:· Onð nu uꝑe cꝑıꝛtene Romana beꝑꝑıýcð. þ̄ hýꝑe peallaꝛ ꝑoꝑ ealbunȝe bꝑoꝑnian. nalæꝛ na ꝑoꝑðam þe hıo miþ ꝑoꝑheꝑȝunȝe ꝛꝑa ȝebýꝛmeꝑaþ pæꝑe. ꝛꝑa Babýlonia pæꝛ. ac heo ꝑoꝑ hyꝑe cꝑıꝛtenbome nu ȝýt ıꝛ ȝeꝛcýlb. þ̄ æȝþeꝑ ȝe heo ꝛýlꝼ. ȝe hýꝑe anpealb. ıꝛ ma hꝑeoꝛenbe ꝑoꝑ ealðbome. þonne oꝼ ænıȝeꝛ cýninȝeꝛ mıebe:·

Æꝛteꝑ ðam Liꝑuꝛ ȝelæbbe ꝼýꝑbe on Sciððıe. ⁊ him þæꝑ an ȝıonȝ cýninȝ miþ ꝼýꝑbe onȝean ꝑoꝑ. ⁊ hıꝛ moboꝑ miþ him. Damaꝑıꝛ:· Ða Liꝑuꝛ ꝑoꝑ oꝑeꝑ þ̄ lanb-ȝemæꝑe. oꝑeꝑ þa ea þe hatte Æꝑaxıꝛ. him þæꝑ ꝑe ȝeonȝa cýninȝ þæꝛ oꝑeꝑ-ꝑæꝑelbeꝛ ꝑoꝑꝑýꝑnan mýhte. ac he ꝑoꝑðam nolbe. þý he miþ hıꝛ ꝑolce ȝeꝛꝑupabe þ̄ he hine beꝛꝑıcan mihte. ꝛýððan he binnan þam ȝe-

the bed of the river on to the city and took it. So incredible is it for any man to say how any man could build such a city as that was, or again capture it!

Nimrod the giant first began to build Babylon, and Ninus the king after him, and Semiramis, his queen, finished it after him in the middle of her kingdom. The city was built on the campaign land and on very level [ground], and it was very fair to look on, and was very exactly quadrangular, and the magnitude and strength of the wall is incredible to say, that is, that it is fifty ells broad, and two hundred ells high, and its circuit is seventy miles and one seventh of a mile, and it is wrought of bricks and bitumen, and round the wall is an immense ditch, in which runs a most unfordable stream; and without the ditch a wall is constructed two ells high; and above the great wall, over all the circumference, it is beset with stone towers. This same city of Babylon, which was the greatest and first of all cities, is now the least and most desolate. Now is the city that whilom was the strongest and most wondrous, and greatest of all works, like as if it were set as an example to all the earth, and also as if it were speaking to all mankind, and saying: "Now I am thus fallen and passed away, something ye may learn and know from me: that ye have nothing with yourselves that is firm or strong that can continue."

In those days that Cyrus the king of Persia took Babylon, Crœsus the king of Lydia marched with an army to aid Babylon. But when he found that he could be of no help to them, and that the city was taken, he turned homewards to his own kingdom, and Cyrus followed him until he took him prisoner, and slew him. And now our Christian Rome announces that her walls are decaying from age, not because she has been so maltreated by hostile ravages as Babylon was; for she, for her Christianity, is yet shielded, so that both herself and her power are falling more from age than by the violence of any king.

After that Cyrus led an army into Scythia, and there a young king encountered him, together with his mother, Tomyris. When Cyrus marched over the frontier, over the river called the Araxis, the young king could there have prevented his crossing, but he would not, because he trusted that with his folk he might circumvent him, after he was within the con-

mæꞃe ꝼæꞃe. ⁊ ꝼic-ſtoꝼa name :· Ac þa Liꞃuſ ȝeaxſoðe ꝥ hine ſe ȝeonȝa cýninȝ þæꞃ ſecan ꝼolðe. ⁊ eac ꝥ þam ꝼolce ſelðſýne ⁊ uncuðe ꝼæꞃon ꝼineſ ðꞃencaſ. he ꝼoꞃþam oꝼ þæꞃe ꝼic-ſtoꝼe aꝼoꞃ on ane ðiȝle ſtoꝼe. ⁊ þæꞃ beæꝼtan ꝼoꞃlet eall ꝥ þæꞃ liðeſ ꝼæſ ⁊ ſꝼeteſ. ꝥ þa ſe ȝionȝa cýninȝ ſꝼiðoꞃ mýccle ꝼenenðe ꝼæſ ꝥ hý þanon ꝼleonðe ꝼæꞃon. þonne hý ænigne ſꝼicðom cýðan ðoꞃſtan. þa hý hit þæꞃ ſꝼa æmenne ȝemetton. hý þæꞃ þa mið mycelꞃe bliðneſſe. buton ȝemetȝunȝe. ꝥ ꝼin ðꞃincenðe ꝼæꞃon. oð hi heoꞃa ſýlꝼꞃa lýtel ȝeꝼealð hæꝼðon. he þa Liꞃuſ hý þæꞃ beſýꞃoðe. ⁊ mið-ealle oꝼſloh. ⁊ ſýððan ꝼæſ ꝼaꞃenðe þæꞃ þæſ cýninȝeſ moðoꞃ mið þam tꝼam ðælum þæſ ꝼolceſ ꝼuniȝenðe ꝼæſ. þa he þone þꞃiððan ðæl mið þam cýninȝe beſꝼicen hæꝼðe :· Heo þa. ſeo cꝼen Dameꞃiſ. mið mýcelꞃe ȝnoꞃnunȝe ýmb þæſ cýninȝeſ ſleȝe. hýꞃe ſuna. ðencenðe ꝼæſ. hu heo hit ȝeꝼꞃecan mýhte. ⁊ ꝥ eac mið ðæðum ȝelæſte. ⁊ hýꞃe ꝼolc on tꝼa toðælðe æȝþeꞃ ȝe ꝼiꝼmen ȝe ꝼæꝼneð-men. ꝼoꞃðan þe þæꞃ ꝼiꝼmen ꝼeohtað. ſꝼa ſame ſꝼa ꝼæꝼneð-men. hio mið þam healꝼan ðæle. beꝼoꞃan þam cýninȝe ꝼaꞃenðe ꝼæſ. ſꝼýlce heo ꝼleonðe ꝼæꞃe. oð hio hine ȝelæððe on an mýcel ſlæð. ⁊ ſe healꝼa ðæl ꝼæſ Liꞃuſe æꝼteꞃ-ꝼýliȝenðe. þæꞃ ꝼeaꞃð Liꞃuſ oꝼſleȝen. ⁊ tꝼa[1] ðuſenð manna mið him :· Seo cꝼen het þa þam cýninȝe ꝥ heaꝼoð oꝼ-aceoꞃꝼan. ⁊ beꝼýꞃꝼan on anne cýlle. ſe ꝼæſ aꝼýlleð manneſ bloðeſ. ⁊ þuſ cꝼæð. Ðu þe þýꞃſtenðe ꝼæꞃe manneſ bloðeſ xxx. ꝼintꞃa. ðꞃinc nu ðine ꝼýlle :·

V.

Æꝼteꞃ þam þe Romebuꞃh ȝetimbꞃað ꝼæſ tꝼa hunð ꝼintꞃa ⁊ iiiix. ꝥte Lambiſ ꝼenȝ to Peꞃſa ꞃice. Liꞃuſeſ ſunu. ſe mið þan þe he Eȝýꞃte oꝼeꞃꝼon. ȝeðýðe ꝥ nan hæðen cýnȝ æꞃ ȝeðon ne ðoꞃſte. þæt ꝼæſ ꝥ he heoꞃa ȝoð-ȝýlðum eallum ꝼiþſoc. ⁊ hý æꝼteꞃ þam mið-ealle toꝼeaꞃꝼ :· Æꝼteꞃ him ꞃixaðe Daꞃiuſ. ſe aꝼenðe ealle Aſſiꞃiȝe ⁊ Lalðei eꝼt to Peꞃſeum. þe æꞃ ꝼꞃam him ȝeboȝene ꝼæꞃon :· Æꝼteꞃ þam he ꝼann on Sciððie. æȝþeꞃ ȝe ꝼoꞃ Liꞃuſeſ ſleȝe. þæſ cýninȝeſ hiſ mæȝeſ. ȝe eac ꝼoꞃðam þe him man þæſ ꝼiꝼeſ ꝼoꞃꝼýꞃnðe[2] :· Hiſ heꞃeſ ꝼæſ ſeoꝼon hunð þuſenða. þa he on Sciððie ꝼoꞃ. hꝼæþeꞃe þa Sciððie nolðon hine

fines, and had fixed his camp. But when Cyrus was informed that the young king would seek him there, and also that potations of wine were uncommon and unknown to the people, he marched away from his encampment into a secret place, and left behind all that was delicate and sweet; so that the young king imagined much more that they were fleeing thence, than that they durst plan any deceit. When they found it so deserted there, they then with great joy drank the wine without moderation, until they had little power over themselves. Cyrus then there entrapped them, and slew the whole of them, and then marched to where the king's mother with two parts of the people was staying, when he had deceived the third part with the king. She then, the queen Tomyris, was with great lamentation thinking of the death of the king her son, [and] how she might avenge it, and also made that good by deeds, and divided her people in two, both women and males; because there the women fight the same as the males. She [then] with the half part went before the king as if she were fleeing, until she had led him on to a great swamp, while the [other] half was following Cyrus. There was Cyrus slain and two [hundred] thousand men with him. The queen then commanded the king's head to be cut off and cast into a leathern vessel that was filled with man's blood, and thus said: "Thou who hast been thirsting after man's blood for thirty years, drink now thy fill."

V.

After the city of Rome had been built two hundred and six years, Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, succeeded to the kingdom of Persia, who, when he had conquered Egypt, did what no heathen king before durst do, that was, that he disowned all their idols, and afterwards totally destroyed them. After him Darius reigned, who reduced all the Assyrians and Chaldeans again under the Persians, who had previously withdrawn from them. After that he made war on Scythia, both on account of the slaying of Cyrus his kinsmen, and also because they had refused him the wife [he desired]. His army was seven hundred thousand when he marched to Scythia;

ȝeſecan to ſolc-ȝeſeohte. ac þonne hý ȝeond ꝥ land toſaſene
pæſon. hi þonne hý ſlocmælum ſloȝon :· Ða pæſon þa Peſſe
mid þam ſpýðe ȝeeȝſode. ⁊ eac ondſedon ꝥ man þa bſýcȝe
ſoſpýſcean polde. þe æt þam ȝemæſe pæſ. ꝥ hý ſýððan nýſtan
hu hý þanon comon :· Þe þa ſe cýnȝ. æſteſ þam þe hiſ ſolc
ſpiðe ſoſſleȝen pæſ. þæſ ſoſlet hund-eahtatiȝ þuſenda be-
æſtan him. ꝥ hý þæſ þa-ȝýt lenȝ pinnan ſceoldan. ⁊ he ſýlf
þanon ȝepat on ða læſſan Aſiam. ⁊ hý ſoſheſȝode. ⁊ ſýððan
on Mæcedoniam. ⁊ on Ionaſ. Eſeca leode. ⁊ þa hi butu
oſeſheſȝode. ⁊ ſoſ ſýððan ſýſſ on Eſecaſ. ⁊ ȝepin up-ahoſ
pið Atheniensſeſ. ſoſðam þe hie Mæcedoniam on ſultume
pæſon :· Sona ſpa Atheniensſe piſten ꝥ Daſiuſ hý mid ȝe-
ſeohte ſecan polde. hi acuſon endleoſan þuſend manna. ⁊ him
onȝean ſoſan. ⁊ þone cýninȝ æt þæſe dune metton þe mon
hæt Moſotthonie :· Þeoſa latteop pæſ haten Ptesſeuſ. ſe
pæſ mid hiſ dædum ſnelſa þonne he mæȝeneſ hæfde. ſe ȝe-
poſhte mýcelne dom on ðam ȝeſeohte. þa peaſð tpa hund
þuſenda Peſſea oſſleȝen. ⁊ ða oðſe ȝeſlýmed :· Ða eſt hæfde
he ſýſde ȝeȝadeſod on Peſſeum. ⁊ ꝥ ſpecan þohte. þa ȝeſoſ
he :·

Aſteſ him ſenȝ hiſ ſunu to Peſſea ſice. Xeſxiſ. ⁊ ꝥ ȝepin
ꝥ hiſ fæder aſtealde. he diȝellice ſoſ þam ſiſ ȝeaſ ſcipa
poſhte. ⁊ ſultum ȝeȝadeſode :· Ða pæſ mid him an ſpæccea
oſ Læcedemonia. Eſeca buſh. ſe pæſ haten Dameſað. ſe ꝥ
ſacn to hiſ cýððe ȝebodade. ⁊ hit on anum bſede apſat. ⁊
ſýððan mid peaxe bepoſhte :· Xeſxiſ. þa he an Eſecaſ ſoſ.
hæfde hiſ aȝeneſ ſolceſ viii. c. þuſenda. ⁊ he hæfde oſ
oðſum ðeodum abeden iiii. c. M. ⁊ he hæfde ſcipa þæſa
mycclena dulmuna an. M. ⁊ ii. hund. ⁊ þæſa ſcipa pæſon
iii. M̄. þe heoſa mete bæſon. ⁊ ealleſ hiſ heſeſ pæſ ſpýlc
unȝemet ꝥ mon eaðe cpeðan mihte ꝥ hit pundoſ pæſe hpaſ
hý landeſ hæfdon. ꝥ hý mihton on-ȝepician. oððe pæteſeſ ꝥ
hý mihton him þuſſt oſ-adſincan. ſpa-þeah ſeo unȝemetlice
meniȝeo þæſ ſolceſ pæſ þa ýðſe to oſeſpinnenne þonne heo
uſ ſý nu to ȝeſimenne oððe to ȝelýſanne :· Leoniða. Læcede-
monia cýninȝ. Eſeca buſh. hæfde iiii. þuſend manna. þa he
onȝean Xeſxiſ ſoſ. on anum neaſpan land-fæſtene. ⁊ him

however, the Scythians would not engage with him in a general battle, but when they (the Persians) were dispersed over the country, they then slew them in swarms. The Persians were thereby greatly terror-stricken, and also dreaded lest they should destroy the bridge which was on the boundary, so that they might not know how to escape from thence. The king then, after his people had been much slaughtered, left there eighty thousand behind him, that they might yet longer carry on the war there, and himself departed thence into the Lesser Asia, and laid it waste, and afterwards into Macedonia and Ionia, Greek nations, and ravaged both of them; and afterwards went further into Greece, and raised a war against the Athenians, because they had aided the Macedonians. As soon as the Athenians knew that Darius would make war on them, they chose eleven thousand men, and marched against him, and found the king at the mountain that is called Marathon. Their leader was named Theseus, who was bolder in his deeds than [in proportion to] the power he had. He gained great glory in that battle: there were two hundred thousand Persians slain, and the others put to flight. When again he (Darius) had gathered an army in Persia, and would avenge it (his defeat), he died.

After him his son Xerxes succeeded to the kingdom: and for the war that his father had undertaken, he secretly for five years wrought ships and gathered aid. There was with him an exile from Lacedæmon, a Greek city, who was named Demaratus, who announced that device to his country, and wrote it on a board, and then covered it over with wax. Xerxes, when he marched against Greece, had of his own people eight hundred thousand, and of other nations he had demanded four hundred thousand; of ships he had of those great "dulmuns" a thousand and two hundred, and of ships that bore their food there were three thousand; and of his whole army there was such an immense number, that it might easily be said, that it was a wonder where they could have land on which they might encamp, or water that they might quench their thirst; yet was the immense multitude of people more easy to overcome than it may now be for us to count or to believe. Leonidas, king of Lacedemonia, a Greek city, had four thousand men when he marched against Xerxes in a narrow land-pass, and there withstood him with

þæꝛ mid ȝeꝼeohte ꝑiðꝼtod ⁝· Xeꝛxiꝼ ꝥ oðeꝛ ꝼolc ꝼꝑa ꝼꝑiðe ꝼoꝛꝼeah. ꝥ he axode hꝑæt ꝼceolde æt ꝼꝑa lýtlum ꝑeꝛode maꝛa ꝼultum. butan þa ane þe him þæꝛ æꝛ abolȝen ꝑæꝼ on þam æꝛꝛan ȝeꝼeohte. ꝥte ꝑæꝼ on Meꝛothonia þæꝛe dune. ac ȝeꝼette þa men on ænne tꝛuman. þe mon heoꝛa maȝaꝼ æꝛ on ðam lande ꝼloh. ⁊ ꝑiꝼte ꝥ hy ꝑoldon ȝeoꝛn ꝼulꝛan beon þæꝛe ꝑꝛace þonne oðꝛe men. ⁊ hý ꝼꝑa ꝑæꝛon oð hý þæꝛ ealle mæꝼt oꝼꝼleȝene ꝑuꝛdon ⁝· Xeꝛxiꝼ ꝼꝑiðe him þa oꝼðincendum ꝥ hiꝼ ꝼolc ꝼꝑa ꝼoꝛꝼleȝen ꝑæꝼ. he ꝼýlꝼ þa þæꝛ toꝼoꝛ. mid eallum þam mæȝene þe he þæꝛto ȝelædan mýhte. ⁊ þæꝛ ꝼeohtende ꝑæꝛon iii. daȝaꝼ. oð þæꝛa Peꝛꝼea ꝑæꝼ unȝemetlic ꝑæl ȝeꝼleȝen. Þe het þa þæt ꝼæꝼte land utan ýmbꝼaꝛan. ꝥ him man ꝼceolde on ma healꝼa on-ꝼeohtan þonne on ane ⁝· Leoniða ꝥ þa ȝeaxꝼode. ꝥ hine mon ꝼꝑa beþꝛýdian ꝑolde. he þanon aꝼoꝛ. ⁊ hiꝼ ꝼýꝛde ȝelædde on an oðeꝛ ꝼæꝼtꝛe land. ⁊ þæꝛ ȝeꝑunode oð niht. ⁊ him ꝼꝛam aꝼaꝛan het ealle þa buꝛhꝑaꝛe. þe he oꝼ oðꝛum lande him to ꝼultume abeden hæꝼde. ꝥ hi heom ȝeꝼunde buꝛȝan. ꝼoꝛðam he ne uðe ꝥ æniȝ ma ꝼolca ꝼoꝛ hiꝼ þinȝum ꝼoꝛꝑuꝛde. þonne he ꝼýlꝼ mid hiꝼ aȝenꝛe þeode. Ac he þuꝼ ꝑæꝼ ꝼꝑꝛecende ⁊ ȝeomꝛiende. Nu ꝑe untꝑeoȝendlice ꝑitan ꝥ ꝑe uꝛe aȝen liꝼ ꝼoꝛlætan ꝼcolan. ꝼoꝛ þam unȝemetlican ꝼeondꝼcipe þe uꝛe ehtende on ꝼýndon. uton þeah-hꝑæðeꝛe acꝛæꝼtan. hu ꝑe heoꝛa an þýꝼꝼa nihta maȝan mæꝼt beꝼꝑican. ⁊ uꝼ ꝼýlꝼum betꝼt ꝑoꝛd ⁊ lanȝꝼumaꝼt æt uꝛum ende ȝeꝑýꝛcan ⁝· Þu mýcel ꝥ iꝼ to ꝼecȝenne. ꝥte Leoniða mid vi. c. manna. vi. c. M̄. ꝼꝑa ȝebýꝼmꝛade. ꝼume oꝼꝼloh ⁊ ꝼume ȝeꝼlýmde ⁝·

Xeꝛxiꝼ ꝑæꝼ þa æt tꝑam cyꝛꝛum on þam lande ꝼꝑa ȝeꝼcýnd mid hiꝼ oꝛmætum meniȝeo. he þa-ȝýt þꝛiddan ꝼiðe ꝑæꝼ ꝑilniende mid ꝼcip-ꝼýꝛde. ꝥ he þæꝼ ȝeꝑinneꝼ mihte maꝛe ȝeꝼꝛemman. ⁊ him Ionaꝼ. Eꝛeca leode. on ꝼultum ȝeꝼꝑeon. þeah hi æꝛ oꝼeꝛ heoꝛa ꝑillan him to-ȝecýꝛdon. ⁊ hý him ȝeheton. ꝥ hi ꝥ ȝeꝼeoht æꝛeꝼt mid him ꝼýlꝼum ðuꝛhteon ꝑoldon. þeah hi him eꝼt ꝼacen ȝelæꝼtan. þa hý on þam ꝼæ ꝼeohtende ꝑæꝛon ⁝· Themiꝼtocleꝼ hatte Athenienꝼa latteoꝑ. hý ꝑæꝛon cumen Leoniðan to ꝼultume. þeah hý æt þam æꝛꝛan ȝeꝼeohte him ne mýhton to-cuman ⁝· Se Themiꝼtocleꝼ ȝemýnȝade Ionaꝼ þæꝛe ealdan ꝼæhðe þe Xeꝛxiꝼ him to ȝeꝑoꝛht hæꝼde. hu he

battle. Xerxes so greatly despised the other folk, that he asked why against so little an army there should be more force besides those alone who had before been exasperated against them in the former battle, that was on the hill of Marathon? and placed those men in one body, whose relatives had before been slain in that country, knowing that they would naturally be fuller of revenge than other men. And they were so, until almost all of them were there slain. Xerxes then sorely vexed that his people had been so slaughtered, proceeded himself with all the force he could lead thither, and was fighting there for three days, until there was a great slaughter made of the Persians. He then commanded them to make a circuit round the pass, that they (the enemy) might be attacked on more sides than one. Leonidas then found that they would thus surround him, [and] marched from thence, and led his army into another stronger place, and there continued till night, and commanded all the citizens, that he had called to his aid from another land, to depart from him, that they might safely secure themselves; for he would not allow any more people to perish for his sake, than himself with his own nation. But he was thus speaking and groaning: "Now we undoubtedly know that we shall lose our own lives on account of the exceedingly great enmity entertained by our persecutors. Yet let us devise how we one of these nights may most deceive them, and for ourselves, acquire at our end the best and most lasting renown." How wonderful it is to say, that Leonidas with six hundred men so maltreated six hundred thousand, slaying some, some putting to flight!

Thus was Xerxes, on two occasions, with his enormous multitude, so disgraced in that land; yet he was still desirous, a third time, with a naval force, of prosecuting the contest, and of alluring the Ionians, a Greek nation, to aid him; although they before, against their will, had turned to his side; and they promised him that they would first settle the conflict by themselves, although they afterwards acted guilefully towards him, when fighting at sea. Themistocles was the name of the Athenian leader. They had come to the assistance of Leonidas, although at the first battle they were not able to come to him. Themistocles reminded the Ionians of the old enmity that Xerxes had exercised towards them, how he had

hý mid forhergunge. ⁊ mid heora maga slihtum. on his gefeald genýdde :· Þe bæd hi eac ꝥ hý gemundon þæra ealdena treofa. ⁊ þæs unarimedlican freondscipes. þe hi ægþer hæfdon. ge to Athenienſum ge to Læcedemonium. ær on eald-dagum. ⁊ hi biddende wæs ꝥ hý mid sume seara-wrence from Xerxe þam cýninge sume hwile awende. ꝥ hý ⁊ Læcedemonie mostan wið Persum þæs gewinnes sumne ende gewýrcan. ⁊ hý him þære bene getigðedon :· Ða þa Perse ꝥ gesawon. ꝥ him þa frambugan. þe hi betst getreowdon. ꝥ him sceolde sige gefeohtan. hi sýlfe eac fleonde wæron. ⁊ heora þær weard fela ofslegen. ⁊ adruncen. ⁊ gefangen :· Xerxis þegen wæs haten Mardonius. se hine wæs georne lærende. ꝥ he ma hampeard fore. þonne he þær leng bide. þý læs ænegu ungeþwærness on his agenum rice ahafen wurde. ⁊ cwæð ꝥ hit gerisenlicre wære. ꝥ he ꝥ gewinn him betæhte. mid þam fultume þe þær to lafe þa-gýt wæs. leng to winnenne. ⁊ sæde ꝥ hit þam cýnge læsse edwit wære. gif þam folce buton him þa-gyt missweowe. swa him ær dýde :· Se cýning þa Xerxis swiðe gelýfedlice his þegene gehýrde. ⁊ mid sumum dæle his fultume þanon afor :· Ða he þa hampeard to þære ie com. þe he ær westweard het þa oferметan bricge mid stane ofer-gewýrcan. his sige to tacne. þe he on þam siðe ðurhteon ðohte. þa wæs seo ea to ðan flede. ꝥ he ne mýhte to þære brýcge cuman :· Ða wæs þam cýnge swiðe ange on his mode. ꝥ naðær ne he mid his fultume næs. ne ꝥ he ofer þa ea cuman ne mihte. to-eacan þam he him wæs swiðe ondræðende. ꝥ him his fýnd wæron æfter-fýligende. him þa to-coman fiscere. ⁊ uneaðe hine ænne ofer-brohte :· Þu God þa mæstan ofer-metto. ⁊ ꝥ mæste anginn on swa heanlice oferметto genýðerade. ꝥ seþe him ær geþuhte. ꝥ him nan sæ wiðhabban ne mihte. ꝥ he hine mid scipum ⁊ mid his fultume afýllan ne mihte. ꝥ he eft wæs biddende anes lýtles troges æt anum earman men. ꝥ he mihte his feorh generian :·

Mordonius. Xerxis þegn. forlet þa scipa. þe hý on-færende wæron. ⁊ for to anre býrig on Boetium. Ereca londe. ⁊ hi abræc :· Him mon ꝥ æfter þam hræðlice forgeald. þa hi mon geflýmde. ⁊ swiðe forsloh. þeah þe Athenienſum se sige.

reduced them under his power by devastation and the slaughter of their relatives. He, moreover, besought them to remember their old compacts and the numberless friendships that they had entertained both for the Athenians and Lacedæmonians in former days; and he besought them that by some artifice they would for some time desert king Xerxes, that they and the Lacedæmonians might put an end to this war against the Persians. And they granted them their prayer. When the Persians saw that they (the Ionians) withdrew from them, on whom they had most relied that they would gain the victory for them, they themselves also took to flight, and many of them were there slain, and drowned, and taken prisoners. The general of Xerxes was named Mardonius: he earnestly advised him rather to proceed homewards than to abide longer there, lest some discord should be stirred up in his own kingdom; and said that it were more fitting that he should commit the war to him with the support that still was left there to carry it on longer. And said that it would be a less reproach to the king, if the people without him were to speed ill as they had done before. The king Xerxes heard his general very implicitly, and with a part of his forces departed from thence. When on his way home, he came to the water, over which he before had ordered the immense bridge of stone to be constructed westward, in token of his victory, which on that march he thought of completing, there was the water at such high flood that he could not come to the bridge. Then was the king very anxious in mind that he was neither with his army nor could cross over the water, in addition to which he was very fearful that his foes were in pursuit of him. Then there came a fisherman to him and with difficulty conveyed him over alone. How God humbled the greatest arrogance, and the greatest undertaking in such shameful arrogance, that he to whom it before had seemed that no sea could resist him, that he could not quell it with ships and with his forces, that he was afterwards begging a little boat of a poor man, that he might save his life!

Mardonius, Xerxes' general, then left the ships in which they had been faring, and proceeded to a city in Bœotia, a Greek country, and took it. For that he was afterwards quickly requited, being put to flight and sorely beaten with

⁊ ſeo ꝛeaſunʒ þæſ Peꝛſiſcan ſeoſ to maꝛan ſconde ꝑuꝛde. ſoꝛðon ſyððan hi ꝑeleʒꝛan ꝑæꝛon. hi eac bliðꝛan ʒeꝑuꝛdon :. Æfteꝛ ðam Xeꝛxiſ ꝑeaꝛð hiſ aʒenꝛe þeode ſpiðe unꝑýꝛð. ⁊ hine hiſ aʒen ealdoꝛman Aꝛtabatuſ beſýꝛode ⁊ ofſloh :. Eala. cꝑæð Oꝛoſiuſ. hu luſtbæꝛlice tida on þam daʒum ꝑæꝛon. ſꝑa ſꝑa þa ſecʒað þe þæſ cꝛiſtendomeſ ꝑiðeꝛflitan ſýnd. ꝥ uſ nu æfteꝛ ſꝑýlcum lanʒian mæʒe ſꝑýlce þa ꝑæꝛon. þa ſꝑa mýcel folc. on ſꝑa lýtlum fyꝛſte. æt þꝛim folc-ʒefeohtum foꝛꝑuꝛdon. ꝥ ꝑæſ niʒon x. hund þuſenda of Peꝛſa anꝛa anꝑealde. buton heoꝛa ꝑiðeꝛꝑinnum. æʒþeꝛ ʒe of Sciððium ʒe of Eꝛecum :. Ðæt tacnode Leoniða on hiſ þam nextan ʒefeohte ⁊ Peꝛſa. hꝑýlc man-cꝑealm on Eꝛeca londe ꝑæſ. mid moniʒfealdum deaðum. mid ðam þe he ſpꝛecende ꝑæſ to hiſ ʒefeꝛum. æt hiſ undeꝛn-ʒeꝛeoꝛde. æꝛ he to ðam ʒefeohte foꝛe. Uton nu bꝛucan ðýſſeſ undeꝛn-meteſ. ſꝑa þa ſceolon. þe heoꝛa æfen-ʒýfl on helle ʒefeccan ſculon :. Ðeah he þa ſꝑa cꝑæde. he cꝑæð eft oðeꝛ ꝑoꝛd. Ðeah ic æꝛ ſæde. ꝥ ꝑe to helle ſceoldon. þeah ne ʒeoꝛtꝛuꝑiʒe ic na Lode. ꝥ he uſ ne mæʒe ʒeſcýlban to beteꝛan tidon þonne ꝑe nu on ſýnd :. Leoniða ſæde ꝥ þa tida þa ýfele ꝑæꝛon. ⁊ ꝑilnade ꝥ him toꝑeaꝛd beteꝛan ꝑæꝛon. ⁊ nu ſume men ſecʒað ꝥ þa beteꝛan ꝑæꝛon þonne nu ſýnd :. Nu hi ſꝑa tꝑyꝑýꝛdiʒe ſýndon. þonne ꝑæꝛon æʒþeꝛ ʒode ʒe þa æꝛꝛan. ſꝑa ſume menn nu ſecʒað. ʒe eac þaſ æftꝛan. ſꝑa hi æꝛ ſædon. ⁊ næꝛon na þæꝛe on ðance. ʒif hi þonne ſoð ne ſædon. þonne næꝛon naðoꝛ ʒode. ne þa ne nu :.

Nu ꝑe ſceolon eft. cꝑæð Oꝛoſiuſ. hꝑýꝛfan neaꝛ Roma. þæꝛ ꝑe hit æꝛ foꝛlæton. foꝛþon ic ne mæʒ eal þa moniʒfealdan ýfel endemeſ aꝛeccan. ſꝑa ic eac ealleſ ðýſeſ middaneaꝛdeſ. na maꝛan dæleſ ne anʒite. buton ꝥte on tꝑam anꝑealdum ʒeꝑeaꝛð. on þam æꝛeſtan. ⁊ on þam ſiðemeſtan. ꝥ ſýnd Aſſýꝛiʒe ⁊ Romane :.

VI.

Æfteꝛ þam þe Romebuꝛh ʒetimbꝛad ꝑæſ ii. hund ꝑintꝛa ⁊ hund-eahtatiʒum. þý ýlcan ʒeaꝛe þe Sabini Romane ſꝑa beſꝑicon. þa heoꝛa iii. hund ⁊ ſýx men. of æʒðeꝛꝛe healfe. to

great slaughter; though the victory and plunder of the Persian treasure proved a great scandal to the Athenians; for after they were wealthier they became also more luxurious. Afterwards Xerxes became very contemptible to his own nation; and his own prefect, Artabanus, plotted against him and slew him. Ah! says Orosius, what joyous times there were in those days, as they say who are the adversaries of Christianity.; so that we may long after such as they were, when so great a [number of] people in so little a space, perished in three national wars, that was ninety hundred thousand men of the Persian power alone, exclusive of their adversaries, both Scythians and Greeks. Leonidas, in his last battle with the Persians, announced what a pestilence there was in the land of Greece through the numerous deaths, when he said to his companions at his morning-repast, before he went to battle: "Let us now eat this morning-meal as those should who are to seek their evening-refection in hell." Although he thus spoke, he again said other words: "Although I before said that we shall go to hell, I yet do not lose trust in God, that he may shield us for better times than those in which we now are." Leonidas said that those times were evil, and desired that better might be at hand for them. And now some men say that those were better than [those that] now are. Now are they so ambiguous. Then were both good, the former times, as some men now say, and also the later, as they formerly said, and were not grateful for them. If they did not speak truth, then were neither good, neither those nor [those that are] now.

Now we will again, says Orosius, return nearer to Rome, where we before left it; for after all I cannot recount all the manifold evils of all this earth, as I am not acquainted with the greater part, except that which is within two empires, the first and the last; those are the Assyrian and the Roman.

VI.

After Rome had been built two hundred and eighty years, in the same year that the Sabines so deluded the Romans, when three hundred and six of them on either side went to

anpiʒe eoƀon. peaɲƀ mẏcel punƀop on heoɼenum ʒeɼepen. ɼẏlc eall ɼe heoɼon bẏnnenƀe pæne. þ tacen peaɲƀ on Romanum ɼpiƀe ʒeɼputelaƀ. miƀ þam mẏcclan pol-bɲẏne mann-cpealmeɼ. þe him naƀe þæɼ æɼtep com. ɼpa þ hẏ healɼe belifene punƀon. ⁊ heoɲa tpezen conɼulaɼ. þe hi þa hæfƀon. ʒe þa æt nextan. þa þe þæp to laɼe beon moɼton. pæpon to ðam meðiʒe. þ hẏ ne mẏhton þa ɼoɲðɼaɲenan to eoɲðan bɲinʒan. ðona æɼtep þam ealle heoɲa peoɼaɼ piƀ þa hlaɼoɲbaɼ pinnenƀe pæpon. ⁊ hi benamon heoɲa heaɼoƀ-ɼteƀeɼ. þ hi Capitolium heton. ⁊ hi miccle ʒefeohc ymb þ hæfƀon. oð hi ofɼlozon þone ænne conɼul. þe hi þa nipan ʒeɼet hæfƀon. ðeah þa hlaɼoɲbaɼ on þam enƀe hæfƀon heanlicne ɼiʒe. ⁊ ɼona þæɼ. þẏ æɼtepan ʒeapɐ. Romane punnon piƀ Fulɼci þ ɼolc. ⁊ þæp punƀon ɼpiƀe ɼoɲɼleʒene. ⁊ ɼe bæl þe þæp to laɼe pæɼ. peaɲƀ on an ɼæɼten beƀniɼen. ⁊ þæp punƀon miƀ hunʒɲe acpealƀe. þæp heoɲa þa ne ʒehulpe þa þæp æt ham pæpon. miƀ þam þe hi ʒeʒaƀeɲoƀan eall moncẏnneɼ þ þæp læfeƀ pæɼ. ⁊ ʒenamon ænne eaɲmne man him to conɼule. þæp he on hiɼ æcepe eoƀe ⁊ hiɼ ɼulh on hanƀa hæfƀe. ⁊ ɼẏððan to Fulɼcipci þam lanƀe ɼenƀon ⁊ hi uc-ɼoɲleton.

Æɼtep þam pæɼ an ʒeap ɼullice. þ oɼep eall Romana nice ɼeo eoɲðe pæɼ cpacienƀe ⁊ beniɼtenƀe. ⁊ ælce ƀæʒ man com unaɲimeƀlice oft to ɼenatum. ⁊ him ɼæƀon ɼnam bunʒum ⁊ ɼnam tunum on eoɲðan beɲuncen. ⁊ hy ɼẏlfe pæpon ælce ƀæʒ on þæpe onƀnæƀinze hpænne hi on þa eoɲðan beɲuncene punƀon. Æɼtep þam com ɼpa mycel hete ʒeonƀ Romane. þ ealle heoɲa eoɲð-pæɼtmaɼ. ʒe eac hi ɼẏlfe. neah ɼoppunƀon. Æɼtep þam þæp peaɲƀ ɼe mæɼta hunʒep. Æɼtep þam Romane ʒeɼettan him x. conɼulaɼ. þæp hi æp tpezen hæfƀon. to þan þ hi heoɲa æ beniɼton. Þeoɲa an pæɼ Llaubiuɼ haten. ɼe him pæɼ onteonƀe ealƀoɲƀom ofep þa oðɲe. þeah hi him þæɼ ʒeþaɲenƀe næpon. ac piƀ hine pinnenƀe pæpon. oð þone fẏniɼt þe hi ɼume to him ʒecẏnƀon ɼume nolƀon. ac ɼpa on tpa toƀælƀe. him beɼpeonan punnan. þ hi ɼoɲʒeaton þæɲa uttɲa ʒefeohta. þe him on henƀe pæpon. oð ealle þa conɼulaɼ toʒæƀepe ʒecẏnƀon. ⁊ Llaubium. þone ænne. miƀ ɼaʒlum ofbeoton. ⁊ ɼẏððan heoɲa aʒen lanƀ peɲʒenƀe pæpon.

Yʒþelice. cpæð Oɲoɲiuɼ. ⁊ ɼceoɲtlice ic hæbbe nu ʒeɼæƀ hiopa in-ʒepinn. þeah hi him pæpon ɼoɲneah þa mæɼtan. ⁊ þa pleolecefɼtan. þ eac Eðna þ ɼpeflene fẏn tacnoƀe. þa hit upp

combat, there was a great wonder seen in the heavens, as if all the heaven were burning. That token was sorely manifested to the Romans by the great deadly pestilence which soon after came upon them, so that the half of them perished, together with their two consuls that they then had; so that at last those that might be left were enfeebled to that degree that they could not bring the departed to the earth. Immediately afterwards all their slaves made war against their masters, and they took their chief place that they called the Capitol, and they had great battles about it, until they had slain one consul who had been newly appointed; although the masters finally had an inglorious victory; and immediately after, in the following year, the Romans made war against the Volscian nation, and were there sorely beaten; and the portion that was left was driven into a fastness, and had there perished by hunger, if those had not helped them who were at home, by gathering all the males that remained, and taking a poor man for their consul, where he was going in his field, and had his plough in his hand, and then marched to the Volscian land and released them.

After this it was full a year that over all the Roman territory the earth quaked and burst, and every day there came men innumerable times to the senate, and told them of sunken towns and villages; and they themselves were every day in dread when they should be sunk in the earth. After that there came so great a heat throughout Rome that all their earth-fruits, yea, also themselves, nearly perished. After that there was the greatest famine. After that the Romans appointed ten consuls, when before they had had [only] two; to the end that they might take care of their laws. One of them was named Claudius, who would arrogate to himself the supremacy over the others, although they would not concede that to him, but strove against him, until the time when some turned to him, some would not, but, thus divided in two, contended with each other, so that they forgot their external wars that they had on hand, until all the consuls combined together and beat the one, Claudius, with clubs, and afterwards defended their own country.

Familiarly and shortly, says Orosius, I have now spoken of their intestine calamities, although they were almost the greatest and most perilous, which Etna also, that sulphureous

of helle geatе arþþanz on Sicilia þam lanбe. hþýlce zepinn þa pæpon. be þam þe nu ſýnбon. ⁊ Sicilia ſela oþſloh. miб bryne ⁊ miб ſtence. ac ſýббan hit cþiſten peaþб. þ helle ſýþ pæſ ſýббan zeſpeбnaб. ſpa ealle unzetima pæpon. þ hit nu iſ buton ſþýlcum tacnunzum þæſ ýþeleſ þe hit æþ бýбe. þeah hit ælce zeaþe ſý bnaбne ⁊ bnaбne ⁚

VII.

Æftep бam þe Romebuph zetimbnaб pæſ iii. hunб pintna ⁊ an. þte Sicilie unzenaбe pæpon him betpeonan. ⁊ hi healfe apeonnon Læcebemonie him on fultum. ⁊ healfe Athenienſeſ. Lpeca þeoбa. þe æþ ætzæbepe pið Pepſe pinnenбe pæpon. ac ſiббan hi on Sicilium punnon. hi eac ſiббan betpeonum him ſýlfum pinnenбe pæpon. oб þ Dapiuſ. Pepſa cýninz. Læcebemonium on fultume peaþб. pið þam Athenienſeſ. foþ þam zepinnum hiſ ylбpena ⁚ Fæſ þ mycel punбoþ þ eall Pepſa anpealб ⁊ Læcebemonia. þ hi iб mýhton Athene þa buph apeftan. þonne hi þ folc meahton to heopa pillum zenýбan ⁚

Anб ſona æftep þam. þý ylcan zeaþe. Dapiuſ zefoþ. Pepſa cýnz. ⁊ hiſ ii. ſuna ymb þ nice punnon. Aþtecſepſeſ ⁊ Liþuſ. oб heopa ægбep þ mæſte folc onzean oбepne zetеah. ⁊ þa unpibbe mib zefeohtum бneozenбe pæpon. oб Liþuſ oſſlazen peaþб. ſe þæp zinzpa pæſ ⁚ On þam бazum pæſ an buph in Affpica. ſeo pæſ neah þape fæ. oб an fæ-flob com. ⁊ hý apefte. ⁊ þa menn abnencte[1] ⁚

VIII.

Æftep þam þe Romebuph zetimbnaб pæſ iii. hunб pintna ⁊ Lv. þte Romane beſæton Ueiopium þa buph x. pintep. ⁊ him þ ſetl ſþiбop beþoбe ponne þam þe þæpinne pæpon. ægбep ze on cýle ze on hunzpe. buton þam þe mon oft hepzoбe. ægбep ze on hý ſýlfe ze on heopa lanб æt ham. ⁊ hi þa hnæblice beſopan heopa ſeonбum ſoppeopбan ſceolбon. þæp hi бa buph ne abnæcon miб þam cnæfte þe þa ſcanblicoſt pæſ. þeah he

fire, showed (when from the gate of hell it sprang up in the land of Sicily), what calamities those were compared with those that now are: and in Sicily killed many with burning and with stench. But since it became Christian, that hell-fire was mitigated, as well as all calamities were; so that it now is without such manifestations of evil as it caused before; although it every year is broader and broader.

VII.

After Rome had been built three hundred and one years, the Sicilians were at variance among themselves, and half of them drew the Lacedæmonians to their aid, and half the Athenians, Greek people, who had previously warred together against the Persians; but after they had made war in Sicily, they also made war between themselves, until Darius, the Persian king, gave aid to the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, on account of their wars with his forefathers. That was a great wonder that all the Persian and Lacedæmonian power could more easily lay waste the city of Athens than they could force the people to their wills.

And immediately after, in the same year, Darius, the Persian king, died, and his two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus, contended for the kingdom, until each of them had brought a vast number of people against the other, and carried on their enmity by battles until Cyrus was slain, who was the younger. In those days there was a town in Africa that was near the sea, until a sea-flood came and destroyed it, and drowned the inhabitants.

VIII.

After Rome had been built three hundred and fifty-five years, the Romans besieged the city of the Veii for ten years, and the siege was much more detrimental to them than to those that were in it, both through cold and hunger; besides which they (the Veii) often made hostile incursions both on themselves and on their lands at home, and they would speedily have perished before their enemies, if they had not taken the city by that craft which was then most

him eft fe feoriðerta funde. ꝥ fær ꝥ hi fnam heora fic-ftopum undep þæne eorðan bulfon. oð hi binnan þæne býrig up-eobon. ⁊ hi nihtef on fnum-flæpe on befttælan. ⁊ þa burh mið-ealle apeftan: Ðýrne nýttan cnæft. þeah he aplic næne. funde heora tictatop Lamillur hatte: Sona æftep þam peapð Romana zepinn ⁊ þæna Gallia. þe pæpon of Senno þæne býrig. ꝥ fær æpeft forþam þa Gallia, hæfdon befecten Turci þa burh: Ða fendon Romane æpendpacan to Gallium. ⁊ hi bædon ꝥ hi frið hi hæfdon: Ða on þam ylcan dæge. æftep þam þe hi þir zefppecen hæfdon. fuhton Gallie on þa burh. þa zefapon hi Romana æpendpacan on hi feohtende mið þam burhpapum. hi fop þam hi zebulzon. ⁊ þa burh forlecton. ⁊ mið eallum heora fultume Romane fohton. ⁊ him Fauiuf fe confful mið zefeohte onzean com. ⁊ eac naðe zeflýmed peapð eft in to Romebýrig. ⁊ him Gallie pæpon æftep-fýligende oð hi ealle þæp binnan pæpon. zelice ⁊ mon mæde mape hý pæpon þa burh hepzende ⁊ fleande. buton ælcepe pape: Ðæt tacen nu zýt cuð if. on þæne ea noman. þæf confulef flezef Fauiuref. ne pene ic. cpæð Oroſiuf. þæt æniz man atellan mæze ealne þone dem þe Romanum æt þam cyppe zedon peapð. þeah hi þa burh ne forbærndon. ſpa hi þa zedýdon. ⁊ þa feapan þe þæp to lafe puldon. zefealdon M. punda zoldef mið heora feoſie. ⁊ hi ꝥ dýdon for ðam fpiðoft. þe hi ðohton ꝥ hi fýðdan heora undeꝥeopaf pæpon. ⁊ fume binnan ꝥ fæften oðfluzon. ꝥ hi Capitolium heton. hi þa eac befæton. oð hi fume hunzpe acpælon fume on hand eodon. ⁊ hi fýðdan oðſum folcum him mið feo zefealdon: Þu ðincð eop nu. cpæð Oroſiuf. þe þæf cniftendomef tiða leahtpiað. fýðdan Gallia ut of ðæne býrig afopan. hu blide tida Romane æftep þam hæfdon. þa ða fnmingaf þe þæp to lafe puldon. ut of þam holan cnupan. þe hý on lutedan. fpa bepopene fpýlce hý of oðerre populde comon. ponne hi berapon. on þa berenzdan burh ⁊ on þa pertan. ꝥ him þa fær fýndriz eze. þæp him æp fær feo mærte pýnn. eac butan þam ýfele nahton hi naþop. ne þæpinne mete. ne þæputte fneond:

Ðæt pæpon þa tida. þe Romane nu æftep fecað. ⁊ cpeðað. ꝥ him Lotan pýnfan tida zebon habbon ponne hi æp hæfdon.

scandalous, but which, on the other hand, was most valuable to them; which was, that from their camp they delved under the earth until they came up within the city, and stole on them by night in their first sleep and totally destroyed the city. This useful craft, although it was not honourable, was devised by their dictator, named Camillus. Immediately after was the war of the Romans and the Gauls, who were from the city of Sena. That was, at first, because the Gauls had besieged the city of the Etruscans. Then the Romans sent messengers to the Gauls, and prayed them that they might have peace with them. When on the same day, after they had said this, the Gauls were fighting against the city, they saw the Roman messengers fighting against them with the inhabitants, at which they were incensed, and, abandoning the city, with all their force sought the Romans, and Fabius the consul met them in battle, and was also speedily driven into the city of Rome, and the Gauls followed him, until they were all within; and like as when a meadow is mown they ravaged the city and slaughtered without any heed. The sign is yet known, in the name of the river, of the defeat of Fabius.' 'I do not imagine, says Orosius, that any man could recount all the misery that was inflicted on the Romans at that time, [even] though they (the Gauls) had not burnt the city as they then did; and the few that remained gave a thousand pounds of gold for their lives; and they did that chiefly because they thought that they afterwards might be their slaves: and some fled away into the fastness that they called the Capitol, where they also besieged them, until some perished from hunger, some delivered themselves up, and they afterwards sold them to other nations for money. What think ye now, says Orosius, [ye] who calumniate the days of Christianity, what joyous times the Romans had after the Gauls had gone from the city, when the poor wretches who were left there crept out of the holes into which they had crouched, weeping as though they had come from another world, when they looked on the burnt city and on the ruin; that was to them dreadful beyond everything, where before had been the greatest joy; moreover, besides that evil, they had neither food within nor a friend without.

Those were the times which the Romans now long after, and say, that the Goths have caused them worse times than

⁊ næron on hý herzienðe. buton þrý ðazaſ. ⁊ Lallie þæron
ær ſýx monað binnan þære býriz herzienðe. ⁊ þa burh
bærnenðe. ⁊ him ꝥ þa-zýt to lýtel ýfel ðuhte. buton hi þæſ
naman bename. ꝥ hi nan folc næron :· Eft þa Lotan þær
læſſan hþile herzeðon. ꝥ hi for þæſ criſtenðomeſ are. ⁊ ðurh
Loðeſ eze. ꝥ hi naþer ne þa burh ne bærnðon ne þæſ þone
þillan næfðon ꝥ hi heora namon hi benamon. ne þara nanne
ýfelian noldan. þe to þam Loðeſ huſe oðfluzon. þeah hi hæðene
þæron. ac ſþiðor miccle þæron þilnienðe ꝥ hi zemonz him
mið ſibbe ſittan moſtan. ⁊ uneaðe mihte ær æniz þam
Lallium oþfleon oððe oðhýðan. ⁊ þa ða Lotan þær lýtle hþile
herzeðon. ne mihte mon buton feaþa ofſlazenra zeaxian :·
Ðær þæſ zeſýne Loðeſ ýrre. þa heora ærenan beamaſ. ⁊
heora anlicneſſa. þa hi ne mihton fram Lalliſcum fýre
forbærnðe þeorðan. ac hi hefenlic fýr æt þam ýlcan cýrre
forbærnðe :· Ne þene ic. cþæð Oroſiuſ. nu ic lanze ſpell
hæbbe to ſeczenne. ꝥ ic hi on ðýſſe bec zeendian mæze. ac ic
oðere onzinnan ſceal :·

BOOK III.

I.

AFTER þam þe Romeburh zetimbrað þæſ iii. hund þintra
⁊ Lvii. on þam ðazum þe Lallie Rome aþeſt hæfðon. þa zeþearð
ſeo mæſte ſibb ⁊ ſeo býſmorlecoſte. betþih Læceðemonium.
Lreca londe. ⁊ Perſum. æfter þam þe Læceðemonie hæfðon
Perſe oft oferþunnen :· Ða zebuðon him Perſe ꝥ hi hæfðon
iii. þinter ſibbe þið hi. ſeþe ꝥ þolðe. ⁊ ſeþe ꝥ nolðe. ꝥ hi
þolðan þa mið zefeohte zeſecan :· Hi þa Læceðemonie luſtlice
þære ſibbe hýrſumeðon. for þam lýtlan eze þe him mon
zebeað :· On þan mon mæz ſþutole oncnaþan hu mýcelne
þillan hi to ðam zeþinne hæfðon. ſþa heora ſcopaſ on heora
leoðum zýððienðe ſyndon. ⁊ on heora leaſpellunzum :· Ne
zeðincð þe ſþýlc zeþinn noht luſtbære. cþæð Oroſiuſ. ne þa
tiða þe ma. ꝥte him hiſ feonð mæze ſþa eaðe hiſ mið þorðum
zeſtýran :· Æfter ðam þe Læceðemonie hæfðon oferþunnen
Athene þa burh. hiora azene leoðe. hý hi þa up-ahofon. ⁊
þinnan onzunnan on ælce healfe heora. ze þið heora azen folc.
ze þið Perſe. ze þið þa læſſan Aſiam. ze þið Athene þa burh.

they had before, and yet they were only three days plundering them, and the Gauls before were six months within the city ravaging and burning, and that seemed to them too little an evil, unless they could deprive them of their name, that they might be no more a nation. Again the Goths plundered and ravaged there for a less period, [and] so that they in honour to Christianity, and through fear of God, neither burnt the city, nor had the desire to deprive them of their name, nor would they do evil to any one of them who fled to the house of God, although they were heathens; but were much more desirous that they might settle among them in peace. And with difficulty could any one before flee or hide himself from the Gauls. And when the Goths had plundered there a little while, no one heard of more than a few slain. There was seen the wrath of God, when their brazen beams and their images, when they could not be burnt by the Gaulish fire, but heavenly fire at the same time burnt them[1]. I do not imagine, says Orosius, now I have long narratives to relate, that I can end them in this book, so I shall begin another.

BOOK III.

I.

THREE hundred and fifty-seven years after the building of Rome, in those days when the Gauls had laid Rome waste, then was the great and most ignominious peace between Lacedæmon, a Greek country, and the Persians, after the Lacedæmonians had often overcome the Persians. Then the Persians enjoined them to have a peace of three years with them, those that would; and those that would not they would seek with war. Thereupon the Lacedæmonians gladly submitted to the peace, on account of the little dread that was inspired into them. By which it may be clearly known how great a will they had for that war, as their poets sing in their songs and in their fables. Let not such a war appear to thee anything agreeable, says Orosius, nor yet those times, when a man's enemy may so easily govern him with words. After the Lacedæmonians had conquered the city of Athens, their own nation, they exalted themselves, and began warring on every side of them, against their own people, and against the Persians, and against the Lesser Asia, and against the city of

þe hi ær aþestan. forðon þa feaþan þe þær ut oðfluzon. hæfdon eft þa burh zebozene. ⁊ hæfdon Thebane. Greca leode. him on fultum asponen :· Læcedemonie þæron sþa up-ahafene. ꝥ æzðer ze hy sýlf þendon. ze ealle þa neah þeoda. ꝥ hi ofer hi ealle mihton anþeald habban. ac him Atheniense mid Thebana fultume þiðstodon. ⁊ hi mid zefeohte cnýsedon :· Æfter þam Læcedemonie zecuron him to latteoþe Ircclidis þæs haten. ⁊ hine sendon on Perse mid fultume. þið hi to zefeohtanne. him þa Perse mid heora tþam ealdormannum onzean comon. oðer hatte Farnabuses. oðer Dissifarnon :· Sona sþa þæra Læcedemonia ladteoþ þiste ꝥ he þið þa tþezen heras feohtan sceolde. him þa ræðlicere zeðuhte ꝥ he þið oðerne frið zename. ꝥ he þone oðerne þe ýð ofercuman mihte. ⁊ he sþa zedýde. ⁊ his ærendracan to þam oðrum onsende. ⁊ him seczan het. ꝥ he zeornor þolde sibbe þið hine þonne zeþinn :· Þe þa se ealdorman zelýfedlice mid sibbe þæra ærenda onfenz. ⁊ Læcedemonia þa hþile zeflýmdon þone oðerne ealdorman :·

Æfter þam Persa cýninz benam þone ealdorman his scire. þe ær þam friðe onfenz æt Læcedemonium. ⁊ hi zesealde anum þreccean. of Athene. Greca býriz. se þæs haten Conon. ⁊ hine sende mid sciphere of Persum to Læcedemonium :· And hi sendon to Egýptum Læcedemonie. ⁊ him fultumes bædon. ⁊ hi him zesealdon an c. þæra mýcclena þrieredrena :· Læcedemonie hæfdon him to ladteoþe ænne þisne man. þeah he healt þære. se þæs haten Azesilaus. ⁊ him to zýlp-þorde hæfdon. ꝥ him leofre þære. ꝥ hi hæfdon healtne cyninz þonne healt rice :· Þi sýððan on ðam sæ tozædere foran. ⁊ þær sþa unzemetlice zefuhton. ꝥ hi neah ealle forþurdan. ꝥ naþær ne mihte on oðrum size zeræcan. þær þearð Læcedemonia anþeald ⁊ heora dom alezen :· Ne þene ic. cþæð Orosius. þæt æniz tþezen latteoþas emnar zefuhton :·

Æfter þam Conon zelædde fýrde eft on Læcedemonie. ⁊ ꝥ land buton þære býriz. on ælcum ðinzum mid-ealle aþeste. ꝥte þa þe ær ute oðra þeoda anþealda zýrndon. him þa zod þuhte. þær hi mihte hý sýlfe æt ham þið þeoþdom-beþeþian :· Pissander hatte sum Læcedemonia latteoþ. he zesohte Conon mid scipum. þa he of Læcedemonium for. ⁊ þæra folca

Athens that they had before laid waste; because the few that had fled from thence, had again inhabited the city, and had drawn the Thebans, a Greek people, to their aid. The Lacedæmonians were so up-lifted, that both they themselves and all the neighbouring people imagined that they might have power over all of them; but the Athenians, with the aid of the Thebans, withstood them and overcame them in battle. After that the Lacedæmonians chose a general named Dercyllidas, and sent him to Persia with a force to fight against that nation. The Persians with their two generals, one named Pharnabazus, the other Tissaphernes, marched against him. As soon as the Lacædemonian general knew that he should have to fight against the two armies, it seemed to him most advisable to make a truce with one, that he might the more easily overcome the other: and he did so, and sent his messengers to the one, and commanded them to say that he would rather have peace with him than war. Thereupon the general credulously received the message with peace, and the Lacedæmonians in the meanwhile put the other general to flight.

Afterwards the Persian king deprived that general of his province, who had previously accepted peace from the Lacedæmonians, and gave it to an exile from Athens, the Greek city, who was named Conon, and sent him with a fleet from Persia to Lacedæmonia. And the Lacedæmonians sent to the Egyptians, praying them for aid, and they gave them a hundred large triremes. The Lacedæmonians had for general a wise man, although he was lame, who was named Agesilaus, and had as a vaunt, that they would rather have a lame king than a lame kingdom. They afterwards came together at sea, and there fought so fiercely that they nearly all perished, so that neither could gain a victory over the other. There was the Lacedæmonian power and glory prostrated. I do not think, says Orosius, that any two leaders fought more equally.

After that Conon led an army in return against Lacedæmonia, and totally laid waste the country, exclusive of the city, on all sides; so that to them who before had coveted power over other nations abroad, it now seemed good if they could defend themselves against thraldom at home. There was a Lacedæmonian general named Pisander, who went in search of Conon with a fleet, when he left Lacedæmonia,

æȝðeꝛ on oðꝛum. mýcel þæl ȝeſloȝan :· Ðæꝛ þuꝛðon Læceðemonie ſþa ſþiðe ſoꝛſlaȝen. ꝥ hi naþoꝛ næfðon ſýððan. ne heoꝛa namon ne heoꝛa anþealð. ac heoꝛa hꝛýꝛe þeaꝛð Athenum to aꝛæꝛneſſe. ꝥ hi þone ealðan teonan ȝeþꝛecan mihton. þe him on æꝛi-ðaȝum ȝemæne þæſ :· And hi ⁊ Thebane hi ȝeȝaðeꝛeðon. ⁊ Læceðemonie mið ȝeſeohte ſohton. ⁊ hi ȝeſlýmðon. ⁊ hi on heoꝛa buꝛh beðꝛiſon. ⁊ ſýððan beſæton :· Ða buꝛhþaꝛe ſendon þa æſteꝛ Aȝeſilauſe. þe mið heoꝛa heꝛe þæſ in Aſiam. ⁊ bæðon ꝥ he tiðlice hamþeaꝛð þæꝛe. ⁊ heoꝛa ȝehulpe. ⁊ he ſþa ȝeðýðe. ⁊ on Athene unȝeaꝛþe becoman. hi ȝeſlýmðon :· Atheniense þæꝛon þa him ſþiðe ondꝛæðende ꝥ Læceðemonie oſeꝛ hi ꝛixian mihton. ſþa hi æꝛ ðýðon. ſoꝛ þam lýtlan ſiȝe. þe hi þa oſeꝛ hi hæfðon :· Þi ſendon þa on Peꝛſe æſteꝛ Lonone. ⁊ hine bæðon ꝥ he him on ſultume þæꝛe. ⁊ he heom þæſ ȝetiðaðe. ⁊ hi mið micclum ſciphene ȝeſohte. ⁊ hi Læceðemonie mæſt ealle aþeſtan. ⁊ hi to ðan ȝeðýðon. ꝥ hý hi ſýlfe leton æȝðeꝛ ȝe ſoꝛ heane ȝe ſoꝛ unþꝛæſte :· Æſteꝛ þam Lonon ȝelende to Athene þæꝛe býꝛiȝ. hiſ ealð cýððe. ⁊ þæꝛ mið micclum ȝeſean þaꝛa buꝛhleoða onſanȝen þæſ. ⁊ he þæꝛ hiſ ſýlfeſ lanȝe ȝemýneȝunȝe ȝeðýðe. mið þan þe he ȝenýððe æȝðeꝛ ȝe Peꝛſe ȝe Læceðemonie. ꝥ hi ȝebetton þa buꝛh. þe hi æꝛ tobꝛæcon. ⁊ eac ꝥ Læceðemonie þæꝛe býꝛiȝ ſýððan ȝehýꝛſume þæꝛon. þeah hi æꝛ lanȝe heoꝛa þiðeꝛþinnan þæꝛon :· Æſteꝛ þeoſan ȝeþinne. ȝeþeaꝛð ꝥte Peꝛſe ȝebuðon ſꝛið eallum Lꝛæca ſolce. næſ na ſoꝛþam þe hi him æniȝꝛa ȝoða uþan. ac ſoꝛðam þe hi þunnon on Eȝýꝛtie. ꝥ hi moſtan ſoꝛ him þý bet þam ȝeþinne ſullȝanȝan :·

Ac Læceðemonie hæfðon þa hþile maꝛan unſtillneſſa þonne hi mæȝeneſ hæfðon. ⁊ þæꝛon ſþiðoꝛ þinnende on Thebane þonne hi ſultumeſ hæfðon. ⁊ hloðum on hi ſtaleðon. oð hi abꝛæcon Aꝛcaðum heoꝛa buꝛh :· Æſteꝛ þam Thebane hi mið ſýꝛðe ȝeſohton. ⁊ him Læceðemonie oðꝛe onȝean bꝛohton :· Ða hi lanȝe ſuhton. þa clýpaðe Læceðe ealðoꝛman to Aꝛcaðium. ⁊ bæðon ꝥ hi þæſ ȝeſeohteſ ȝeſþicon. ꝥ hi moſton ða ðeaðan bebýꝛian. þe heoꝛa ſolceſ oſſlaȝen þæꝛon :· Ðæt iſ mið Lꝛecum þeaþ. ꝥ mið ðam þoꝛðe bið ȝecýðeð. hþæðeꝛ healſ hæfð þone ſiȝe :·

and both of these nations fought, one against the other, with great slaughter. There were the Lacedæmonians so totally defeated that they afterwards had neither their name nor their power; but their fall was the raising up of the Athenians, so that they could avenge the old grudge which in former days had been mutual. And they and the Thebans assembled, and sought the Lacedæmonians with warfare, and put them to flight, and drove them into their city, and then laid siege to it. The inhabitants thereupon sent for Agesilaus, who was with their army in Asia, and requested him to return home speedily and aid them; and he did so, and came on the Athenians unawares and put them to flight. The Athenians then greatly dreaded lest the Lacedæmonians should rule over them as they before had done, in consequence of the little victory they had gained over them. So they sent to Persia after Conon, and besought him to aid them, to which he consented, and sought them with a large fleet, and they laid waste the greater part of Lacedæmonia, and so reduced them, that they regarded themselves both as too base and too powerless. After that Conon landed at the city of Athens, his old country, and was there received with the great joy of the citizens, and he there made a long remembrance of himself, by compelling both the Persians and the Lacedæmonians to repair the city which they before had ruined, and the Lacedæmonians to be thenceforth obedient to the city, although they previously had long been its adversaries. After this war it happened that the Persians offered peace to all the Greek people, not because they would give them any benefits, but because, being at war with the Egyptians, they might the better for themselves terminate the contest.

But the Lacedæmonians meanwhile were more restless than powerful, and made war on the Thebans more vigorously than their force admitted; but stole on them in bodies, until they took their town from the Arcadians. After that the Thebans sought them with an army, and the Lacedæmonians brought another against them. When they long fought together, the Lacedæmonian general called to the Arcadians, and requested that they would cease from fighting, that they might bury the dead that had fallen of their people. It is a custom among the Greeks that with those words it is declared which

Forðan ic polde gereccan. cpæð Oporius. hu Creca gerinn, þe of Lacedemonia þære bypig æresst onstæleð pær. ⁊ mid spell-cpýðum gemeancian. æresst on Athena þa burh. ⁊ sýðdan on Thebane. ⁊ sýðdan on Boetie. ⁊ sýðdan on Macedonie. þisse pæron ealle Creca leode. ⁊ sýðdan on þa læssan Asiam. ⁊ þa on þa manan. ⁊ sýðdan on Persse. ⁊ sýðdan on Egyptie. Ic sceal eac þý latop Romana istopia asecgan. þe ic ongunnen hæfde.

II.

Æftep þam þe Romeburh getimbpad pær iii. hund pintpa ⁊ Lxxvi. pær in Athie eorðbeofung. ⁊ tpa bysig. Ebopa ⁊ Elice. on eorðan befuncon. Ic mæg eac on unum agenum tidum gelic angin þam secgan. þeah hit sýlcne ende næfde. þte Conftantinopolim. Creca burh. on sýlcepe cpacunge pær. ⁊ hyne gepitegad pær of soðfæstum mannum. þ heo sceolde on eorðan befincan. ac heo peapð gescýlð ðurh pone cpistenan casepe. Asiabiuras. ⁊ ðurh þ cpistene folc. þe on þam burgum pær. þ getacnode þ Crist is eadmodegra help ⁊ ofermodigra sýll. Mare ic ðýsest gemýngode þonne ic his midealle asæde. gif his hpa sý lustfull mare to pitanne. sece him þonne sylf. Da on ðam dagum gepeapð. þte Fulsci ⁊ Falisci. þe æs pæron Lxx. pintpa pið Romane pinnende. þ hi hi þa ofepspunnon. ⁊ heopa land ofepheptogodon. ⁊ nade æftep þam. Suttinan þ folc pæron hepgiende on Romane. oð pære burge geata. Dis Romane æftep ðam hpædlice mid gepeohte ⁊ mid hepgunge him sopgulðon. ⁊ hi gesylmdon.

III.

Æftep þam þe Romeburh getimbpad pær iii. hund pintpa ⁊ Lxxxiii. þaða Lauciuf. þe oðre naman pær haten Lenutiuf. ⁊ Quintuf. þe oðre naman pær haten Sepfiliuf. þa hi pæron consulas on Rome. gepeapð se miccla man-cpealm on þam lande. nalæs. spa hit gepuna is. of untidlicum gesýdepum. þ is of pætum sumepum. ⁊ of dpigum pintpum. ⁊ of neðpe

side has the victory. Because it has been my wish to relate, and in narratives describe, says Orosius, how the Greek war, which first proceeded from the city of Lacedæmon [extended itself], first to the city of Athens, and afterwards to Thebes, and then to Bœotia, and then to Macedonia (all these were Greek nations); and then to the Lesser Asia, and then to the Greater, and then to Persia, and then to Egypt, I shall the later recount also the Roman history, which I had begun.

II.

After Rome had been built three hundred and seventy-six years, there was an earthquake in Achaia, and two cities, Ebora and Helice, sank into the earth. I may also in our own times relate a beginning like to that, although it had not such an end: that Constantinople, the Greek city, was in a similar quaking, and it was prophesied of it by veracious men, that it should sink into the earth; but it was shielded through the Christian emperor, Arcadius, and through the Christian people who were in those towns. That manifested that Christ is the help of the humble and the ruin of the proud. More of this I would have commemorated than I have altogether related of it: if any one be desirous to know more, then let him seek it himself. It happened in those days that the Volsci and Falisci, who had previously been warring on the Romans for seventy years, were overcome by them and their lands ravaged; and soon after that the nation of the Sutrini laid waste the Roman [territory] as far as the gates of the city. After which the Romans quickly requited them with war and destruction, and put them to flight.

III.

After Rome had been built three hundred and eighty-three years, when Lucius, who by another name was called Genucius, and Quintus, who by another name was called Servilius, when these were consuls at Rome, happened the great pestilence in the country, not as it is wont, from unseasonable bad weather—*that is*, from wet summers and from dry winters, and from fierce spring heats, and with excessive autumnal

lencten-hætan. ⁊ mid unȝemetlican hærfest-þætan. ⁊ æfter-hæðan. ac an þind com of Calabria þealde. ⁊ se þol mid þam þinde :· Ðes man-cþealm þæs on Romanum fulle ii. ȝeare. ofer ealle men ȝelice. þeah þe sume deade þæron. sume uneaðe ȝedrehte aþeȝ-comon. oð ꝥ heora biscеopas sædon. ꝥ heora ȝodas bædon. ꝥ him man þorhte amfitheatra. ꝥ man mihte þone hæðeniscan pleȝan þærinne don ⁊ heora deofol-ȝyld. ꝥ þæron openlice ealle unclænnessa :· Þer þe maȝon nu. cþæð Orosius. þa ȝeandþyrdan. þe þæs cristendomes þiðerflitan syndon. hu heora ȝodas. þurh heora blotunȝe. ⁊ þurh heora deofolȝyld. þæs man-cþealmes ȝehulpon. buton þæt hy ne onȝeaton mid hþylcum scincræfte ⁊ mid hþylcum lotþrence hit deofla dydon. næs na se soða God. ꝥ hi mid þy yfele þa menn sþencton. to ðon ꝥ hy ȝelyfdon heora offrunȝa. ⁊ heora deofolȝyldum. ⁊ ꝥ hi þanon moston to ðam saþlum becuman. ⁊ ꝥ hi moston taþian mid þære mæston bismrunȝe. ac heora amfitheatra þa þæron unarimede. ⁊ me nu mæniȝ-feald to asecȝanne. forðon ðu. fæder Ȝustinus. hy hæfst on ðinum bocum sþeotole ȝesæd. ⁊ ic ȝehþam þille þærto tæcan. þe hine hys lyst ma to þitanne :·

Æfter þyson. on ðam ylcan ȝeare. tohlad seo eorðe binnan Romebyriȝ. þa sædon heora biscopas eft. ꝥ heora ȝodas bædon. ꝥ him mon sealde anne cucenne mann. þa him þuhte ꝥ hy heora deadra to lyt hæfdon. ⁊ seo eorðe sþa ȝiniende bad. oð þæt Marcus. þe oðre namon hatte Curtius. mid horse ⁊ mid þæpnum. þær on-innan besceat. ⁊ heo siððan toȝædere behlad :·

IV.

Æfter ðam þe Romeburh ȝetimbred þæs iii. hund þintra ⁊ Lxxxviii. ꝥ Callie oferherȝedon Romane land oð iiii. mila to ðære byriȝ. ⁊ þa burh mihton eaðe beȝitan. ȝif hy þær ne ȝeþacodan. forþam Romane þæron sþa forhte ⁊ sþa æmode. ꝥ hy ne þendon ꝥ hy þa burh beþerian mihton :· Ac þæs on morȝen Titus. heora ladteoþ. þe oðran namon þæs haten Quintius. hy mid fyrde ȝesohte. ðær ȝefeaht Manlius anþiȝ. þe oðre namon þæs haten Torcuatus. þið anne Calliscne mann. ⁊ hine offloh. ⁊ Titus Quintius þa oðre sume ȝeflymde. sume

rains and after-heats; but a wind came from the forest of Calabria, and with that wind the plague. This pestilence was full two years in the Roman [territory] over all men alike; though some died, some afflicted with difficulty escaped, until their priests said that their gods commanded amphitheatres to be built for them, that the heathen games might therein be enacted, and their idolatries, that were manifestly all uncleannesses. Here may we now, says Orosius, answer those who are adversaries of Christianity [who assert] how their gods, through their sacrificing and their idolatry, helped them in this pestilence, only that they knew not by what sorcery and by what artifice of devils they did it (it was not the true God), [and] that they afflicted men with that evil, in order that they might trust in their offerings and to their idols, and that they might thence come at their souls, and that they might treat them with the greatest contumely; for their amphitheatres then were innumerable, and too many for me to relate; [and] because thou, Father Augustine, hast manifestly said it in thy books, I will direct every one thereto who desires to know more of the subject.

After this, in the same year, the earth yawned within the city of Rome; whereupon their priests said that their gods commanded a living man to be given them, as it seemed to them they had had too few of their dead. And the earth so continued gaping, until Marcus, who by another name was called Curtius, with horse and weapons cast himself therein, and it afterwards closed together.

IV.

After Rome had been built three hundred and eighty-eight years, the Gauls ravaged the Roman territory to within four miles of the city, and might easily have gained the city, if they had not lost their energy, because the Romans were so timid and so pusillanimous, that they did not suppose they could defend the city. But on the morrow, Titus, their general, who by another name was called Quinctius, sought them with an army, where Manlius fought in single combat, who by another name was called Torquatus, with a Gaulish man, and slew him. And of the others Titus Quinctius put some to flight and some he slew. How many were there slain

ofsloh :· Be þam mon mihte ongitan hwæt þær ofslagen wæs. þa heora fela þusenda gefangen wæs :·

V.

Æfter ðam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs iiii. hund wintra ⁊ ii. ꝥ Lartaina þære burge ærendracan comon to Rome. ⁊ him gebudon ꝥ hý frið him betweonum hæfdon. forþon hý on an land þa winnende wæron. ꝥ wæs. on Benefente :· Mid ðam þe ða ærendracan to Rome comon. þa com eac mid him seo ofermæte heardsælnes. ⁊ monegra þeoda ýrmða. seo longe æfter þam weaxende wæs. swa hit hefones tungel on ðam tidan cýðende wæron. ꝥ hit wæs niht oð midne dæg. ⁊ on sumere tide hit hagolade stanum ofer ealle Romane :· On ðam dagum wæs Alexander geboren on Lrecum. swa swa an mýcel ýst come ofer ealne middaneard. ⁊ Ocus. Persa cýning. þone mon oðrum namon het Artecsersis. æfter ðam þe he Egýptum forhergade. he gefor siððan on Iuðana land. ⁊ heora fela forhergade. siððan on Ircaniam þam lande. he heora swiðe feala gesette wið þone sæ þe mon Laspia hæt. ⁊ hý þær gesettene sint git oð þisne dæg. mid bradum folcum. on ðam tohopan. ꝥ hý sume siðe Lod þanon ado to heora agnum lande :· Siððan Artecsersis abræc Sidonem. Fenitia burh. seo wæs þa welegast on þam dagum :·

Æfter þam Romane angunnon ꝥ Somniticum gewinn ýmbe Lampena land. hý þa lange ⁊ oftræðlice ýmb ꝥ fuhton. on hweorfendum sigum :· Ða getugon Somnite him on fultum Pirrusan. Epira cýning. þone mæstan feond Romanum :· Ðæt gewinn weard hwæþre sume hwile gestilled. forþon Punici wið Romane winnan ongunnon. siððan ꝥ gewinn ongunnen wæs :· Lif æniz mann sý. cwæð Orosius. þe on gewritum findan mæge. ꝥ Ianas duru siððan belocen wurde. butan anum geare. ⁊ ꝥ wæs forðam þe Romane ealne þone gear on manncwealme lægan. ærest on Octavianus dæge. þæs caseres[1] :· ꝥ hus hæfdon Romane to ðam anum tacne geworiht. ꝥ on swýlce healfe swýlce hý þonne winnende beon woldon. swa suð. swa nord. swa est. swa west. þonne undýdon hý þa duru. þe on þa healfe open wæs. ꝥ hý be þam wiston hwider hý sceoldon. ⁊ mid þam þe hý ðara dura hwýlce opene gesawon. þonne tugon hý heora hræzl bufan cneow. ⁊ giredon hý to wige. ⁊ be þam

may be conceived from this [circumstance], that many thousands of them were taken.

V.

After Rome had been built four hundred and two years, messengers came from the city of Carthage to Rome, and proposed that they should have peace between them, because they were warring together in a country, that was, in Beneventum. When the messengers came to Rome, with them also came the overwhelming calamity and miseries of many nations, which went on increasing long after that, as the stars of heaven at that time testified, so that it was night till midday, and at one time it hailed stones over all the Roman [territory]. In those days Alexander was born in Greece, as a great tempest comes over all the earth; and Ochus, king of Persia, who by another name is called Artaxerxes, after he had laid Egypt waste, proceeded to the land of the Jews and destroyed many of them; afterwards in the land of Hyrcania; he settled many of them by the sea called the Caspian, and they are yet settled there to this day in considerable numbers, in the hope that at some time God will conduct them thence to their own land. After that Artaxerxes took Sidon, a city of Phœnicia, which was the wealthiest in those days.

After that the Romans began the Samnite war about the land of Campania. They fought long and often for it with alternate victories. The Samnites then drew to their aid Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, the greatest enemy of the Romans. That war was, nevertheless, for some time suspended, because the Carthaginians had begun to war on the Romans since that (the Samnite) war was begun. If there be any man, says Orosius, who can find in writings that the door of Janus was afterwards closed, except for one year, and that was because the Romans were all that year afflicted with the pestilence, first in the time of the emperor Octavianus. That temple the Romans had built for that one sign: that on whatever side they would be at war, whether south, or north, or east, or west, they then undid the door which was opened on that side, that they might thereby know whither they should [proceed]; and when they saw any one of the doors open, they then drew up their robe above the knee, and prepared

ꝑiſtan ꝥ hẏ ꝑið ſum ſolc ſrið ne hæfdon. ⁊ þonne hẏ ſrið hæfdon. þonne ꝑæꝛon ealle ða duꝛa betẏnede. ⁊ hi leton heoꝛa hꝛæʒl oſdune to ſotum :· Ac þaþa Octavianuſ ſe caſeꝛe to ꝛice ſenʒ. þa ꝑuꝛdon Ianaſ duꝛa betẏnede. ⁊ ꝑeaꝛð ſibb ⁊ ſrið. oſeꝛ ealne middanʒeaꝛd :· Æſteꝛ þam þe Peꝛſe ſrið ʒenamon ꝑið Romanum. ſiððan ʒelicode eallum ſolcum. ꝥ hẏ Romanum undeꝛþeodeð ꝑæꝛe. ⁊ heoꝛa æ to behealdenne. ⁊ ſꝑa ſꝑiðe þone ſrið luſedon. ꝥ him leoſꝛe ꝑæſ. ꝥ hẏ Romaniſce cẏninʒaſ hæfdon. þonne oſ heoꝛa aʒnum cẏnne :· On þam ꝑæſ ſꝑeotole ʒetacnað ꝥ nan eoꝛðlic mann ne mihte ſꝑẏlce luſe ⁊ ſꝑẏlce ſibbe oſeꝛ ealne middanʒeaꝛd ʒedon ſꝑẏlce þa ꝑæſ :· Ac heo ſoꝛ ðam ꝑæſ þe Cꝛiſt on þam daʒum ʒeboꝛen ꝑæſ. þe ſibb iſ heoſonꝑaꝛe ⁊ eoꝛðꝑaꝛe :· Ðæt eac Octavianuſ ſꝑeotole ʒetacnode. þaða Romana him ꝑoldon oſſꝛian. ſꝑa ſꝑa heoꝛa ʒeꝑuna ꝑæſ. ⁊ ſædon. ꝥ ſeo ſibb on hiſ mihte ꝑæꝛe. ac he æʒðeꝛ ſleah. ʒe þa dæd ʒe þa ſæʒene. ⁊ eac ſẏlſ ſæde. ꝥ ſeo dæd hiſ næꝛe. ne eac beon ne mihte. naneſ eoꝛðliceſ manneſ. ꝥ ealꝛe ꝑoꝛulde ſꝑẏlce ſibbe bꝛinʒan mihte. ꝥ tꝑa þeoda æꝛ habban ne mihton. na ꝥ læſſe ꝑæſ. tꝑa ʒemæʒða :·

VI.

Æſteꝛ ðam þe Romebuꝛh ʒetimbꝛeð ꝑæſ iiii. hund ꝑintꝛum ⁊ viii. ʒeꝑeaꝛð ꝥ Romane ⁊ Latine ꝑunnon :· On þam ſoꝛman ʒeſeohte ꝑeaꝛð Romana conſul oſſlaʒen. Manliuſ. þe oðꝛum namon ꝑæſ haten Toꝛcuatuſ. ⁊ heoꝛa oðeꝛ conſul. þe mon Deciuſ het. ⁊ oðꝛum namon Muꝛe. hiſ aʒenne ſunu oſſloh. ſoꝛþon he oſeꝛbꝛæc heoꝛa ʒecꝑidꝛædenne. ꝥ ꝑæſ. ꝥ hy hæfdon ʒecꝑeden. ꝥ hẏ ealle emnlice on Latine tenʒdon :· Ac þæꝛ an ut-aſceat oſ Latina ꝑeꝛode ⁊ anꝑiʒeſ bæd. ⁊ him þæſ conſuleſ ſunu onʒean com. ⁊ hine þæꝛ oſſloh :· Foꝛ þam ʒẏlte noldon Romane bꝛinʒan þam conſule þone tꝛiumphan. þe heoꝛa ʒeꝑuna ꝑæſ. þeh he ſiʒe hæfde[1] :·

On þam æſteꝛan ʒeaꝛe þæſ. Minutia hatte an ꝑiſman. þe on heoꝛa ꝑiſan ſceolde nunne beon. ſeo hæfde ʒehaten heoꝛa ʒẏdenne Dianan. ꝥ heo ꝑolde hẏꝛe liſ on ſæmnanhade alibban. þa ſoꝛlæʒ heo hẏ ſona :· Þẏ þa Romane. ſoꝛ þam ʒẏlte þe heo hẏꝛe ʒehat aleah. ſꝑa cuce hẏ on eoꝛðan bedulſon. ⁊ nu

them for war; by which it was known that with some nation they were not at peace. And when they had peace, then all the doors were closed, and they let their robe down to their feet. But when the emperor Octavianus succeeded to the empire, then were the doors of Janus closed, and there was peace and quiet over all the earth. After the Persians had made peace with the Romans, it pleased all nations to be subject to the Romans and to observe their law; and so greatly did they love that peace, that it was more agreeable to them to have Roman kings than of their own race. By which it was manifestly indicated that no earthly man could cause such love and such peace over all the earth as that was. But it was because Christ was born in those days, who is the peace of the inhabitants of heaven and of earth. That also Octavianus manifestly indicated, when the Romans would sacrifice to him, as was their wont, and said that the peace was through his might; but he disclaimed both the act and the speech, and also said himself, that the deed was not his, nor could it be of any earthly man, that could bring such peace to all the world, what previously two nations could not have, nor, what was less, two families.

VI.

After Rome had been built four hundred and eight years, it befel that the Romans and the Latins made war. In the first battle the Roman consul, Manlius, who by another name was called Torquatus, was slain; and their other consul, named Decius, and by another name, Mus, slew his own son, because he transgressed their agreement, which was, that they had declared they would all equally assail the Latins. But there one of the Latin army rushed forth and demanded a single combat, and the consul's son advanced against him and there slew him. For that crime the Romans would not bring the triumph to the consul, which was their custom, although he had the victory.

In the year after this, a woman named Minucia, who in their manner is said to have been a nun, had promised their goddess Diana that she would pass her life in maidenhood; but she soon committed fornication. The Romans thereupon, for the sin of having belied her vow, buried her alive in the

ȝýt to-dæȝe. þam ȝýlte to tacne. mon hæt ꝥ land manfeld. þæꝛ hý mon býꝛide :·

Raðe afteꝛ þam. on þæꝛa tpeȝꝛa conſula dæȝe. Claudiuſ. þe oðꝛum namon hatte Maꝛcelluſ. ⁊ Ualeꝛianuſ. þe oðꝛum namon hatte Flaccuſ. ða ȝepeaꝛð hit. þeh hit me ſcondlic ſý. cpæð Oꝛoſiuſ. ꝥ ſume Romana pif on ſpýlcum ſcinlace puꝛdon. ⁊ on ſpýlcum podum dꝛeame. ꝥ hý poldon ælcne mann. ȝe pif ȝe pæpned. þæꝛa þe hý mihton. mid attꝛe acpellan. ⁊ on mete oððe on dꝛince to ȝeðicȝanne ȝeſyllan. ⁊ ꝥ lanȝe donde pæꝛon. æꝛ ꝥ folc piſte hpanon ꝥ ýfel come. buton ꝥ hý ſædon ꝥ hit ufane of þæꝛe lýfte come. æꝛ hit þuꝛh ænne þeopne mann ȝeýpped peaꝛð[1] :· Ða pæꝛon ealle þa pif beforan Romana pitan ȝelaðode. þæꝛa pæſ iii. hund ⁊ Lxxx. ⁊ þæꝛ pæꝛon ȝenýdde. ꝥ hý ꝥ ilce þiȝedon ꝥ hý æꝛ oðꝛum ſealdon. ꝥ hy þæꝛ deade pæꝛon beforan eallum þam mannum :·

VII.

Æfteꝛ þam þe Romebuꝛh ȝetimbꝛed pæſ iiii. hund pintꝛa ⁊ xxii. Alexandeꝛ. Epiꝛotaꝛum cýninȝ. þæſ maꝛan Alexandꝛeſ eam. he mid eallum hiſ mæȝene pið Romane pinnan onȝan. ⁊ æt Somnite ȝemæꝛe ⁊ Romana ȝeſæt. ⁊ þa nihſtan landleode on æȝðꝛe healfe him on fultum ȝeteah. oð Somnite him ȝefuhton pið. ⁊ þone cýninȝ offloh :· Nu ic ðiſeſ Alexandꝛeſ heꝛ ȝemýndȝade. cpæð Oꝛoſiuſ. nu ic pille eac þæſ maꝛan Alexandꝛeſ ȝemunende beon. þæſ oðꝛeſ neſan. þeh ic ýmbe Romana ȝepinn on þam ȝeaꝛ ȝeꝛime foꝛð. oð ꝥ [ic] ȝeteled hæbbe :·

Ic ſceal hpæþꝛe eft-ȝependan. ꝥ ic ælcne huȝu dæl ȝeſecȝe Alexandꝛeſ dæda. ⁊ hu Philippuſ. hiſ fæderꝛ. iiii. hund pintꝛum æfteꝛ þam þe Romebuꝛh ȝetimbꝛed pæſ. he fenȝ to Macedonia ꝛice ⁊ Cꝛecum. ⁊ ꝥ hæfde xxv. pintꝛa. ⁊ binnan þæm ȝeaꝛum he ȝeeode ealle þa cýne-ꝛicu þe on Cꝛecum pæꝛon :· An pæſ Athenienſe. oðeꝛ pæſ Thebane. iii. pæſ Theſſali. iiii. Læcedemonie. v. Folcenſeſ. vi. Meſii. vii. Macedonie. ꝥ he æꝛeſt hæfde :· Philippuſ. þa he cniht pæſ. he pæſ Thebanum to ȝiſle ȝeſeald Epaminunde. þam ſtꝛonȝan cýninȝe.

earth; and now to this day, in token of that sin, that land is called the "Campus sceleratus," where she was buried.

Soon after that, in the time of the two consuls, Claudius, who by another name was called Marcellus, and Valerius, who by another name was called Flaccus, it befel, though I feel shame, says Orosius, [to relate it], that some Roman women were in such [a state of] magical delusion and such frantic passion, that they would kill every human being, both female and male, that they could, by poison, and give it them to take either in food or drink. And this they did for a long time, before the people knew whence the evil came, only that they said it came from above, from the air, until it was made known by a slave. Thereupon all those women were summoned before the Roman senators (there were three hundred and eighty of them), and were there forced to consume that which they had before given to others, so that they died before all those men.

VII.

After Rome had been built four hundred and twenty-two years, Alexander, king of the Epirots, the uncle of Alexander the Great, began to war on the Romans with all his power, and posted himself on the boundary of the Samnites and Romans, and drew to his aid the nearest people of the country on either side, until the Samnites fought against them and slew the king. Now I have here made mention of this Alexander, says Orosius, I will also mention the Great Alexander, the other's nephew; although I shall recount concerning the Roman wars in that year, until I have related them.

I shall, however, retrograde, that I may relate every, even small, portion of Alexander's deeds; and how his father, Philip, four hundred years after the building of Rome, succeeded to the realm of Macedonia and the Greeks, and held it for twenty-five years, and in those years he conquered all the states that were in Greece. One was the Athenian, the second was the Theban, the third was the Thessalian, the fourth the Lacedæmonian, the fifth the Phocian, the sixth the Mœsian, the seventh Macedonia, which he had first. When a boy, Philip had been given as a hostage to the Thebans, to Epaminondas, that powerful king and most

⁊ þam ' ȝelæꞃeðeſtan philoſoꝼe. ꝼꞃam hiſ aȝnum bꞃeðeꞃ Alexanðꞃe. þe Læceðemonia ꞃice þa hæꝼðe. ⁊ mið him ȝelæꞃeð þeaꞃð. on þam ðꞃým ȝeaꞃum þa he ðæꞃ þæſ :· Ða þeaꞃð Alexanðeꞃ oꝼſlaȝen. hiſ bꞃoðoꞃ. ꝼꞃom hiſ aȝenꞃe meðeꞃ. þeh heo hýꞃe oðeꞃne ſunu eac æꞃ oꝼſloȝe. ꝼoꞃ hýꞃe ȝeliȝeꞃneſſe. ⁊ heo þæſ Philippuſeſ ſteopmoðoꞃ :· Ða ꝼenȝ Philippuſ to Mæceðonia ꞃice. ⁊ hit ealle hþile on miclan pleo ⁊ on miclan eaꞃꝼeðan hæꝼðe. ꝥ æȝðeꞃ ȝe him[1] monn utane oꝼ oðꞃum lanðe him onþann. ȝe eac ꝥ hiſ aȝen ꝼolc ýmb hiſ aȝen ꝼeoꞃh ſýꞃeðe. þæt him þa æt nihſtan leoꝼꞃe þæſ. ꝥ he ute þunne þonne he æt ham þæꞃe :· Hiſ ꝼoꞃme ȝeꝼeoht þæſ þið Atheniensꞃe. ⁊ hý oꝼeꞃþonn. ⁊ æꝼteꞃ þam þið Illiꞃicoſ. þe þe Pulȝaꞃe hatað. ⁊ heoꞃa mæniȝ þuſenð oꝼſloh. ⁊ heoꞃa mæſtan buꞃh ȝeeoðe. Laꞃiſſan. ⁊ ſiððan on Theſſali he ꝥ ȝeþinn ſþiðoſt ðýðe. ꝼoꞃ ðæꞃe þilnunȝe þe he þolðe hý him on ꝼultum ȝeteon. ꝼoꞃ heoꞃa þiȝcꞃæꝼte. ⁊ ꝼoꞃðon þe hý cuðon on hoꞃſum ealꞃa ꝼolca ꝼeohtan betſt. ⁊ æꞃeſt hý þa. æȝðeꞃ ȝe ꝼoꞃ hiſ eȝe ȝe ꝼoꞃ hiſ olecunȝe. him to ȝecýꞃðon :· Þe þa ȝeȝaðeꞃaðe. mið heoꞃa ꝼultume ⁊ mið hiſ aȝenum. æȝðeꞃ ȝe ꞃiðenðe ȝe ȝanȝenðꞃa. unoꝼeꞃþunnenðlice heꞃe :·

Æꝼteꞃ þam þe Philippuſ hæꝼðe Atheniensꞃe ⁊ Theſſali him unðeꞃþioðeð. he beȝeat Aꞃuheſ ðohtoꞃ him to þiꝼe. Maloſolum cýninȝeſ. Olimphiaðe heo þæſ hatenu :· Aꞃuheſ þenðe ꝥ he hiſ ꞃice ȝemiclian ſceolðe. þa he hiſ ðohtoꞃ Philippuſe ſealðe. ac he hine on þæꞃe þununȝe ȝebanð. ⁊ him on ȝenam ꝥ he ſylꝼ hæꝼðe. ⁊ hine ſiððan ꝼoꞃſenðe. oð he hiſ liꝼ ꝼoꞃlet :· Æꝼteꞃ þam Philippuſ ꝼeaht on Othone þa buꞃh. on Thebana ꞃice. ⁊ him þæꞃ þeaꞃð ꝥ oðeꞃ eaȝe mið anꞃe ꝼlan utaſcoten :· Þe þeh-hþæðꞃe þa buꞃh ȝeþann. ⁊ eall ꝥ mancýnn acþealðe. ꝥ he þæꞃinne ȝemette. ⁊ æꝼteꞃ þam mið hiſ ſeaꞃþum he ȝeeoðe eall Eꞃeca ꝼolc. ꝼoꞃþon heoꞃa ȝeþuna þæſ. ꝥ hi þolðon oꝼ ælceꞃe býꞃiȝ him ſýlꝼ anþealð habban. ⁊ nan oðeꞃ unðeꞃþýðeð beon. ac þæꞃon him ſþa betþeonum þinnenðe :· Ða bæðon hý Philippuſ æꝼt oꝼ anꞃe býꞃiȝ þonne oꝼ oðeꞃꞃe. ꝥ he him on ꝼultume þæꞃe þið ða þe him onþunnon :· Þonne he þa oꝼeꞃſþiðeð hæꝼðe. þe he þonne onþinnenðe þæſ. mið þam ·ꝼolce þe hine æꞃ ꝼultumeſ bæð. þonne ðýðe he him æȝðeꞃ to anþealðan. ſþa he belýteȝaðe ealle Eꞃece on hiſ

learned philosopher, by his own brother, Alexander, who then had the realm of Lacedæmonia, and was taught by him (Epaminondas) during the three years that he was there. Then was Alexander, his brother, slain by his own mother, although she had before slain also her other son, for the sake of her adultery, and she was Philip's stepmother. Philip then succeeded to the kingdom of Macedon, and held it all the while in great peril and with great difficulty; for both from without, from other countries, war was made on him, and his own people also plotted against his life, so that at last it was preferable to him to make war abroad than to be at home. His first war was with the Athenians, and them he overcame; and after that with the Illyrians, whom we call Bulgarians, and of them he slew many thousands, and took Larissa, their largest city, and afterwards carried on the war principally against the Thessalians, in consequence of his desire to draw them to his aid, on account of their military skill, and because they of all people could fight the best on horses; and at the first, either through dread of him, or through his flattery, they turned to him. He then, with their force and with his own, gathered an invincible army of both horse and foot.

After Philip had reduced the Athenians and Thessalians under his subjection, he obtained the daughter of Arucha, king of the Molossians, to wife, whose name was Olympias. Arucha thought that he should increase his kingdom when he gave his daughter to Philip; but he confined him to his dwelling, and took from him what he already had, and afterwards banished him, until he ended his life. After that, Philip fought against the city of Methone, in the Theban realm, and there was one of his eyes shot out with an arrow. He, nevertheless, won the city, and slew all the people that he found in it. And afterwards, by his artifices, he conquered all the Greek nations, because it was their usage, that they would of every city have the power to themselves, and no one be subject to another, but were thus warring among themselves. They then besought Philip, first, from one city, then from another, that he would aid them against those who were warring against them. Then, when he had overpowered those with whom he was then at war, with [the aid of] the people who had before sought his help, he reduced them both to his subjection. Thus he deluded

ȝeƿealð :· Ða Lȝece ꝥ þa unðeȝȝeatan. ⁊ eac him ȝƿiðe oƒðincenðum. ꝥ hý an cýninȝ. ȝƿa ýðelice buton ælcon ȝeƿinne. on hiȝ ȝeƿealð beþȝýðian ȝceolðe. ȝelice ⁊ hi him þeoƿienðe ƿæȝon. he hý eac oƒ[1] oðȝum ƒolcum oƒtȝræðlice on þeoƿot ȝealðe. þe æȝ nan ƒolc ne mihte mið ȝeƒeohte ȝeƿinnan. hý þa ealle ƿið hine ȝeƿinn up-ahoƒon. ⁊ he hine ȝeeaðmeððe to þam ƒolce. þe he him þæȝ heaȝðoȝt anðȝeð. ꝥ ƿæȝon Theȝȝali. ⁊ on hý ȝelec ꝥ hý mið him on Athene ƿunnon :· Ða hý to þam ȝemæȝe comon mið heoȝa ƒýȝðe. þa hæƒðon hý heoȝa cluȝan belocene :· Ða Philippuȝ þæȝ-binnan ne mihte. ꝥ he hiȝ teonan ȝeƿȝæce. he þa ƿenðe on þa ane þe him þa ȝetȝýƿe ƿæȝon. ⁊ heoȝa buȝh ȝeƒoȝ. ⁊ ꝥ ƒolc mið-ealle ƒoȝðýðe. ⁊ heoȝa heȝȝaȝ toƿeaȝp. ȝƿa he ealle ðýðe. þé he ahƿeȝ ȝemette. ȝe eac hiȝ aȝene. oð ꝥ him þa biȝceopaȝ ȝæðon. ꝥ ealle ȝoðaȝ him ýȝȝe ƿæȝon. ⁊ ƿiðƿinnenðe. ⁊ þeah hý him ealle ýȝȝe ƿæȝe on þam xxv. ƿintȝum. þe he ƿinnenðe ƿæȝ ⁊ ƒeohtenðe. he na oƒeȝƿunnen ne ƿeaȝð :· Æƒteȝ þam he ȝeƒoȝ on Lappaðociam ꝥ lanð. ⁊ þæȝ ealle þa cýninȝaȝ mið hiȝ ȝƿice oƒȝloh. ⁊ ȝýððan ealle Lappaðociam him ȝehýȝȝumeðon. ⁊ hine ȝiððan ƿenðe on hiȝ ðȝý ȝebȝoðȝa. ⁊ ænne oƒȝloh. ⁊ þa tƿeȝen oðƒluȝon on Olinthum þa buȝh. ȝeo ƿæȝ ƒæȝtaȝt ⁊ ƿeleȝaȝt Mæceðonia ȝiceȝ. ⁊ him Philippuȝ æƒteȝ ƒoȝ. ⁊ þa buȝh abȝæc. ⁊ þa bȝoþoȝ oƒȝloh. ⁊ eall þæt þæȝinne ƿæȝ. þa þȝý ȝebȝoðȝa næȝon na Philippuȝe ȝemeðȝeð. ac ƿæȝon ȝeƒæðȝeð :·

On þam ðaȝum. on Thȝacia þam lanðe. ƿæȝon tƿeȝen cýninȝaȝ ymb ꝥ ȝice ƿinnenðe. þa ƿæȝon ȝebȝoðȝa. þa ȝenðon hý to Philippuȝe. ⁊ bæðon ꝥ he hý ýmbe ꝥ ȝice ȝeȝemðe. ⁊ on þæȝe ȝeƿitneȝȝe ƿæȝe ꝥ hit emne ȝeðæleð ƿæȝe :· Þe þa Philippuȝ to heoȝa ȝemote com mið miceleȝe ƒýȝðe. ⁊ þa cýninȝaȝ beȝen oƒȝloh. ⁊ ealle þa ƿitan. ⁊ ƒenȝ him to ðam ȝicum bam :· Æƒteȝ þam Athenienȝe bæðon Philippuȝ. ꝥ he heoȝa laðteoƿ ƿæȝe ƿið Focenȝeȝ þam ƒolce. þeh hý æȝ heoȝa cluȝan him onȝean beluce. ⁊ ꝥ he oðeȝ þæȝa ðýðe. oððe hý ȝeȝemðe oððe him ȝeƒultumaðe. ꝥ hý hý oƒeȝƿinnan mihtan. he him þa ȝehet. ꝥ he him ȝeƒultumian ƿolðe. ꝥ hý hý oƒeȝ-

all Greece into his power. When the Greeks became sensible of that, and also being sorely mortified that a king, so easily, without any war, should reduce them under his power, as though they were his slaves (he also often sold them in thraldom to other nations, whom before no nation could overcome in war); they thereupon all raised war against him, and he humbled himself to that people whom he most sorely dreaded, namely, the Thessalians, and by his flattery induced them to make war with him on the Athenians. When they came to the boundary with their army, they [the Athenians] had shut up all the passes. When Philip could not enter, that he might avenge his mishap, he turned against those who alone had been true to him and took their city, and slew all the people and overthrew their temples, as he did all that he found in any place, yea, even his own, until the priests said to him that all the gods were wroth with him, and warring against him; and although they all were wroth with him for the five-and-twenty years that he was engaged in war and fighting, he was not overcome. He afterwards proceeded to the land of Cappadocia, and there, by his treachery, slew all the kings, and afterwards all Cappadocia submitted to him; and he afterwards turned against his three brothers and slew one [of them], and the two fled to the town of Olynthus, which was the strongest and wealthiest of the realm of Macedon; and Philip followed them and captured the town, and slew his brothers and all that were in it. The three brothers were not [related] to Philip by the mother, but by the father.

In those days, in the country of Thrace, there were two kings contending for the kingdom; they were brothers. They then sent to Philip, and prayed that he would reconcile them with regard to the kingdom, and be witness that it was equally divided. Philip thereupon came to their assembly with a large army, and slew both the kings and all their councillors, and succeeded to both the kingdoms. After that the Athenians prayed Philip to be their leader against the Phocians, although they had previously closed their passes against him; and that he would do either the one or the other, either reconcile them, or aid them that they might overcome them [the Phocians]. He thereupon promised them that he would aid them, so that they should conquer

ꝼunnon :· Ꞓac æt þam ılcan cıꝛꝛe. bæðan Focenſe hıſ ꝼultumeſ ꝼıð Athene. he hım þa ȝehet þæt he hẏ ȝeſeman ꝼolðe :· Sıððan he þa cluſan on hıſ ȝeꝼealðe hæꝼðe. þa ðẏðe he hım eac þa ꝛıcu to ȝeꝼealðan. ⁊ hıſ heꝛe ȝeonð þa bẏꝛıȝ toðælðe. ⁊ he bebeað. ꝥ hẏ ꝥ lanð heꝛȝıenðe ꝼæꝛon. oð ꝥ hẏ hıt aꝼeſton. ꝥ þam ꝼolce ꝼæſ æȝþeꝛ ꝼa. ȝe ꝥ hẏ ꝥ mæſte ẏꝼel ꝼoꝛbeꝛan ſceolðon. ȝe eac ꝥ hẏ hıſ ſcıꝛan ne ðoꝛſtan. ac he ealle þa ꝛıcoſtan ꝼoꝛſlean het. ⁊ þa oðꝛe ſume on ꝼꝛæcſıð ꝼoꝛſenðe. ſume on oðꝛa meaꝛca ȝeſette :· Sꝼa he Philippuſ þa mıclan ꝛıcu ȝenıðeꝛaðe. þeh þe æꝛ anꝛa ȝehꝼẏlc ꝼenðe ꝥ hıt oꝼeꝛ monıȝe oðꝛe anꝼealð habban mıhte. þæt hẏ þa æt nıhſtan. hẏ ſẏlꝼe to nohte bemætan :·

Philippuſe ȝeþuhte æꝼteꝛ þam. ꝥ he on lanðe ne mıhte þam ꝼolce mıð ȝıꝼum ȝecꝼeman. þe hım on ſımbel ꝼæꝛon mıðꝼınnenðe. ac he ſcıpa ȝeȝaðeꝛaðe. ⁊ ꝼıcınȝaſ ꝼuꝛðon. ⁊ ſona æt anum cẏꝛꝛe an c. ⁊ eahtatıȝ ceap-ſcıpa ȝeꝼenȝon :· Ða ceaſ he hım ane buꝛh ꝼıð þa ſæ. Bızantıum ꝼæſ haten. to þon. ꝥ hım ȝelıcoðe. ꝥ hẏ þæꝛ mıhton betſt bınnan ꝼꝛıð habban. ⁊ eac ꝥ hẏ þæꝛ ȝehenðaſte ꝼæꝛon ȝehꝼẏlc lanð þanon to ꝼınnanne. ac hım þa buꝛh-leoðe þæſ ꝼıðcꝼæðon. Philippuſ mıð hıſ ꝼultume hẏ beſæt ⁊ hım onꝼann :· Seo ılce Bızantıum ꝼæſ æꝛeſt ȝetımbꝛeð ꝼꝛam Pauſanıa. Læceðemonıa laðteoꝼe. ⁊ æꝼteꝛ þam ꝼꝛam Conſtantıno. ðam cꝛıſtenan caſeꝛe. ȝeıeceð. ⁊ be hıſ namon heo ꝼæſ ȝehatenu Conſtantınopolım. ⁊ ıſ nu ꝥ heahſte cẏne-ſetl. ⁊ heaꝼoð ealleſ eaſtꝛıceſ :· Æꝼteꝛ ðam þe Philippuſ lanȝe þa buꝛh beſeten hæꝼðe. þa oꝼþuhte hım ꝥ he ꝥ ꝼeoh to ſellenne næꝼðe hıſ heꝛe. ſꝼa hẏ ȝeꝼuna ꝼæꝛon. he þa hıſ heꝛe on tꝼa toðælðe. ſum ẏmb þa buꝛh ſæt. ⁊ he mıð ſumum hloðum ꝼoꝛ ⁊ maneȝa bẏꝛıȝ beꝛeaꝼoðe. on Cheꝛanıſce. Cꝛeca ꝼolce. ⁊ ſıððan ꝼoꝛ on Scıððıe. mıð Alexanðꝛe hıſ ſunu. þæꝛ Atheaſ ſe cẏnınȝ ꝛıce hæꝼðe. þe æꝛ hıſ ȝeþoꝼta ꝼæſ ꝼıð Iſðꝛıana ȝeꝼınne. ⁊ þa on ꝥ lanð ꝼaꝛan ꝼolðe. ac hẏ þa lanð-leoðe ꝼıð ꝥ ȝeꝼaꝛneðon. ⁊ hım mıð ꝼẏꝛðe onȝean ꝼoꝛan :· Ða þæt þa Philippuſ ȝeahꝼoðe. þa ſenðe he æꝼteꝛ maꝛan ꝼultume to þam þe ða buꝛh ẏmbſeten hæꝼðon. ⁊ mıð eallum mæȝene on hẏ ꝼoꝛ :· Ðeh þe

them. At the same time the Phocians also prayed him to aid them against the Athenians. He then promised that he would settle their difference. After he had the passes in his power, he also reduced those countries to subjection, and dispersed his army among all the towns, and commanded that they should harry the land until they had laid it waste. That was a calamity to the people, both that they had to bear that greatest of evils, and also that they could not free themselves from it; for he had commanded all the most powerful to be slain, and of the others sent some into exile, [and] placed some in other confines. Thus did Philip humble those large realms, although each of them before had imagined that it could have power over many others; so that at last they esteemed themselves as nought.

It seemed to Philip after that, that on land he could not conciliate the people with gifts who had been constantly fighting [in alliance] with him, but he collected ships, and they became pirates, and soon, at one time, they captured a hundred and eighty merchant-ships. He then chose him a city on the sea called Byzantium, in order (what seemed desirable to him) that they might therein best have peace, and also that they there might be the nearest at hand to make war from thence on any country. But the inhabitants of the town refused him this, [and] Philip, with his forces, besieged them and made war on them. This same Byzantium was first built by Pausanius, the Lacedæmonian general, and after that enlarged by Constantine, the Christian emperor, and from his name it was called Constantinople, and is now the highest royal seat and head of all the eastern empire. After that Philip had long laid siege to the town, it pained him sorely that he had not money to give to his army, as they had been accustomed to receive. Thereupon he divided his army in two, stationed some about the town, and he with some bodies went and plundered many towns of the Chersonesus, Grecian people, and afterwards marched to Scythia, with his son Alexander (where King Atheas ruled the realm, who had previously been his associate in the Istrian war), and would enter that country; but the people of the country forbade him that, and marched with an army against him. When Philip was apprized of this he sent for a larger force to those who were besieging the town (Byzantium), and

Sciððie hæfde maran manna mænige. ⁊ hý selfe hwætran wæron. Þý þeah Philippus besireðe mið his lottwrencum. mið þam þe he his heres þriddan dæl gehýdde. ⁊ himself mið wæs. ⁊ þam twam dælum bebeað. swa hý feohtan ongunnon. ꝥ hý wið his fluzon. ꝥ he siððan mið þam ðriddan dæle hý beswican mihte. þonne hý tofarene wæron:. Ðær wearð Sciððia xx. M̄. oslagen ⁊ gefangen. wifmanna ⁊ wæpmanna. ⁊ þær wæs xx. M̄. horsa gefangen. þeh hý þær nan licgende feoh ne metton. swa hy ær gewuna wæron. þonne hý wæl-stowe gewealð ahton:. On ðam gefeohte wæs ærest anfunden Sciððia wannsweða:. Eft þa Philippus wæs þanon cýrrende. þa of-for hýne oðere Sciððie mið lýtelre fýrde. Tribaballe wæron hatene. Philippus him dýde heora wig unweorð. oð hýne an cwene sceat þurh ꝥ ðeoh. ꝥ ꝥ hors wæs deað. þe he on ufan sæt:. Ða his here gesеah ꝥ he mið þý horse afeol. hý þa ealle fluzon. ⁊ eall ꝥ here-feoh forleton. þe hý ær gefangen hæfdon:. Wæs ꝥ micel wundor. ꝥ swa micel here for þæs cýninges fýlle fleah. þe na ær þam fleon nolde. þe his monn fela þusenda offloge:. Philippus mið his lottwrence. þa hwile þe he wunð wæs. alýfde eallum Crecum. ꝥ heora anwealdas moston standan him betweonum. swa[1] ær on ealddagum dýdon:. Ac sona swa he gelacnod wæs. swa hergade he on Athene:. Ða sendon hý to Læcedemonium. ⁊ bædon ꝥ hý gefrýnd wurdon. þeh hý ær longe gefýnd wæron. ⁊ bædon ꝥ hý ealle gemænelice cunnodon. mihtan hý hýra gemænan feond him fram adon:. Þý þa sume him getiðedon. ⁊ gegaderodon maran mann-fultum þonne Philippus hæfde. sume for eze ne dorstan:. Philippuse geþuhte þa ꝥ he lenz mið folc-gefeohtum wið hý ne mihte. ac oftræðlice he wæs mið hloðum on hý hergende. ⁊ onbutan sýrwende. oð hý eft totwæmde wæron. ⁊ þa on ungearewe on Athene mið fýrde gefor:. Æt þam cýrre wurdon Atheniense swa wælhreowlice forslagen ⁊ forhýned. ꝥ hý siððan nanes anwealdes hý ne bemætan. ne nanes freodomes:.

Æfter þam Philippus gelædde fýrde on Læcedemonie ⁊ on Thebane. ⁊ hý micclum tintregade ⁊ bismerade. oð hý ealle

with all his power marched against them. Although the Scythians had a greater multitude of men, and were themselves more vigorous; yet Philip deceived them with his artifices, by hiding himself with a third part of his army, with which he himself was, and commanded the two parts, that, when they began to fight, they should flee towards him, that he then, with the third part, might ensnare them, when they were dispersed. There were twenty thousand Scythians slain and captured, females and males, and there were twenty thousand horses taken; though they there found no treasure, as they had previously been accustomed to do, when they kept possession of the field of battle. In that war the poverty of the Scythians first became known. When Philip was on his return, other Scythians met him with a little army; these were called Triballi. Philip regarded their hostility as contemptible, until a woman shot him through the thigh, so that the horse was killed on which he sat. When his army saw that he had fallen together with his horse, they all fled, and left all the booty they had before taken. It was a great wonder that so large an army fled in consequence of the fall of the king, which before that would not flee from those who slew many thousands of them. Philip, with his cunning, during the time he was wounded, allowed all the Greeks to retain their sovereignty among themselves, as they had done before. But as soon as he was cured, he committed ravages on the Athenians. Thereupon they sent to the Lacedæmonians, and besought them that they might be friends, although they had before long been foes, and besought that they might all endeavour in common to drive from them their common enemy. To this some acceded, and collected a larger force than Philip had; some from fear durst not. To Philip it then seemed that he could no longer withstand them in great battles, but he frequently, with detachments, made hostile inroads on them, and laid ambushes around them, until they were again divided, and then unexpectedly marched with his army on Athens. On this occasion the Athenians were so cruelly slaughtered and humbled, that they never afterwards assumed to themselves any power or any freedom.

After that Philip led an army against the Lacedæmonians and the Thebans, and sorely afflicted and misused them, until

pæpon ꝑopbon ⁊ ꝑopḥýneð :· Æꝼꝛep ðam þe Philippuꝛ hæꝼðe ealle Lpecaꝛ on hiꝛ ȝeþealð ȝebon. he ꝛealðe hiꝛ ðohꝛop Alexanðꝛe þam cýninȝe. hiꝛ aȝenum mæȝe. þe he æꝛ Epiꝛa ꝛice ȝeꝛealð hæꝼðe :· Ða on þam ðæȝe pleȝebon hý oꝼ hopꝛum. æȝðep ȝe Philippuꝛ ȝe Alexanðep. þe he him hiꝛ ðohꝛop ꝛýllan polðe. ȝe Alexanðep hiꝛ aȝen ꝛunu. ꝛꝛa heopa þeap æꝛ ꝛꝛýlcum pæꝛ. ⁊ eac mænigȝe oðepe miþ him :· Ða Philippuꝛe ȝebýnebe þ he ꝑop þam pleȝan uꝛ oꝼ þam mann-þepoðe aꝛiað. þa ȝemeꝛꝛe hine ealð ȝeꝼana ꝛum, ⁊ hine opꝛꝛanȝ :· Ic nat. cpæð Oꝛoꝛiuꝛ. ꝑop hꝛi eop Romanum ꝛýnðon þa æꝛꝛnan ȝepinn ꝛꝛa þel ȝelicoð. ⁊ ꝛꝛa luꝛꝛumlice on leoð-cpiðum to ȝehýꝛanne. ⁊ ꝑop hꝛý ȝe þa tiða ꝛꝛelcna bꝛoca ꝛꝛa þel hepigeað. ⁊ nu þeh eop lýꝛleꝛ hꝛæꝛ ꝛꝛelcna ȝebꝛoca on becume. þonne ,mænað ȝe hiꝛ to ðam pýꝛꝛepꝛan tiðum. ⁊ maȝon hý ꝛꝛa hneoplice pepan. ꝛꝛa ȝe maȝon þæꝛa oðꝛa bliðelice hlihhan :· Liꝛ ȝe ꝛꝛýlce þeȝnaꝛ ꝛinꝛ ꝛꝛýlce ȝe penað þ ȝe ꝛien. þonne ꝛceolðon ȝe ꝛꝛa luꝛꝛlice eoppe aȝenu bꝛocu apeꝼnian. þeh hý læꝛꝛan ꝛýn. ꝛꝛa ȝe heopa ꝛinꝛ to ȝehýꝛanne. þonne þuhꝛe eop þaꝛ tiða beteꝛan þonne þa. ꝑopþon eoppe bꝛocu nu læꝛꝛan ꝛinðon. þonne heopa þa pæꝛe. ꝑopþon Philippuꝛ pæꝛ xxv. pintꝛa. Lpeca ꝑolc hýnenðe. æȝðep ȝe heopa býꝛiȝ bæꝛnenðe. ȝe heopa ꝑolc ꝛleanðe. ⁊ ꝛume on ellþeoðe ꝑoꝛꝛenðenðe. ⁊ eopep Romana bꝛocu. þe ȝe þæp ealne ðæȝ ðꝛiꝼað. næꝛ buton ꝑný ðaȝaꝛ :· Philippuꝛep ýꝛel mýhꝛe þeh þa-ȝýt be ꝛumum ðæle ȝemeꝛlic þýncan. æp ꝛe ꝛꝛelȝenð to ꝛice ꝛenȝ Alexanðep. hiꝛ ꝛunu :· Ðeh ic nu hiꝛ ðæða ꝛume hꝛile ȝeꝛupian ꝛcýle. oð ic Romana ȝeꝛecȝe. þe on þam ilcan tiðum ȝebone pæꝛon :·

VIII.

Æꝼꝛep þam þe Romebuꝛh ȝetimbꝛneð pæꝛ iii. hunð pintꝛa ⁊ xxvi. Laubeneꝛ Fuꝛculaꝛ ꝛeo ꝛtop ȝepeapð ꝛꝛiðe mæꝛe. ⁊ ȝiꝛ to-bæȝe iꝛ ꝑop Romana biꝛmeꝛe :· Ðæt ȝepeapð æꝛꝛep þam ȝeꝼeohte. þe Romane ⁊ Somnite hæꝼðon. ꝛꝛa þe æp beꝑopan ꝛæðon. þa þapa Somnite xx. M. opꝛlazen puꝑðon. unðep Fauio þam conꝛule :· Ac Somnite æt oðꝛan ȝeꝼeohte miþ mapan ꝼultume. ⁊ miþ mapan pæpꝛcipe. to Romana ȝemetinȝe

they were all undone and ruined. After Philip had reduced all the Greeks under his power, he gave his daughter to the king Alexander, his own kinsman, to whom he had before given the kingdom of Epirus. On that day when they were playing on horseback, both Philip and Alexander, to whom he would give his daughter, and also Alexander his own son, as was their usage on such [occasions], and also many others with him; when Philip, in the course of the play, had occasion to ride out from the company, he was met by one of his old enemies and mortally wounded. I know not, says Orosius, why by you, Romans, these old wars are so well liked and listened to in poems, and why you so warmly praise times of such miseries; and now, though a very little of such miseries befal you, you bemoan it as the worst of times, and can as bitterly bewail it as you can joyfully laugh over those others. If you are such persons as you imagine you are, then you should as willingly bear your own afflictions (although they are less) as you are [willing] to hear [those] of those [times]; then might these times appear better to you than those, as your afflictions are now less than theirs then were; because Philip was for twenty-five years devastating the Greek nation, either burning their towns or slaying their people, and sending some into exile; and your Roman afflictions, which you are all day adducing, were for three days only. Yet might the evil caused by Philip in some degree be thought moderate, before the drunkard Alexander, his son, succeeded to the kingdom; though I will now for a while be silent as to his deeds, until I relate [those] of the Romans, which were done at the same time.

VIII.

Four hundred and twenty-six years after the building of Rome, the place [called] Caudinæ Furculæ became very famous, and yet to this day is a reproach to the Romans. That befel after the war that the Romans and Samnites had, as we have before said, when twenty thousand of the Samnites were slain [by the former] under the consul Fabius. But in a second war, the Samnites came with a larger force and with more caution than before to meet the Romans, at the

coman. þonne hý ær dýdon. æt þære stowe þe mon het Laudenes Furculas. ⁊ þær Romane swiðost for þam bismere wæron. þe him ꝥ land uncuðre wæs þonne hit Somnitum wære. ⁊ on ungewis on an nýrewett beforan oð hý Somnite uton beforan. ꝥ hý siððan oðer sceoldon. oððe for metelestе heora lif aleton. oððe Somnitum on handa gan :· On þam anwealde wæron Somnite swa bealde. ꝥ se æþelinz þe heora ladteow wæs. Pontius wæs haten. het ahxian þone cýninz his fæder. þe þær æt ham wæs. hwæþer him leofre wære. þe he hý ealle acwealde. þe hý libbende to bismre gerenian hete :· Hý þa se æþelinz to þam bismre getawade. þe þa on þam dagum mæst wæs. ꝥ he hý beréafode heora claða ⁊ heora wæpna. ⁊ vi. hund gisla on his geweald underfenz. on ꝥ gerad. ꝥ hý him siðþan ece þeowas wæron. ⁊ se æðelinz bebead sumum his folce. ꝥ hý gebrohton Romana consulas on heora agnum landum. ⁊ him beforan drifan swa swa niedlingas. ꝥ heora bismer þý mare wære :· Leornor we woldon. cwæð Orosius. eowra Romana bismora beon forsugiende þonne secgende. þær we for eowre agenre gnornunge moste. þe ge wið þam cristendome habbað :· Hwæt ge witan ꝥ ge gýt to-dæge wæron Somnitum þeowe. gif ge him ne lugon eowra wedd ⁊ eowra aðas. þe ge him sealdon. ⁊ ge muncniað nu. forþam þe moneza folc þe ge anweald ofer hæfdon. noldon eow gelæstan ꝥ hý eow beheton. ⁊ nellað ge ðencean. hu lað eow sýlfum wæs to læstanne eowre aðas þam þe ofer eow anweald hæfdon :· Sona þæs. on ðam æfteran geare. forbræcon Romane heora aðas. þe hý Somnitum geseald hæfdon. ⁊ mid Papirio. heora consule. hý mid fýrde gesohton. ⁊ þær deadlicne sige geforan. forþam þe ægðer þæra folca wæs þæs gefeohtes georn. Somnite for ðam anwealde. þe hý on ægðre healfe hæfdon. ⁊ Romane for ðam bismere. þe hý ær æt him geforan. oð Romane gefengon Somnita cýninz. ⁊ heora fæsten abræcon. ⁊ hý to gafol-gýldum gedýdon :· Se ilca Papirius wæs æfter þam gefeohte mid Romanum swýlces domes beled. ꝥ hý hine to þon gecoren hæfdon. ꝥ hý mid gefeohte mihte þam maran Alexandre wiðstandan. gif he eastane of Asiam Italiam gesohte. swa he gecweden hæfde :·

place called Caudinæ Furculæ; and there the Romans suffered disgrace chiefly because that land was more unknown to them than it was to the Samnites, and in their ignorance they marched into a narrow pass, until the Samnites encompassed them without, so that they must then do one or the other, either perish from want of food, or yield themselves to the Samnites. In their power the Samnites were so confident, that the prince, who was their general, named Pontius, caused the king, his father, who was at home, to be asked, whether he preferred that he should slay them all, or order them to be preserved alive as a mockery. The prince then treated them with that contumely which in those days was the greatest. He bereft them of their clothes and their weapons, and received six hundred hostages into his power, on condition that they should afterwards be perpetual slaves to him; and the prince commanded some of his people to conduct the Roman consuls to their own territories, and to drive them before them like thralls, that their ignominy might be the greater. We would rather, says Orosius, be silent than speaking on the disgraces of you, Romans, if we might, notwithstanding your own discontent which you have with Christianity. What! you know that, even at this day, you would be the slaves of the Samnites, if you had not belied your pledges and your oaths that you gave them; and you now murmur because many nations, over whom you had power, would not perform what they had promised you. And will you not call to memory how hateful it was to yourselves to perform your oaths to those who had power over you? Immediately after this, in the following year, the Romans broke their oaths that they had given to the Samnites, and with Papirius, their consul, sought them with an army, and gained a deadly victory (for both of those nations were eager for battle; the Samnites on account of the power that they had on every side, and the Romans because of the disgrace they had undergone from them); till at length the Romans captured the king of the Samnites, and took their fastness and made them tributaries. The same Papirius was, after that war, invested with such authority, that they chose him to withstand in war the Great Alexander, if he from the East, from Asia, should invade Italy, as he had said.

IX.

Æfter ðam þe Romeburh ȝetimbred wæs iiii. hund wintra ⁊ xxvi. fenȝ Alexander to Mæcedonia rice æfter Philippuse his fæder. ⁊ his ærestan þeȝnscipe on þon ȝecýdde. þa he ealle Crecas mid his snýttro on his ȝewealð ȝeniedde. ealle ða þe wið hine ȝewinn up-ahofon :· Ðæt weard ærest from Persum. þa hý sceoldon[1] Demosthanase. þam philosophe. licȝende feoh. wið ðam þe he ȝelærde ealle Crecas ꝥ hý Alexandre wiðsocon :· Athene budon ȝefeoht Alexandre. ac he hý sona forsloh ⁊ ȝeflymde. ꝥ hý sýððan unȝemetlicne eȝe fram him hæfdon. ⁊ Thebana fæften abræc. ⁊ mid-ealle towearp. ꝥ ær wæs ealra Creca heafod-stol. ⁊ siððan eal ꝥ folc on ellðeode him wið feoh ȝesealde. ⁊ ealle þa oðre þeoda þe on Crecum wæron. he to ȝafol-ȝýldum ȝedýde buton Mæcedoniam. þe him eft to ȝecýrdon. ⁊ þanon wæs farende on Illirice ⁊ on Thracii. ⁊ hi ealle to him ȝebiȝde. ⁊ siððan he ȝaderade fýrde wið Perse. ⁊ þa hwile þe he hý ȝaderode. he ofsloh ealle his maȝas þe he ȝeræcean mihte :· On his feðe-here wæron xxxii. M̄. ⁊ þæs ȝehorsedan fifte healf M̄. ⁊ scipa an hund ⁊ eahtatiȝ :· Nat ic. cwæð Orosius. hwæþer mare wundor wæs. þe he. mid swa lýtle fultume. þone mæstan dæl þises middanȝeardes ȝeȝan mihte. þe ꝥ he. mid swa lýtlan werode. swa micel anȝinnan dorste :·

On ðam forman ȝefeohte þe Alexander ȝefeaht wið Darius an Persum. Darius hæfde syx hund M̄. folces. he weard þeh swiðor beswicen for Alexandres searewe þonne for his ȝefeohte :· Ðær wæs unȝemetlic wæl ȝeslaȝen Persa. ⁊ Alexandres næs na ma þonne hund tselftiȝ on ðam rade-here. ⁊ niȝon on þam feðe :· Ða afor Alexander þanon on Friȝam. Asiam land. ⁊ heora burh abræc ⁊ towearp. þe mon hæt Sardis :· Ða sæde him mon ꝥ Darius hæfde eft fýrde ȝeȝaderod on Persum :· Alexander him ꝥ þa ondred. for þære nearewan stowe þe he þa on wæs. ⁊ hræðlice for þam eȝe þanon afor. ofer Taurusan þone beorh. ⁊ unȝelýfedlicne micelne weȝ on ðam

IX:

Four hundred and twenty-six years after the building of Rome, Alexander succeeded to the kingdom of Macedon, after his father, Philip, and manifested his earliest ability by reducing by his policy all the Greeks under his power, all those who had raised up war against him. That arose first from the Persians, when they gave Demosthenes, the philosopher, treasure, in order that he might instruct all the Greeks to oppose Alexander. The Athenians declared war against Alexander, but he forthwith beat and put them to flight, so that from that time they stood in boundless awe of him; and took the fastness of the Thebans, and totally destroyed it, which before had been the capital of all the Greeks; and afterwards sold all the people into foreign countries; and all the other nations that were in Greece he made tributaries, except Macedonia, which again returned to him; and thence he marched against the Illyrians and Thracians, and subjected them all to him; and afterwards he gathered an army against Persia, and, while he was gathering it, he slew all his relations that he could reach. In his foot-army there were thirty-two thousand, and of cavalry four thousand five hundred, and of ships a hundred and eighty. I know not, says Orosius, which was the greater miracle, that he with so small a force could overcome the greatest part of this earth, or that he with so little an army durst undertake so much.

In the first battle that Alexander fought with Darius and the Persians, Darius had six hundred thousand people, yet he was defeated more by Alexander's craft than his fighting. There was an immense slaughter of the Persians, and of Alexander's [force] there were no more than a hundred and twenty of the cavalry and only nine of the infantry [slain]. Alexander then marched thence to Phrygia, a country of Asia, and took and destroyed their town called Sardis. It was then told him that Darius had again gathered an army in Persia. At this Alexander was in dread, on account of the narrow place in which he then was, and [urged] by that fear, speedily marched from thence over Mount Taurus; and

ðæge gefor. oð he com to Thaprum þære býrig. on Cilicium þam lande: · On þam ðæge he gemette ane ea. seo hæfde ungemetlicne cealð pæteр. seo pær Cýðnur haten. þa ongan he hýne baðian þæron spa spatigne. þa sop þam cýle him gespuncan ealle æðra. þ him mon þær lifer ne penðe: · Rade æfteр ðam com Dapiur mið fýlfe to Alexandre. he hæfde m. hund, þusenda feðena. ⁊ an hund M. gehorfeðra: · Alexandeр pær þa him spiðe onðræðende for þære miclan mænige. ⁊ for þære lýtlan þe he fýlf hæfde. þeh þe æр mið þære ilcan Dapiur manan ofercome: · Đæt gefeohт pær gedon mið micelre geornfulnesse of ðam folcum bam. ⁊ þæр pæran þa cýningar begen gefunðoð: · Dæр pær Pensa x. M. offlagen gehorfeðra. ⁊ eahtatig M. feðena. ⁊ eahtatig M. gefangenra. ⁊ þæр pær ungemetlice licgende feoh funden on þam pic-stopum: · Đæр pær Dapiur moðor gefangen. ⁊ hif pif. seo pær hif spеostер. ⁊ hif tра ðohtra: · Đa beað Dapiur healf hif nice Alexandre við þam pirmannum. ac him nolde Alexandeр þær getiðian: · Dapiur þa-gýt þriddan siðe gegaðerade fýlfe of Persum. ⁊ eac of oðrum landum. þone fultum þe him to arpanan mihte. ⁊ við Alexandref for: · Đa hpile þe Dapiur fýlfe gaðerade. þa hpile sende Alexandeр Parmenionem hif laðteor. þ he Dapiur sciphere aflýmde. ⁊ he fýlf for in Sirium. ⁊ hý him-ongean comon. ⁊ hif mið eaðmoðnesstan onfengan. ⁊ he þeah na þe læs heora land ofерhergade. ⁊ þ folc sum þæр sittan let. sume þanon aðræfde. sume on ellþeode him þið seo gefealde. ⁊ Tipur. þa ealdan buph ⁊ þa pelegan. he beræt ⁊ tobræc. ⁊ mið-ealle topeарp. forþon hý him lustlice onon nolðon. ⁊ siððan for on Cilicium. ⁊ þ folc to him genýðde. ⁊ siððan on Rodum þ igland. ⁊ þ folc to him genýðde. ⁊ æftер þam he for on Egýptie. ⁊ hý to him genýðde. ⁊ þæр he het þa buph atimbrian. þe mon siððan be him het Alexandria. ⁊ siððan he for to þam heange þe Egýpti sædon þ he pære Ammoneс heora godes. se pær Iobes sunu. heora oðres godes. to þon þ he polde belaðian hif moðor Nectanabures þær ðrýt. þe mon sæde þ heo hý þið forlæge. ⁊ þ he Alexandreр sæðeр pære: · Đa bebeað Alexandeр þam hæðenan

proceeded an incredibly long way on that day, until he came to the city of Tarsus in the land of Cilicia. On that day he met with a river that had exceedingly cold water, which was called Cydnus, and all sweaty began bathing in it, when, through the cold, all his veins shrank, so that no one supposed him alive. Quickly after that Darius came with an army to Alexander: he had three hundred thousand foot and a hundred thousand horse. Alexander greatly dreaded him, on account of that great multitude, and of the little that he himself had; although he had before with the same Darius overcome a greater. The battle was fought with great obstinacy by both nations, and both kings were there wounded. Of the Persians there were slain ten thousand horse and eighty thousand foot, and eighty thousand captured, and there was an immense treasure found in the camp. The mother of Darius was there taken, and his wife, who was his sister, and his two daughters. Darius then offered half his kingdom to Alexander for the women, but Alexander would not grant him that. Yet a third time Darius gathered an army from the Persians, and also what aid he could draw to him from other countries, and marched against Alexander. While Darius was collecting an army, Alexander sent his general Parmenio to put the fleet of Darius to flight, and he himself marched into Syria, and they came to meet him, and received him with great humility; yet he, nevertheless, ravaged their country, and of the people he let some remain, drove some thence, sold some into foreign countries. And the ancient and rich city of Tyre he besieged and took, and totally destroyed, because they would not voluntarily receive him; and afterwards proceeded to Cilicia, and subdued that people, and afterwards to the island of Rhodes, and reduced that people under his subjection, and after that proceeded against the Egyptians, and reduced them to subjection, and there commanded the city to be built that from him was afterwards called Alexandria; and afterwards he proceeded to the temple which the Egyptians said was [that] of their god Ammon, who was the son of Jove, their other god, for the purpose of exculpating his mother with reference to Nectabanus the sorcerer, with whom it was said she had committed adultery, and that he was the father of Alexander. Thereupon Alexander com-

bisceope. ꝥ he ȝecrupe on þæs Ammones anlicnesse. þe inne on þam hearȝe þæs. ærþam þe he ⁊ ꝥ folc hý þær ȝaðeraðe. ⁊ sæðe hu he him an his ȝeþill beforan þam folce anðþýrðan sceolde. þæs he hýne acsaðe :· Lenoh sþeotolice us ȝeðýðe nu to þitanne Alexanðer hþýlce þa hæðenan ȝoðas sindon to þeorðianne. ꝥ hit sþiðor is of þæra bisceopa ȝehloðe. ⁊ of heora aȝenre ȝeþýrðe. ꝥ ꝥ hý secȝeað. þonne of þæra ȝoða mihte :·

Of þære stoþe for Alexanðer þriddan siðe onȝean Darius. ⁊ hý æt Tharse þære býriȝ hý ȝemetton :· On þam ȝefeohte þæron Perse sþa sþiðe forslaȝen. ꝥ hý heora miclan anþealðes ⁊ langsuman hý sýlfe siððan þið Alexanðer to nahte bemætan :· Ða Darius ȝeseah ꝥ he oferþunnen beon þolde. þa þolde he hine sýlfne on þam ȝefeohte forspillan. ac hine his þeȝnas ofer his þillan fram atuȝon. ꝥ he siþþan þæs fleonde mið þære fýrðe. ⁊ Alexanðer þæs xxxiii. ðaȝa on þære stoþe. ær he þa þic-stoþa ⁊ ꝥ þæl beneafian mihte. ⁊ siððan for an Perse. ⁊ ȝeeoðe Persipolis þa burh. heora cýne-stol. seo is ȝýt þeleȝast ealra burȝa :· Ða sæðe mon Alexanðre. ꝥ Darius hæfde ȝebunden his aȝene maȝas mið ȝýlðenre racentan. Ða for he þið his mið sýx M̄. manna. ⁊ funde hine anne be þeȝe licȝean. mið sþerum tosticoð. healf cucne :· Þe þa Alexanðer him anum ðeaðum lýtle mildheortnesse ȝeðýðe. ꝥ he hine het bebýriȝean on his ýlðrena býriȝ. þe he siððan nanum ende his cýnne ȝeðon nolde. ne his þife. ne his meðer. ne his bearnum. ne ꝥ ealra læst þæs. his ȝinȝran ðohtor. he nolde buton hæftnýðe habban. seo þæs lýtel cild :· Uneaðe mæȝ mon to ȝeleafsuman ȝesecȝan. sþa mænigfeald ýfel sþa on þam ðrim ȝearum ȝeþurðon. on ðrim folc-ȝefeohtum. betþeox tþam cýninȝum. ꝥ þæron fiftýne hund þusend manna. ꝥ binnan þam forþurðon. anð of þam ilcan folcum forþurðon lýtle ær. sþa hit her beforan secȝð. niȝontýne hund þusend manna. butan miclan herȝunȝum. þe binnan þam ðrim ȝearum ȝeþurðon. on moniȝre þeoðe. ꝥ is ꝥ Assirie eall seo þeoð aþest þearð fram Alexanðre. ⁊ moneȝa býriȝ on Asiam. ⁊ Tirus seo mære burh. eall toþeorþenu. ⁊ Lilicia ꝥ land eall aþest. ⁊ Lappaðocia ꝥ land. ⁊ ealle Eȝýptie on þeoþote ȝebroht. ⁊

manded the heathen priest to creep into the image of Ammon, that was within the temple, before he and the people had assembled there, and said how he, according to his will, should answer before the people to what he might ask him. Plainly enough Alexander has now given us to know what the heathen gods are for [objects of] worship, [and] that it is rather from the body of priests and their own utterance that which they say, than from the power of the gods.

From that place Alexander marched for the third time against Darius, and they met each other at the city of Tarsus. In that battle the Persians were so totally defeated, that their great and long power they afterwards esteemed as nothing against Alexander. When Darius saw that he should be overcome, he was desirous of perishing in the battle, but his officers drew him away against his will, so that he afterwards fled with the army; and Alexander was thirty-three days on the place before he could plunder the camp and the dead, and afterwards marched into Persia and took the city of Persepolis, their royal residence, which is still the wealthiest of all cities. Then it was told to Alexander that his own relations had bound Darius with a golden chain. He then marched towards him with six thousand men, and found him alone lying by the way pierced with spears, half dead. Alexander then showed to him alone [when] dead a little compassion, by ordering him to be buried in the tomb of his ancestors, which he would not afterwards show to any part of his kin, not to his wife, nor his mother, nor his children, not to that which was least of all, his younger daughter, [whom] he would have only in captivity, who was a little child. Not easily [even] to the credulous can be related so many evils as in those three years befel, in the three great battles between the two kings. It was fifteen hundred thousand men that perished within that [time]; and of the same nations there perished a little before, as has before been said, nineteen hundred thousand men, not to mention the great ravages which took place within those three years among many a people; that is, in Assyria all the nation was plundered by Alexander, and many cities in Asia, and Tyre, the great city, were destroyed, and all the land of Cilicia laid waste, and the land of Cappadocia, and all Egypt reduced to slavery, and

Roðum þ ıȝlanð mıð-ealle aþeſt. ⁊ monıȝ oðre lanð ýmbe Tauroſ þa muntaſ :·

Na læſ þ an þ heora tþeȝra ȝeþınn þa þære on þam eaſt ende þıſeſ mıddanȝearðeſ. ac on emn þam. Aȝıðıſ Spartana cýnınȝ. ⁊ Antıpater. oðer Creca cýnınȝ. þunnon hım betþeonum. ⁊ Alexander Epırıa cýnınȝ. þæſ mıclan Alexandreſ eam. ſe þılnode þæſ þeſt-dæleſ. ſþa ſe oðer dýde þæſ eaſt-dæleſ. ⁊ fýrde ȝelædde ın Italıam. ⁊ þær hræðlıce ofſlaȝen þearð. ⁊ on þære ılcan tıde. Zoffırıon Ponto cýnınȝ mıð fýrde ȝefor. ⁊ he ⁊ hıſ folc mıð-ealle þær forþearð :· Alexander æfter Darıuſ deaðe. ȝeþann ealle Mardoſ. ⁊ ealle Ircanıan. ⁊ on oðre hþıle þe he þær þınnende þæſ. frefelıce hıne ȝeſohte Mınothea. ſeo Scıððıſce cþen. mıð ðrým hund þıfmanna. to þon þ hý þoldan þıð Alexander ⁊ þıð hıſ mæreſtan cempan bearna ſtrýnan :· Æfter þam þann Alexander þıð Parthum þam folce. ⁊ he hý neah ealle ofſloh ⁊ forðýde. ær he hý ȝeþınnan mıhte. ⁊ æfter þam he ȝeþonn Drancaſ þ folc. ⁊ Euerȝetaſ. ⁊ Paramomenaſ. ⁊ Aſſapıaſ. ⁊ moneȝa oðra ðeoda. þe ȝeſetene ſınt ýmbe þa muntaſ Caucaſuſ. ⁊ þar het ane burh atımbrıan. þe mon ſıððan het Alexandrıa :· Næſ hıſ ſcınlac. ne hıſ herȝunȝ on þa fremedan ane. ac he ȝelıce ſloh ⁊ hýnde þa þe hım on ſıml þæron mıdfarende ⁊ þınnende :· Æreſt he ofſloh Amıntaſ hıſ modrıan ſunu. ⁊ ſıððan hıſ broðor. ⁊ þa Parmenıon hıſ þeȝn. ⁊ þa Filoteſ. ⁊ þa Catuluſan. þa Eurılohuſ. þa Pauſanıaſ ⁊ moneȝe oðre. þe of Mæcedonıam rıcoſte þæron. ⁊ Clıtuſ. ſe þæſ æȝðer ȝe hıſ ðeȝn ȝe ær Phılıppuſeſ hıſ fæder :· Ða hý ſume ſıðe drunche æt heora ſýmble ſæton. þa onȝunnon hý treahtıȝean hþæðer ma mærlıcra dæda ȝefremed hæfde. þe Phılıppuſ þe Alexander. þa ſæde ſe Clıtuſ for ealdre hýlde. þ Phılıppuſ ma hæfde ȝedon þonne he :· Þe þa Alexander ahleop for þære ſæȝene ⁊ ofſloh hıne. to-ecan þam þe he hýnende þæſ æȝðer ȝe hıſ aȝen folc ȝe oðera cýnınȝa. he þæſ ſınþýrſtende manneſ bloðeſ :· Raðe æfter þam he for mıð fýrde on Choraſmoſ ⁊ on Dacoſ ⁊ hım to ȝafol-ȝýldum hý ȝenýdde :· Chalıſten þone fıloſofum he ofſloh. hıſ emnſceolere. þe hý ætȝædere ȝelærede þæron. æt Arıſtoteleſ heora maȝıſtre. ⁊ moneȝa menn mıð hım. forþon hý noldan to hım ȝebıddan. ſþa to heora ȝode :·

the island of Rhodes totally laid waste, and many lands about the mountains of Taurus.

Not only was then the war of those two in the east part of this earth, but coeval with that Agis, the Spartans' king, and Antipater, another Greek king, were at war with each other; and Alexander, the uncle of Alexander the Great, desired the west part as the other did the east part, and led an army into Italy, and was there speedily slain. And at the same time, Zopyrion, king of Pontus, marched with an army, and he and his people there totally perished. After the death of Darius, Alexander won all the Mardi and all Hyrcania; and at another time, when he was there carrying on war, Minothæa, the Scythian queen, with three hundred women, shamelessly sought him, because they wished to conceive children by him and his greatest warriors. After that Alexander made war on the Parthian nation, and slew and destroyed them nearly all before he could overcome them. After that he subdued the nations of the Drangæ, the Euergetæ, and the Parapameni, and the Adaspii, and many other nations that are seated about the mountains of Caucasus, and there commanded a city to be built, that was afterwards called Alexandria. Neither his treachery nor his ravages were exercised only on foreigners, but he slew and injured alike those who were constantly his associates and fellow-warriors. First he slew Amyntas, the son of his maternal aunt, and afterwards his brother, and then Parmenio, his general, and then Philotas, and then Attalus; then Eurylochus, then Pausanias, and many others that were the most powerful of Macedonia; and Clitus, who was both his servant and previously his father, Philip's. When they on one occasion were sitting drunk at their feast, they began to discuss who had performed the greater deeds, whether Philip or Alexander; when Clitus, from old affection, said that Philip had done more than he. Alexander then, on account of that speech, leapt up and slew him; besides that, he was the oppressor both of his own people and those of other kings; he was ever thirsting after human blood. Quickly after that he marched with an army against the Chorasmi and Dahæ, and forced them to be tributaries to him. Callisthenes, the philosopher, his fellow-disciple, he slew (they had been taught together by their master, Aristotle), and many men with him, because they would not worship him as their god.

Æfter þam he for on Indie. to þon ꝥ he his rice gebræddе oð þone east garsecg :· On þam siðe he geeode Nisan. India heafod-burh. ⁊ ealle þa beorgas þe mon Dedolas hæt. ⁊ eall ꝥ rice Lleoffiles þære cpene. ⁊ hý to geligre genýdde. ⁊ for þam hire rice eft-ageaf :· Æfter þam þe Alexander hæfde ealle Indie him to gepýldon gedon. buton anre býrig. seo pæs ungemætan fæste. mid cludum ýmbpeaxen. þa geahsode he ꝥ Ercol se ent. þær pæs to-gefaren on ær-dagum. to þon ꝥ he hý abrecan þohte. ac he hit forþam ne angan þe þær pæs eorðbeofung on þære tide :· Þe þa Alexander hit spiðost forþam ongann þe he polde ꝥ his mærða pæron maran þonne Ercoles. þeh þe he hý mid micle forlore þæs folces begeate :· Æfter þam Alexander hæfde gefeoht pið Porose. þam strengestan Indea cýninge :· On þam gefeohte pæron þa mæstan blod-gýtas on ægðre healfe þæra folca :· On þam gefeohte Poros ⁊ Alexander gefuhton anpig on horsum. þa ofsloh Poros Alexandres hors. þe Bucefal pæs haten. ⁊ hine sýlfne mihte þær. gif him his þegnas to fultume ne comon. ⁊ he hæfde Poros monegum pundum gepundodne. ⁊ hine eac gepýldne dýde. siððan his þegnas him to comon. ⁊ him eft his rice to-forlet for his þegenscipe. þý he spa spiðe pæs feohtende angean hine :· And he Alexander him het siððan tpa býrig atimbrian. oðer pær hatenu be his horse Bucefal. oðer Nicea :· Siððan he for on Adræstas þa leode. ⁊ on Lathenas. ⁊ on Presidas. ⁊ on Langeridas. ⁊ pið hi ealle gefeaht ⁊ oferponn :· Ða he com on India east gemæra. þa com him þær ongean tpa hund þusenda gehorsades folces. ⁊ hý Alexander uneaðe oferponn. ægðer ge for þære sumor-hæte ge eac for ðam oftræðlican gefeohtum :· Siððan æfter þam he polde habban maran pic-stopa. þonne his gepuna ær pære. forþon he him siððan æfter þam gefeohte. spiðor ansæt þonne he ær dýde :· Æfter þam he for ut on garsecg. of ðam muðan þe seo ea pæs hatenu Eginense. on an iglanð. þær Siuos ꝥ folc ⁊ Iersomas on eardodon. ⁊ hý Ercol þær ær gebrohte ⁊ gesette. ⁊ he him þa to gepýldum gedyde :· Æfter þam he for to þam iglande þe mon ꝥ folc Mandras hæt. ⁊ Subagros.

After that he proceeded to India, for the purpose of extending his dominion to the eastern ocean. In that expedition he took Nyssa, the chief city of India, and all the mountains called Dædali, and all the realm of Cleophis, the queen, and compelled her to prostitution, and for that restored to her her kingdom. After Alexander had reduced all India under his power, excepting one town that was exceedingly strong, surrounded by rocks, he was informed that Hercules, the giant, had journeyed thither in days of old, with the design of taking it; but he did not attempt it, because there was an earthquake at that time. He, Alexander, then undertook it, chiefly because he would that his glory should be greater than Hercules's, although he gained it with a great loss of his people. After that Alexander had a battle with Porus, the most valiant king of India. In that battle there was infinite bloodshed of those people on both sides. In that battle Porus and Alexander fought in single combat on horseback, when Porus killed Alexander's horse that was named Bucephalus, and might [have killed] himself, if his attendants had not come to his succour; and he had wounded Porus with many wounds, and also made him prisoner, after his attendants had come to him; and left him his kingdom again, on account of his valour, because he had so stoutly fought against him. And Alexander afterwards commanded him to build two cities, one was called after his horse, Bucephala, the other Nicæa. He afterwards proceeded against the nation of the Adrestæ, and against the Cathæi, and against the Præsidæ, and against the Gangaridæ, and fought against them all and overcame them. When he came to the east confines of India, there came against him two hundred thousand people on horseback, and Alexander with difficulty overcame them, both on account of the summer heat, and of the frequent battles. After that, he would have a larger encampment than he was previously wont to have; because, after that battle, he stayed within it more than he had done previously. After that he marched out to the ocean, from the mouth of the river which was called Acesine, on to an island where the nation of the Sibi and the Gessonæ dwell (and Hercules had before brought them thither and established them), and them he reduced to subjection. After that he proceeded to the island the people of which

⁊ hý him brohtan anȝean ehta hunð M̄.[1] feðena. ⁊ lx. M̄. ȝehorsaðes folces. ⁊ hý lanȝe þæron þ dreoȝende. ær heora aþer mihte on oðrum siȝe ȝeræcan. ær Alexander late unþeorðlicne siȝe ȝeræhte :· Æfter þam he ȝefor to anum fæstene. þa he þær to com þa ne mihton hý nænne mann on þam fæstene utan ȝeseon :· Ða þundrade Alexander hþi hit sþa æmenne þære. ⁊ hræðlice þone þeall self oferclomm. ⁊ he þær þearð fram ðam burhþarum inn-abroden. ⁊ hý his siððan þæron sþa sþiðe ehtende. sþa hit is unȝeliefeðlic to secȝenne. ȝe mið ȝesceotum. ȝe mið stana torfunȝum. ȝe mið eallum heora þiȝcræftum. ⁊ sþa-þeah ealle þa burhþare ne mihton hine ænne ȝenyðan þ he him on hand ȝan þolde :· Ac þa him þ folc sþiðost onðranȝ. þa ȝestop he to anes þealles býȝe. ⁊ hine þær aþerede :· And sþa eall þ folc þearð mið him anum aȝæleð. þ hy þæs þealles nane ȝýman ne dýðan. oð Alexandres þeȝnas to-emnes him þone þeall abræcan ⁊ þærinn comon :· Ðær þearð Alexander ðurhscoten mið anre flan underneoðan þ oðer breost :· Nýte þe nu hþæþer sý sþiðor to þundrianne. þe þ hu he ana þið ealle þa burhþare hine aþerede. þe eft þa him fultum com. hu he þurh þ folc ȝeðranȝ. þ he þone ilcan offloh. þe hine ær ðurhsceat. þe eft þæra ðeȝna onȝin. þa hý untþeoȝendlice þendon þ heora hlaford þære on heora feonda ȝeþealde. oððe cuca oððe deað. þ hý sþa-þeah noldon þæs þeallȝebreces ȝesþican. þ hý heora hlaford ne ȝeþræcon. þeh þe hý hine meðiȝne on cneoþu sittende metten :· Siððan he þa burh hæfde him to ȝeþýldum ȝedon. þa for he to oðre byriȝ. þær Ambira se cýninȝ on þunade. þær forþearð micel Alexandres heres for ȝeættredum ȝescotum. ac Alexandre þearð on ðære ilcan niht on sþefne an þýrt oðýþeð. þa nam he þa on merȝen. ⁊ sealde hý þam ȝeþundedum drincan. ⁊ hý þurdon mið þam ȝehæleð. ⁊ siððan þa burh ȝeþann ⁊ he siððan hþearf hamþearð to Babýlonia. þær þæron ærendracan on anbide of ealre þeorolde. þ þæs fram Spaneum. ⁊ of Affrica. ⁊ of Lallium. ⁊ of ealre Italia :· Sþa eȝefull þæs Alexander. þaþa he þæs on Indeum. on eastefþearðum þisum middaneaȝde. þ þa fram him adredan þa þæron on þestefþearðum :· Eac him comon ærendracan of moneȝum þeoðum. þe nan mann

are called Mandræ and Subagri, and they brought against him eight hundred thousand foot[1] and sixty thousand horse, and they were long contending before either of them could attain the victory over the other, until Alexander at length gained a dishonourable victory. After that he proceeded to a fortress, when he came to which he could from without see no man in the fortress. Thereupon Alexander wondered why it was so deserted, and quickly climbed over the wall himself, and he was there dragged in by the inhabitants, and they then assailed him so violently that it is incredible to relate, both with arrows and casting of stones, as well as with all their warlike devices; and yet all the inhabitants could not compel him, a single man, to surrender to them. But when the people pressed on him most violently, he stept to the angle of a wall and there defended himself. And thus were all the people hindered by him alone, so that none guarded the wall, until Alexander's followers broke down the wall opposite to him and came in. There was Alexander pierced with an arrow underneath one of his breasts. We know not now which is most to be wondered at, how he alone defended himself against all the inhabitants, or, on the other hand, when aid came to him, how he pressed through that people, so that he slew the same who had before shot him; or again, the conduct of his followers, when they knew without a doubt that their lord was in the power of their enemies, either alive or dead, that they, nevertheless, would not cease from breaking down the wall, [and] that they did not avenge their lord, although they found him faint, resting on his knee. After he had reduced the city to subjection he proceeded to another city, in which the king Ambira dwelt, where many of Alexander's army perished by poisoned arrows. But in that same night a plant was shown to Alexander in a dream; this he took in the morning, and gave it to the wounded to drink, and they were thereby healed, and afterwards took the city; and he afterwards returned homewards to Babylon, where ambassadors were awaiting him from all the world, that was, from Spain, and from Africa, and from Gaul, and from all Italy. So terrible was Alexander when he was in India, in the east of this earth, that those dreaded him who were in the west. There came to him also ambassadors from many nations to whom

Alexandres geferscipes ne pende. ꝥ mon his namon piste. ⁊ him friðes to him pilnedon :· Ða-git þa Alexander ham com to Babylonia. þa-git pæs on him se mæsta þurst manneſ blodes :· Ac þaþa his geferan ongeatan ꝥ he þæs gepinnes þa-git gespican nolde. ac he sæde ꝥ he on Affrica faran polde. þa geleornedon his bÿrelas him betpeonum. hu hÿ him mihton ꝥ lif oðþringan. ⁊ him gesealdan attor drincan. þa forlet he his lif :· Eala. çpæð Orosius. on hu micelre dÿsignesse menn nu sindon on þÿson cristendome. spa-þeah þe him lÿtles hpæt uneðe sÿ. hu earfoðlice hÿ hit gemænað :· Oðer þara is. oððe hÿ hit nÿton. oððe hÿ hit pitan nÿllað. an hpelcan brocum þa lifdon þe ær him pæran. nu penað hÿ hu þam pære þe on Alexandres gepalde pæran. þa him þa spa spiðe hine andredan þe on pestepeardum þises middangearder pæran. ꝥ hÿ on spa micle neþinge. ⁊ on spa micel ungepis. æzðer ge on sæs fÿrhto. ge on pestennum pildeora ⁊ pÿrm-cÿnna missenlicra. ge on þeoda gereordum. ꝥ hÿ hine æfter friðe sohton. on eastepeardum þÿsan middangearde :· Ac pe pitan georne. ꝥ hÿ nu ma for ÿrhðe. naþer ne durran. ne spa feor frið gesecean. ne furþon hÿ selfe æt heora cotum perian. þonne hÿ mon æt ham secð. ac ꝥ hÿ þas tida leahtrien :·

X.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred pæs iiii. hund pintra ⁊ L. under þam tpam consulum. þe oðer pæs haten Fauius. ⁊ oðran namon Maximus. ⁊ under þam þe Lpintus pæs haten. ⁊ oðran namon Decius. on heora consulatu. on Italium feoper þa strengestan þeoda hÿ him betpeonum gesspræcan. ꝥ pæran Umbri. ⁊ Drÿsci. ⁊ Somnite. ⁊ Gallie. ꝥ hÿ poldon on Romane pinnan. ⁊ hÿ him ꝥ spiðe ondredan. hu hÿ pið him eallum endemes mihte. ⁊ georne siredon hu hÿ hÿ totpæman mihtan. ⁊ gepealdenne here on Drÿsci ⁊ on Umbre sendon an hergunge. ⁊ ꝥ folc to amÿrranne :· Ða hÿ ꝥ geacsedan. þa pendan hÿ him hampeard. to þon ꝥ hÿ heora land beperedan. ⁊ Romane þa hpile mid heora maran fultume. þe hÿ æt ham

no one of Alexander's associates imagined that his name was known, and desired peace of him. Even after Alexander came home to Babylon, there was in him the greatest thirst after human blood. But when his associates found that he yet would not desist from war, for he said he would march to Africa, his cup-bearers devised among themselves how they might deprive him of life, and gave him poison to drink. He then abandoned his life. Alas! says Orosius, in how great a delusion men now are in this Christendom; although [only] some little thing befal them that is unpleasant, how bitterly they bewail it. It is one of these, they either do not know, or they will not know, in what miseries those lived who were before them. Let them now think how it was with those who were in the power of Alexander, when they who were in the west of this earth so greatly feared him, that they were in such great degradation and such great ignorance, that not only on the dread of the sea, and in the deserts of wild beasts and the various serpent kinds, and in tongues of people, they sought him for peace in the east of this earth! But we know well that they now, more from fear, neither dare either seek peace so far away, nor, indeed, defend themselves in their cots, when any one seeks them at home; but [yet] that they criminate these times.

X.

After Rome had been built four hundred and fifty years, under the two consuls, one of whom was called Fabius, and, by another name, Maximus, and under him who was named Quintus, and, by another name, Decius, in their consulship four of the strongest nations in Italy, the Umbrians, the Etruscans, the Samnites, and the Gauls, agreed among themselves to make war on the Romans; and they greatly dreaded how they might finally withstand them, and diligently planned how they might divide them, and sent a powerful army to harry on the Etruscans, and on the Umbrians, and to ruin that people. When they were apprized of that, they returned homewards, that they might defend their country; and the Romans in the meanwhile with their large force,

hæfbon. foran ongean Somnite. ⁊ ongean Gallie:· Ðæt on þam gefeohte fæt Lintus fe conful ofslagen. ⁊ Fauius fe oðer conful. æftep þæt oðfeh fylle. fige hæfbe:· Ðæt peaft Somnita ⁊ Gallia feopentig M. ofslagen. ⁊ feofon M. Romana. on þam dæle þe Decius on ofslagen fæt:· Ðonne fæde Libius þ Somnita ⁊ Gallia pæne ofep healf hund M. ofslagen fæpa feðena. ⁊ feofon M. gehonfeðna:· Eac ic gehyfde to foðum feczan. cpæð Oroftus. þ hit na næfe on ðam dagum mid Romanum butan gefinne. oððe pið oðfa folc, oððe on him felfum. mid monigfealdum polum ⁊ mann-cpealmum. fpa fpa hit þa pæf:· Ða Fauius fe conful of þam gefeohte hampeaft fop. þa dyde mon þone tfiumphan him befopan. þe heopa gefuna pæf þonne hy figе hæfbon:· Ac fe gefea peaft fpiðe paðe on heopa mode to gebpæfebnefte gecyfneð. þa hy gefapan þa deadan menn fpa ðiclice to eopðan bepan. þe pæf æf æt ham pæpan. fopþon þe pæf pæf fe micla mann-cpealm on ðæfe tide:·

⁊ þæf ymb an geap. Somnite gefuhton pið Romanum. ⁊ hy gefylmdon. ⁊ hy bedpifan into Romebyfig. ⁊ hpæðlice æftep þam Somnite apendan on oðfe pifan. ægðep ge heopa fceopf. ge eall heopa pæpn opep-fylefneðan. to tacne þ hy oðep polðan. oððe ealle libban. oððe ealle licgean:· On þam dagum gecupon Romane Papifius him to confule. ⁊ paðe þæf fyndе gelæddan ongean Somnitum. þeh þe heopa bifceopaf fpam heopa godum fæðon. þ hy þ gefeohte fopbude:· Ac he Papifius þa bifceopaf fop pæpe fegene fpiðe bifmpede. ⁊ þ fæpelð fpa-þeah gefop. ⁊ fpa peopðlicne fige hæfde. fpa he æp unpeopðlice þapa goda bifceopan opephyfde:· Ðæp peaft Somnita tpelf M. ofslagen. ⁊ iii. M. gefangen. ⁊ paðe æftep þam mæplican fige. hy pupdon eft geunnett mid mann-cpealme. ⁊ fe pæf fpa unzemetlic ⁊ fpa langfum. þæt hy þa æt nihftan pitende mid deofol-cpæftum fohton hu hy hit gefttillan mihtan. ⁊ gefetton Efcolapius pone fcinlacan mid þæpe unzemetlican næddpan. þe mon Epiðaupuf het. ⁊ onlicoft dyðon fpylce him næfne æp þam gelic yfel on ne become. ne æftep þam eft ne become:· Ðy æftepfpan geape þæf þe Fauius heopa conful. þe oðfum namon pæf haten Lupius. gefeaht pið Somnitum. ⁊ heanlice hampeaft oðfleah. þa polðan

which they had at home, marched against the Samnites and against the Gauls. There in that war, Quintus, the consul, was slain, and Fabius, the other consul, after the other's fall, gained a victory. Of the Samnites and Gauls forty thousand were there slain; and seven thousand of the Romans, in that part where Decius was slain! Now Livy has said, that of the Samnites and Gauls a hundred and fifty thousand foot were slain, and seven thousand horse. I have also heard say for a truth, says Orosius, that with the Romans in those days it was nothing but war, either against other nations or among themselves, together with manifold plagues and pestilences as then were. When the consul Fabius returned homewards from that war, they brought a triumph to meet him, as was their custom when they had victory. But joy was very quickly turned in their minds to grief, when they saw the dead bodies so thickly borne to earth, that had been previously at home; because the great pestilence was there at that time.

And about a year afterwards the Samnites fought against the Romans and put them to flight, and drove them into Rome, and speedily after that the Samnites changed to another fashion, and covered with silver both their garb and all their weapons, as a token that they would either all live or all fall. In those days the Romans chose Papirius for their consul, and soon after led an army against the Samnites, although their priests told them from their gods that they (the gods) forbade the war. But Papirius scoffed much at the priests for their declaration, and, nevertheless, proceeded on his march, and had as honourable a victory as he before had dishonourably contemned the priests of the gods. Of the Samnites there were twelve thousand slain and four thousand taken. And soon after that glorious victory they were again saddened by pestilence, and it was so violent and so lasting, that they at last wittingly sought by devilish arts how they might stay it; and fetched the image of Æsculapius with the immense adder that is called the *Epidaurian;* and they did like as if a similar evil had never before befallen them, and was afterwards never to befal them again. In the second year after this, Fabius, their consul, who by another name was called Gurges, fought against the Samnites, and ignominiously fled homewards. Thereupon the senate would

þa ſenatuſ hine aþeoꝛpan. ſoꝛþon he ꝥ ſolc on ſleame ȝebꝛohte. þa bæd hiſ ſæðeꝛ. þæſ eac Fauiuſ haten. ꝥ þa ſenatuſ ſoꝛȝeaſon þam ſuna ðone ȝýlt. ⁊ ꝥ he moſte mid ðam ſuna æt oðꝛan cýꝛꝛe þið Somnitum mid heoꝛa ealꝛa ſultume. ⁊ hý him þæſ ȝetiðeðon :· Ða bebeað ſe ſæðeꝛ þam conſule. ꝥ he mid hiſ ſiꝛðe onȝean ſoꝛe. ⁊ he beæſtan ȝebað mid ſumum þam ſultume :· Ða he ȝeſeah ꝥ Pontiuſ Somnita cýninȝ hæſðe þone conſul hiſ ſunu beſiꝛeð. ⁊ mid hiſ ſolce utan beſanȝen. he him þa to ſultume com. ⁊ hine ſþiðe ȝeanmette. ⁊ Pontiuſ Somnita cýninȝ ȝeſenȝon :· Ðæꝛ þeaꝛð Somnita xx. M̄. oſſlaȝen. ⁊ iiii. M̄. ȝeſanȝen mid þam cýninȝe :· Ðæꝛ þeaꝛð Romana ȝeþinn ⁊ Somnita ȝeenðoð. ſoꝛþon þe hý heoꝛa cýninȝ ȝeſenȝon. ꝥ hý æꝛ ðꝛeoȝenðe þæꝛon Lviiii. þintꝛa. Ðæſ on oðꝛum ȝeaꝛe Luꝛiuſ ſe conſul mid Romanum ȝeſeaht þið Sabinan. ⁊ heoꝛa unȝemet oſſloh. ⁊ ſiȝe hæſðe. be ðon mon mihte þitan. þa hi þa conſulaſ hý atellan ne mihtan :·

XI.

Æſteꝛ ðam þe Romebuꝛh ȝetimbꝛeð þæſ iiii. hund þintꝛum ⁊ Lxiii. þaþa Dolabella ⁊ Domitiuſ þæꝛon conſulaſ on Rome. þa Lucani. ⁊ Bꝛuti. ⁊ Somnite. ⁊ Lallie oſ Senno anȝunnon þið Romanum þinnan :· Ða ſenðon Romane æꝛenðꝛacan to Lallium ýmbe ſꝛið. þa oſſloȝon hý þa æꝛenðꝛacan :· Ða ſenðon hý eſt Lecilium heoꝛa þꝛetoꝛium mid ſýꝛðe þæꝛ Lallie ⁊ Bꝛuti ætȝæðeꝛe þæꝛon. ⁊ he þæꝛ þeaꝛð oſſlaȝen. ⁊ ꝥ ſolc mid him. ꝥ þæſ xviii. M̄ :· Sþa oſt Lalli þið Romanum þunnon. ſþa þuꝛðon Romana neh ȝecnýſeðe :· Foꝛþon. ȝe Romane. cþæð Oꝛoſiuſ. þonne ȝe ýmbe ꝥ an ȝeſeoht ealneȝ ceoꝛiað þe eoþ Lotan ȝeðýðon. hþi nellað ȝe ȝeðencan þa moneȝan æꝛꝛan. þe eoþ Lallie oſtꝛæðlice biſmeꝛlice ðuꝛhtuȝon :·

Ic ſceal eac ȝemýnðȝian be ſumum ðæle þæſ þe Alexanðꝛeſ æſteꝛ-ſýlȝenðaſ ðýðon on ðam tiðan. þe ðiſ ȝeþeaꝛð on Rome-

depose him, because he had brought the people to flight; then his father prayed (he was also named Fabius) the senate to forgive his son his crime, and that, with his son, he might a second time march against the Samnites with their whole force: and this they granted him. The father then commanded the consul that he with his army should go against (the enemy), and he would stay behind with some of the force. When he saw that Pontius, the king of the Samnites, had ensnared the consul, his son, and surrounded him with his people, he came to his succour, and greatly encouraged him; and they took Pontius, the king of the Samnites. Of the Samnites twenty thousand were there slain, and four thousand taken, together with the king. There was the war of the Romans and the Samnites ended, because they (the Romans) had taken their king, which they had been carrying on for fifty-nine years. In the second year after this, Curius, the consul, with the Romans, fought against the Sabines, and slew an infinite number of them, and had the victory; which may be known by that, that they, the consuls, could not reckon them (the slain).

XI.

After Rome had been built four hundred and sixty-three years, when Dolabella and Domitius were consuls in Rome, the Lucani, and Brutii, and Samnites, and the Seno-Galli raised war against the Romans. Thereupon the Romans sent ambassadors to Gaul [praying] for peace; and they slew the ambassadors. They then afterwards sent Cæcilius, their prætor, with an army to where the Gauls and the Brutii were together, and he and the people with him were there slain, that was eighteen thousand. As often as the Gauls warred with the Romans, the Romans were nearly crushed. Therefore, ye Romans, says Orosius, when ye are always murmuring about that war which the Goths made on you, why will you not think of the many earlier ones that the Gauls frequently, to your disgrace, have carried on against you?

I shall also record in some measure what the successors of Alexander did in those times, when this took place at Rome,

bỳnig. hu hỳ hỳ rỳlre mið mirrenlican ȝerеohtum ronðỳðon: Dit ir. cpæð he. þam ȝelicoyt. þonne ic hir ȝeþencan rceal. þe ic ritte on anre heahre ðune. ⁊ ȝereo þonne on rmeðum relda rela rỳna bỳrnan. rra oren eall Mæcedonia rice. þ ir oren ealle þa manan Ariam. ⁊ oren Europe þone mærtan ðæl. ⁊ ealle Libiam. þ hit na næt butan here ⁊ ȝerimnum: Ða þe unden Alexandre rỳrmeyt pæran. þæp þæp hỳ æftep him nixeðan hỳ þ mið ȝerimnum apertan. ⁊ þæp þæp hỳ næran. hỳ ȝeðỳðan þone mærtan eȝe. rþỳlce re bitepeyta rmic upp-artiȝe. ⁊ þonne piðe toȝare: Alexanden xii. ȝear þirne miðdanȝeanð unden him þnỳrmðe ⁊ eȝrabe. ⁊ hir æftep-rolȝenar xiiii. ȝear hit riððan totuȝon ⁊ totæpon. þam ȝelicoyt þonne reo leo bninȝð hir hunȝpeȝum hpelpum hpæt to etanne. hỳ þonne ȝecỳþað on þam æte hpylc heora mæyt mæȝ ȝehỳnftnian: Spa þonne ðỳðe Phtolomeur. Alexanðner þeȝna an. þa he toȝæðepe ȝerceop ealle Eȝỳptum ⁊ Arabia. ⁊ Laumeðon. hir oðen þeȝn. re beȝenȝ ealle Arrirpie. ⁊ Thelenur Lilician. ⁊ Filotor Illipicam. ⁊ Atpapatur þa manan Meðiam. ⁊ Stpomen þa lærran Meðiam. ⁊ Pepðice þa lærran Aran. ⁊ Surana þa manan Fnizan. ⁊ Antizonur Liciam ⁊ Pamphiliam. ⁊ Neapchur Lapiam. ⁊ Leonatur þa lærran Fnizian. ⁊ Lirimachur Thpacian. ⁊ Eumener Lappabociam ⁊ Paflazoniam. ⁊ Seleucur hæfðe ealle þa æðelerran menn Alexanðner heper. ⁊ on lenȝðe mið him he beȝeat ealle þa eart land. ⁊ Lafranðen þa cempan mið Lalðeum. ⁊ on Pactrium ⁊ on Inðeum pæpon þa ealðonmenn þe Alexanðen ȝererte. ⁊ þ land betux þam tpam ean. Inðure ⁊ Iðarrene. hæfðe Taxiler. ⁊ Ithona hæfðe caloȝie. þa þeoðe on Inðeum. ⁊ Papapamenar hæfðe Oxiapcher. æt þær beorȝer ende Laucarur. ⁊ Apa ⁊ Apachariheðnor hæfðe Sibur-tur. ⁊ Stonȝor hæfðe Dpanceat ⁊ Apear þa ðeoða. ⁊ Omintar hæfðe Atpianur. ⁊ Sicheur hæfðe Sortianor þ folc. ⁊ Nicanor hæfðe Partchor. ⁊ Philippur Incanor. ⁊ Fnatafepner hæfðe Armenie. ⁊ Theleomomor hæfðe Mæðar. ⁊ Feucertur hæfðe Babỳloniar. ⁊ Pelauror hæfðe Anchor. ⁊ Anchelaur Meropotamiam[1]: Eall heora ȝepinn apæcnedon æpert fram Alexanðner epirtole. forþon þe he þæpon bebeað. þ mon ealle þa pheccan on cyðe lete. þe on þam landum pæpon þe he æp rỳlr ȝehep-

how they ruined themselves with divers wars. It is, says he, when I think of it, most like as if I were sitting on a high mountain, and then see many fires burning in the smooth field; so over all the realm of Macedonia, that is, over all the Greater Asia, and the greatest part of Europe, and all Libya, it was nothing but hate and wars. They who were foremost under Alexander, ravaged with wars there where they reigned after him; and there where they were not, they caused the greatest terror, like as the bitterest smoke ascends and is then widely dispersed. Alexander, for twelve years, oppressed and terrified this world under him; and his successors, for fourteen years after, rent and tore it, most like to when the lion brings his hungry whelps something to eat; then they show in that food which of them can tear it the most. So then did Ptolemæus, one of Alexander's officers, when he united together all Egypt and Arabia, and Laomedon, his other officer, who seized on all Assyria, and Thelenus Cilicia, and Philotas Illyria, and Atropatus the Greater Media, and Stromen the Lesser Media, and Perdiccas the Lesser Asia, and Susana the Greater Phrygia, and Antigonus Lycia and Pamphylia, and Nearchus Caria, and Leonnatus the Lesser Phrygia, and Lysimachus Thrace, and Eumenes Cappadocia and Paphlagonia; and Seleucus had all the noblest men of Alexander's army, and at length with them he acquired all the east lands, and Cassander the common soldiers, together with the Chaldeans. And in Bactria and in India were those prefects whom Alexander had appointed; and Taxiles had the land between the two rivers, the Indus and the Hydaspes, and Pithon had the colonies, nations in India, and Oxyartes had the Paraparmeni at the end of Mount Caucasus, and Sibyrtius had the Arachosii and Gedrosia, and Stasanor had the nations of the Drangæ and the Arei, and Amyntas had the Bactrian people, and Scythæus had the Sogdiani, and Nicanor had the Parthians, and Philippus the Hyrcanians, and Phrataphernes had Armenia, and Tlepolemus had the Medes, and Peucestes had the Babylonians, and Archon had the Pelasgi, and Archelaus Mesopotamia. All their wars arose first from Alexander's epistle, because he therein commanded, that all the exiles should be permitted [to return to their] country, who were in those lands which he himself had previously

ȝaδ hæfδe :· Ða nolδan Lꞃecaſ þam beboδe hýꞃan. foꞃþon hý onδꞃeδan. þonne hý hýȝ eȝaδeꞃeδon. ꝥ hý on him ȝeþꞃæcan þa teonan þe hý æꞃ miδ him ȝeþoleδan. ȝe eac þiδſocon ꝥ hý lenȝ þiδ Læceδemonium hýꞃan nolδan. þæꞃ heoꞃa heafoδ-ſtol þæſ :· Anδ ꞃaδe þæſ Athenienſe ȝelæδδan xxx. M. folceſ ⁊ tþa hunδ ſcipa onȝean Antiȝone. þam cýninȝe. þe eall Lꞃeca ꞃice habban ſceolδe. foꞃþon þe he þæſ æꞃenδeſ æꞃenδꞃaca þæſ fꞃam Alexanδꞃe. ⁊ ȝeſetton him to laδteoþe Demoſtenon þone filoſofum. ⁊ aſponon him to fultume Lorinthum þa buꞃhleoδe. ⁊ Sihonaſ. ⁊ Maꞃȝaſ. ⁊ beſætan Antipatꞃum. þone cýninȝ. on anum fæſtene. foꞃþon þe he þæſ Antiȝone on fultume :· Ðæꞃ þeaꞃδ Leoſteneſ. oδeꞃ heoꞃa laδteoþa. miδ anꞃe flan offcoten :· Ða hý fꞃam þæꞃe býꞃiȝ hamþeaꞃδ þæꞃon. þa ȝemetton hý Leonantiuſ. þe ſceolδe Antipatꞃume to fultume cuman. ⁊ þæꞃ offlaȝen þeaꞃδ :· Æfteꞃ þam Peꞃδicca. þe þa læſſan Aſiam hæfδe. onȝann þinnan þiδ Aꞃiaꞃaδe. Lappaδoca cýninȝe. ⁊ hine beδꞃaf into anum fæſtene. ⁊ þa buꞃhþaꞃe ſelfe hit onbæꞃnδon on feoþeꞃ healfa. ꝥ eall foꞃþeaꞃþ ꝥ þæꞃ binnan þæſ :·

Æfteꞃ þam Antiȝonuſ ⁊ Peꞃδicca ȝebeoteδan ꝥ hý þolδan him betþeonum ȝefeohtan. ⁊ lanȝe ýmb ꝥ ſiꞃeδan hþæꞃ hý hi ȝemetan þolδan. ⁊ moniȝ iȝlanδ aþeſtan on þam ȝeflite. hþæþeꞃ heoꞃa mihte maꞃan fultum him to ȝeteon :· On þam anbiδe Peꞃδicca foꞃ miδ fýꞃδe on Eȝýptum. þæꞃ Phtolomeuſ þæſ ſe cýninȝ. foꞃþon þe him þæſ ȝeſæδ. ꝥ he þolδe Antiȝone fýlſtan. þam cýninȝe :· Ða ȝeȝaδeꞃaδe Phtolomeuſ micle fýꞃδe onȝean him :· Ða hþile þe hý toȝæδeꞃe-þeaꞃδ fundeδan. ȝefuhton tþeȝen cýninȝaſ. Neoptolemuſ ⁊ Eumeneſ. ⁊ he Eumeneſ ȝeflýmδe Neoptolemuſ. ꝥ he com to Antiȝone. þam cýninȝe. ⁊ hine ſpeon ꝥ he on Eumeneſ unmýnδlinȝa miδ heꞃe become :· Ða ſenδe Antiȝonuſ hine ſýlfne. ⁊ hiſ oδeꞃne þeȝn Poliperꞃcon miδ miclan fultume. ꝥ hý hine beſþicen :· Ða ȝeahſoδe ꝥ Eumeneſ. ⁊ foꞃſætaδe hý þæꞃ þæꞃ hý ȝeþoht hæfδon ꝥ hý hine beſæteδon. ⁊ hý beȝen offloh. ⁊ þa oδꞃe ȝeflýmδe :· Æfteꞃ þam ȝefeaht Peꞃδicca ⁊ Phtolomeuſ. ⁊ þæꞃ þeaꞃδ Peꞃδicca offlaȝen :· Æfteꞃ þam þeaꞃδ Mæceδonium cuδ. ꝥ Eumeneſ. ⁊ Piſon, ⁊ Iliꞃȝuſ. ⁊ Alceta. Peꞃδiccan bꞃo-

ravaged. Then the Greeks would not obey that command, because they dreaded, when they were all gathered [together], that they would avenge on them the injuries that they had previously suffered with them; yea, they even refused longer to obey Lacedæmonia, where their chief city was. And soon afterwards, the Athenians led thirty thousand men and two hundred ships against the king Antigonus, who was to have all the Grecian realm, because he was the messenger of that errand from Alexander; and they appointed for their leader Demosthenes, the philosopher, and drew to their support the inhabitants of Corinth, and Sicyon, and Argos, and besieged the king Antipater in a fortress, because he was a supporter of Antigonus. There was Leosthenes, another of their leaders, shot with an arrow. When they were [returning] homewards from that city, they met Leonnatus, who was coming to the aid of Antipater, and was there slain. After that, Perdiccas, who had the Lesser Asia, began to war against Ariarathus, king of Cappadocia, and drove him into a fortress, and the inhabitants themselves burnt it on four sides, so that all that were within it perished.

After that, Antigonus and Perdiccas threatened that they would fight with each other, and were long planning about where they should meet, and laid waste many islands in the contest, which of them might draw to him the greater aid. In that interval, Perdiccas proceeded with an army into Egypt, where Ptolemy was king, because it had been told him that he (Ptolemy) would aid King Antigonus. Thereupon Ptolemy gathered a great army against him. While they were proceeding to meet each other, the two kings, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, fought, and Eumenes put Neoptolemus to flight, so that he came to King Antigonus, and prevailed on him to come unawares upon Eumenes with an army. Thereupon Antigonus sent himself (Neoptolemus) and his other officer, Polyperchon, with a large force, that they might take him by surprise. When Eumenes was informed of that, he beset them where they had thought to beset him, and slew them both, and put the others to flight. After that Perdiccas and Ptolemy fought, and Perdiccas was there slain. After that, it became known to the Macedonians that Eumenes, and Pithon, and Illyrius, and Alceta, the

ðoꝛ. ꝼolðan ꝼinnan on hý. ⁊ ꝼunðon ꝥ Antiȝonuſ him ſceolðe mið ꝼýꝛðe onȝean cuman :· On þam ȝeꝼeohte ȝeꝼlýmðe Antiȝonuſ Eumeneſ. ⁊ hine beðꝛaꝼ into anum ꝼæſtenne. ⁊ hine þæꝛ beſæt :· Ða ſenðe Eumeneſ to Antipatꝛe þam cýninȝe. ⁊ hine ꝼultumeſ bæð :· Ða Antiȝonuſ ꝥ onȝeat. þa ꝼoꝛlet he ꝥ ſetl :· Ac he Eumeneſ him ꝼenðe ꝼꝛam Antiȝonuſ hamꝼæꝛelðe micelꝛa untꝛeoꝼða. ⁊ him to ꝼultume aſꝼon þa þe æꝛ ꝼæꝛon Alexanðꝛeſ cempan. þa ꝼæꝛan hatene Aꝛȝiꝛaſꝼiðeſ. ꝼoꝛþon þe ealle heoꝛa ꝼæꝛn ꝼæꝛan oꝼeꝛ-ſýleꝼꝛeðe :· Ða on þam tꝼeon. þe hý ſꝼa unȝeoꝛne hiſ ꝼillan ꝼulleoðon. þa becom him Antiȝonuſ mið ꝼýꝛðe on. ⁊ hý benæmðe æȝðeꝛ ȝe heoꝛa ꝼiꝼa. ȝe heoꝛa beaꝛna. ȝe heoꝛa eaꝛðeſ. ȝe ealleſ þæſ licȝenðan ꝼeoſ. þe hý unðeꝛ Alexanðꝛe beȝeatan. ⁊ hý ſýlꝼe uneaðe oðꝼluȝon to Eumene :· Æꝼteꝛ þam þa ſenðon hý to Antiȝone ýmb heoꝛa ꝥ mæſte biſmeꝛ. ⁊ hine bæðon ꝥ he him aȝeaꝼe ꝥ he æꝛ on him beꝛeaꝼoðe :· Ða onbeað he him. ꝥ he him þæſ ȝetýȝðian ꝼolðe. ȝiꝼ hý him Eumeneſ. þone cýninȝ. þe heoꝛa hlaꝼoꝛð þa ꝼæſ. ȝebunðenne to him bꝛohte. ⁊ hý ꝥ ȝeꝼꝛemeðan ſꝼa :· Ac he heoꝛa eꝼt æȝðeꝛ ȝe mið biſmeꝛe onꝼenȝ. ȝe hi eac on þone biſmeꝛlicoſtan eaꝛð ȝeſette. ꝥ ꝼæſ on þam ýtemeſtan enðe hiſ manna. ⁊ him ſꝼa-þeah nanuht aȝiꝼan nolðe þæſ þe hý bena ꝼæꝛon :·

Æꝼteꝛ þam Euꝛiðica. Aꝛiðeuſeſ cꝼen. Mæceðonia cýninȝeſ. heo ꝼæſ þam ꝼolce moniȝ ýꝼel ðonðe. þuꝛh Laſſanðeꝛ. hiꝛe hlaꝼoꝛðeſ þeȝn. mið þam heo hæꝼðe ðýꝛne ȝeliȝꝛe. ⁊ unðeꝛ þam heo ȝelæꝛðe þone cýninȝ. ꝥ he hine ſꝼa upp-ahoꝼ. ꝥ he ꝼæſ buꝼan eallum þam þe on þam ꝛice ꝼæꝛon to þam cýninȝe. ⁊ heo ȝeðýðe mið hýꝛe laꝛe. ꝥ ealle Mæceðonie ꝼæꝛon þam cýninȝe ꝼiðeꝛꝼeaꝼðe. oð hý ꝼunðon ꝥ hý ſenðon æꝼteꝛ Olimpiaðum. Alexanðꝛeſ meðeꝛ. ꝥ heo him ȝeꝼýlſte. ꝥ hý mihtan æȝðeꝛ ȝe þone cýninȝ ȝe þa cꝼene him to ȝeꝼýlðum ȝeðon :· Heo þa Olimpiaðe him to com mið Epiꝛa ꝼultume. hiꝛe aȝeneſ ꝛiceſ. ⁊ hiꝛe to ꝼultume abæð Eaceðan. Moloſſoꝛum cýninȝ. ⁊ hý butu oꝼſloh. ȝe þone cýninȝ ȝe þa cꝼene. ⁊ Laſſanðeꝛ oðꝼleah. ⁊ Olimpiaðe ꝼenȝ to þam ꝛice. ⁊ þam ꝼolce ꝼela laðeſ ȝeðýðe. þa hꝼile þe heo þone anꝼealð hæꝼðe :· Ða Laſſanðeꝛ

brother of Perdiccas, would make war on them, and settled that Antigonus should go against them with an army. In the battle Antigonus put Eumenes to flight, and drove him into a fortress, and there besieged him. Thereupon Eumenes sent to King Antipater, and implored his aid. When Antigonus was apprized of that, he abandoned the siege. But Eumenes, expecting from Antigonus a homeward march of great perfidies, would draw to him the aid of those who had been previously Alexander's soldiers, who were called Agyraspidæ, because all their weapons were silvered over. While in doubt whether they, though with no zeal, should fulfil his wishes, Antigonus came upon them with an army, and took from them their wives, and their children, and their land, and all the treasure, which they had acquired under Alexander; and they themselves with difficulty fled to Eumenes. After that they sent to Antigonus, on account of this great contumely, and prayed him that he would restore that of which he had previously bereft them. He thereupon announced to them that he would grant it them, if they would bring to him King Eumenes bound, who was at that time their lord; and they did so. But he afterwards both received them with contumely, and also set them on the most squalid land, which was at the extreme end of his people, and, at the same time, would restore them nothing that they had prayed for.

After that, Eurydice, the queen of Arridæus, king of Macedon, did much evil to the people, through Cassander, her lord's minister, with whom she had secretly criminal intercourse, and during which she persuaded the king that he so raised him up, that he was above all who were in the kingdom [next] to the king; and by her counsel she was the cause that all the Macedonians were hostile to the king, until they resolved on sending for Olympias, the mother of Alexander, that she might support them, that they might compel both the king and the queen to their will. Then she, Olympias, came to them with a force of Epirots, of her own realm, and requested aid from Æacidas, king of the Molossians, and they slew both the king and the queen, and Cassander fled; and Olympias succeeded to the kingdom, and did much that was hostile to the people while she had the government. When Cassander was apprized that she

ꝥ ȝeacſaðe. ꝥ heo þam ſolce laðaðe. þa ȝeȝaðeꝛaðe he ſẏꝛðe :· Ða heo ꝥ ȝeacſaðe ꝥ þæſ ſolceſ þæſ ſþa ſela to him ȝeciꝛꝛeð. þa ne tꝛieþðe heo ꝥ hiꝛe þolðe ſe oðeꝛ ðæl ȝelaſtfull beon. ac ȝenam hiꝛe ſnoꝛe Roxan. Alexanðꝛeſ laſe. ⁊ Alexanðꝛeſ ſunu Eꝛcoleſ. ⁊ ſleah to þam ſæſtene þe Fiðnam þæſ haten. ⁊ Laſſanðeꝛ hiꝛe æſteꝛ-ſoꝛ. ⁊ ꝥ ſæſten abꝛæc. ⁊ Olimpiaðum oſſloh. ⁊ þa buꝛh-leoðe oðbꝛuðon þa ſnoꝛe mið hẏꝛe ſuna. þa hẏ onȝeatan ꝥ ꝥ ſæſten ſceolðe abꝛocen beon. ⁊ hẏ ſenðon on oðꝛe ſæſtꝛe ſæſten. ⁊ Laſſanðeꝛ hẏ het þæꝛ beſittan. ⁊ him ealleſ þæſ anþealðeſ þeolð Mæceðonia ꝛiceſ :· Ða þenðe mon ꝥ ꝥ ȝeþinn ȝeenðað þæꝛe betþeox Alexanðꝛeſ ſolȝeꝛum. þa ða þæꝛan ȝeſeallen þe þæꝛ mæſt ȝeþunnon. ꝥ þæſ Peꝛðicca. ⁊ Eumeneſ. ⁊ Alciðen. ⁊ Poliþeꝛcon. ⁊ Olimpiaðaſ. ⁊ Antiþateꝛ. ⁊ maneȝe oðꝛe :· Ac Antiȝonuſ. ſe mið unȝemete ȝiꝛnðe anþealða oſeꝛ oðꝛe. ⁊ to þam ſæſtene ſoꝛ þæꝛ Alexanðꝛeſ laſ þæſ. ⁊ hiſ ſunu. ⁊ hẏ þæꝛ beȝeat. to þon ꝥ he þolðe ꝥ þa ſolc him þẏ ſþiðoꝛ to buȝe. þe he hæſðe heoꝛa ealð hlaſoꝛðeſ ſunu on hiſ ȝeþealðe :· Siððan Laſſanðeꝛ ꝥ ȝeahſaðe þa ȝeþoſtaðe he þið Phtolomeuſ. ⁊ þið Liſimachuſ. ⁊ þið Seleucuſ. þone eaſt cẏninȝ. ⁊ hẏ ealle þinnenðe þæꝛan þið Antiȝonuſ ⁊ þið Demetꝛiuſ hẏſ ſunu. ſume on lanðe ſume on þæteꝛe :· On þam ȝeſeohte ȝeſeoll ſe mæſta ðæl Maceðonia ðuȝuðe on æȝðꝛe healſe. þeah hẏ ſume mið Antiȝone þæꝛe. ſume mið Laſſanðꝛe :· Ðæꝛ þeaꝛð Antiȝonuſ ȝeſlẏmeð. ⁊ hiſ ſunu :· Æſteꝛ þam Demetꝛiuſ. Antiȝoneſ ſunu. ȝeſeaht on ſcipum þið Phtolomeuſ. ⁊ hine beðꝛaſ on hiſ aȝen lanð :· Æſteꝛ þam Antiȝonuſ bebeað. ꝥ mon æȝðeꝛ hete cẏninȝ ȝe hine ȝe hiſ ſunu. ſoꝛþon þe Alexanðꝛeſ ſolȝeꝛaſ næꝛan æꝛ þam ſþa ȝehatene. buton laðteoþaſ :· Lemonȝ þam ȝeþinnum. Antiȝonuſ him onðꝛeð Eꝛcoleſ. Alexanðꝛeſ ſunu. ꝥ ꝥ ſolc hine þolðe to hlaſoꝛðe ȝeceoſan. ſoꝛþon þe he ꝛẏht cẏne-cẏnneſ þæſ. het þa æȝðeꝛ oſſlean. ȝe hine ȝe hiſ moðoꝛ :· Ða þæt þa ðꝛẏ ȝeahſoðan. ꝥ he hẏ ealle beſþican þohte. hẏ þa eſt hẏ ȝeȝaðeꝛeðan ⁊ þiðþunnan :· Ða ne ðoꝛſte Laſſanðeꝛ ſẏlſ on þam ſæꝛelðe cuman ſoꝛ hiſ þam nihſtan ſeonðum. þe him ẏmb þæꝛan. ac ſenðe hiſ ſultum to Liſimache hiſ ȝeþoſtan. ⁊ hæſðe hẏſ þiſan ſþiðoſt beþoht to Seleucuſe. ſoꝛþon þe he

was detested by the people, he gathered an army. When she was informed that so many of the people had turned to him, she did not trust that the other part would be obedient to her, but took her daughter-in-law, Roxane, Alexander's relict, and Alexander's son, Hercules, and fled to the fortress which was called Pydna; and Cassander followed her, and took the fortress, and slew Olympias; and the inhabitants carried off the daughter-in-law with her son, when they were aware that the fortress would be taken, and sent them to another stronger fortress; and Cassander ordered them to be besieged there, and wielded all the power of the Macedonian realm. Now, it was imagined that the war among Alexander's successors was ended, when those had fallen who had most contended in it, namely, Perdiccas, and Eumenes, and Alceta, and Polyperchon, and Olympias, and Antipater, and many others. But Antigonus, who immoderately desired power over others, proceeded to the fortress where Alexander's relict was with his son, and got them, because he would that the people should the more readily submit to him, when he had their old lord's son in his power. When Cassander was informed of that, he made a league with Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, and with Seleucus, the east king, and they all made war on Antigonus, and on Demetrius, his son, some on land, some on water. In that war the greatest part of the flower of Macedonia fell, although some were with Antigonus, some with Cassander. There was Antigonus with his son put to flight. After that Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, fought in ships against Ptolemy, and drove him to his own country. After that Antigonus commanded that the people should call both him and his son *king;* because Alexander's successors had not previously been so called, but *generals*. In the midst of these wars, Antigonus dreaded Hercules, the son of Alexander, lest the people should choose him for sovereign, because he was of the right royal race: he therefore commanded both him and his mother to be slain. When the three were informed that he intended to deceive them all, they again assembled and warred against him. But Cassander himself durst not join in the expedition, on account of his nearest enemies, who were about him; but sent his force to his ally, Lysimachus. His councillors had also bethought themselves of Seleucus,

monige anpealdas mid gepinnum geeode on þam east-landum. ꝥ þæs æriest Babylonie. ⁊ Pactriane. ⁊ æfter þon he gefor on Indie. þær nan man ær ne siððan mid fyrde gefaran ne dorste. buton Alexandre. ⁊ he Seleucus genydde ealle þa ladteopas to his hyrsumnesse. ⁊ hy ealle Antigonus and Demetrius his sunu mid fyrde gesohton. on þam gefeohte þæs Antigonus ofslagen. ⁊ his sunu of þam rice adræfed :· Ne þene ic. cþæð Orosius. ꝥ æniz þære þe ꝥ atellan mihte. ꝥ on þam gefeohte gefor :·

On þære tide gefor Cassander. ⁊ his sunu fenz to þam rice. Philippus :· Ða þende mon eft oðre siðe ꝥ ꝥ gepinn Alexandres folgera geendod þære :· Ac hy sona þæs him betþeonum þunnon. ⁊ Seleucus ⁊ Demetrius. Antigonus sunu. heom togæderе geþoftedan. ⁊ þið ðam ðrim þunnon. Philippuse. Cassandres suna. ⁊ þið Phtolomeuse. ⁊ þið Lisimachuse. ⁊ hy ꝥ gepinn þa þæs licost angunnon. þe hy hit ær ne ongunnon :· On þam gepinne ofsloh Antipater his modor. Cassandres lafe. þeh þe heo earmlice hire feores to him þilnode :· Ða bæd Alexander hire sunu Demetrius. ꝥ he him gefylste. ꝥ he his modor sleze on his breðer geþrecan mihte. ⁊ hy hyne raðe þæs ofslogon :· Æfter þam geþunnon Demetrius ⁊ Lisimachus. ac Lisimachus ne mihte Demetriuse þiðstandan. forðon þe Dorus. Thracea cyning. him eac onþann :· Ða þæs Demetrius on þære hþile sþiðe geanmett. ⁊ fyrde gelædde to Phtolomeuse :· Ða he ꝥ gealhsode. þa begeat he Seleucus him to fultume. ⁊ Pirrus Epira cyning. ⁊ Pirrus him forþam sþiðost fylste. þe he him sylfum facade Mæcedonia onþeald. ⁊ hy þa Demetrius of þam adrifan ⁊ Pirrus tofenz :· Æfter þam Lisimachus ofsloh his agenne sunu Agathoclen. ⁊ Antipater his aþum :· On þam dagum Lisimachia seo burh besanc on eorðan mid folce mid-ealle. ⁊ æfter þam þe Lisimachus hæfde sþa þið his sunu gedon ⁊ þið his aþum. þa onscunedon hyne his agene leode. ⁊ monige fram him cyrdan. ⁊ Seleucus speonan. ꝥ he Lisimachus besþice :· Ða gyt ne mihte se nið betux him tþam gelicgean. þeh heora þa na ma ne lifde. þæra þe Alexandres folgeras þæron. ac sþa

because he had conquered many states by wars in the east countries, namely, first the Babylonians and the Bactrians, and after that he marched to India, where no man, before or since, durst march with an army, save Alexander. And he, Seleucus, reduced all the generals to his obedience, and they all sought Antigonus and his son, Demetrius, with an army. In that war Antigonus was slain, and his son driven from the kingdom. I do not imagine, says Orosius, that there was any one who could tell what [number] perished in that war.

At that time Cassander died, and his son, Philip, succeeded to the kingdom. Then again, a second time, people imagined that the war of Alexander's successors was ended. But soon after, they warred among themselves; and Seleucus, and Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, made a league together, and warred against the three, against Philip, the son of Cassander, and against Ptolemy, and against Lysimachus; and they entered upon that war just as if they had not previously begun it. In that war Antipater slew his mother, the relict of Cassander, although she miserably begged her life of him. Thereupon Alexander, her son, prayed Demetrius to aid him, that he might avenge his mother's death on his brother; and they soon after slew him. After that Demetrius and Lysimachus made war; but Lysimachus could not withstand Demetrius, because Dorus, king of Thrace, also made war on him. Then was Demetrius at that time greatly elated, and led an army against Ptolemy. When he received intelligence of that, he got Seleucus to aid him, and also Pyrrhus, king of the Epirots. And Pyrrhus chiefly supported him, because he was craftily aiming at the dominion over Macedonia; and they then drove Demetrius from it, and Pyrrhus took possession [of the kingdom]. After that Lysimachus slew both his own son, Agathocles, and Antipater, his son-in-law. In those days the city of Lysimachia sank into the earth with all its inhabitants. And after Lysimachus had so acted towards his son and his son-in-law, his own people shunned him, and many turned from him, and prevailed on Seleucus to deceive Lysimachus. Not even yet could the grudge between the two be allayed, although at that time no more of them were living who had been followers of Alexander; but old as they then were, they

ealde ſpa hý þa þæron hý ȝeſuhton :· „Seleucuſ hæfde ſeoſon ⁊ hund-ſeoſontiȝ þintra. ⁊ Liſimachuſ hæfde þreo ⁊ hund-ſeoſontiȝ þintra :· Ðær þearð Liſimachuſ oſſlaȝen. ⁊ þæſ ýmb þreo niht com Phtolomeuſ. þe Liſimachuſ hiſ ſþeoſter hæfde. ⁊ dýȝellice æfter Seleucuſe ſor. þa he hampeaþd þæſ. oð hýſ ſýrð toſaren þæſ. ⁊ hine oſſloh :· Ða þæſ ſeo ſibb ⁊ ſeo miltheortneſ ȝeendad. þe hý æt Alexandre ȝeleornodon. ⁊ þæſ ⁊ hý tþeȝen. þe þær lenȝſte liſdon. xxx. cýninȝa oſſloȝon. heora aȝenra ealð ȝeſerena. ⁊ him hæfdon ſiððan ealle þa anþealdaſ. þe hý ealle ær hæfdon ȝemonȝ þam ȝeþinnum :· Liſimachuſ ſorlet hiſ xv. ſuna. ſume he ſýlf oſſloh. ſume on ȝeſeohtum beſoran him ſýlfum mon oſſloh :· Ðyllicne ȝebroðorſcipe. cþæð Oroſiuſ. hý heoldan him betþeonum þe on anum hireðe þæran aſeðde ⁊ ȝetyde. ⁊ hit iſ uſ nu ſþiðor biſmre ȝelic. ⁊ þe þær beſpecað. ⁊ ⁊ ⁊ þe ȝeþinn nu hatað. þonne uſ ſremde ⁊ ellþeodiȝe on becumað. ⁊ lytleſ hþæt on uſ ȝereaſað. ⁊ uſ eſt hræðlice ſorlætað. ⁊ nellað ȝeðencan hþýlc hit þa þæſ. þa nan mann ne mihte æt oðrum hiſ ſeorh ȝebýcȝan. ne ſurþon ⁊ þa þoldan ȝeſrýnð beon. þe þæron ȝebroðra oſ ſæðer ⁊ oſ meðer :·

BOOK IV.

I.

ÆFTER þam. þe Romeburh ȝetimbred þæſ cccc. þintrum ⁊ Lxiiii. Tarentine ⁊ ſolc pleȝedon binnan Tarentan heora býriȝ. æt heora þeatra. þe þær binnan ȝeþorht þæſ. þa ȝeſaþan hý Romana ſcipa on þære ſæ ýrnan. þa hræðlice coman Tarentine to heora aȝnum ſcipum. ⁊ þa oðre hindan oſſoran. ⁊ hý ealle him to ȝeþýldum ȝedýdon. buton v. ⁊ þa þe þær ȝeſanȝene þæran. hý taþeðan mið þære mæſtan unieðneſſe. ſume oſſloȝan. ſume oſſþunȝon. ſume him þið ſeo ȝeſealdan :· Ða Romane ⁊ ȝeahſodan. þa ſendon hý ærendracan to him. ⁊ bædan ⁊ him mon ȝebette. ⁊ him þær to æbýlȝðe ȝedon þæſ :· Ða taþeðon hý eſt þa ærendracan mið þam mæſtan biſmere. ſþa hý þa oðre ær dýdon. ⁊ hý ſiððan ham ſorletan :· Æfter þam ſoran Romane on Tarentine. ⁊ ſþa clæne hý namon heora ſultum mið him. ⁊ heora

fought. Seleucus was seventy-seven years [old], and Lysimachus was seventy-three. There was Lysimachus slain, and three days after came Ptolemy, whose sister Lysimachus had married, and marched secretly after Seleucus, as he was proceeding homewards, until his army was dispersed, and slew him. Then that peace and mercy which they had learned from Alexander, were ended. That was, that those two, who lived the longest, had slain thirty kings, their own old companions, and afterwards had for themselves all the dominions, which they [the thirty] had previously had during those wars. Lysimachus lost his fifteen sons, some he himself slew, some were slain in the wars before his eyes. Such brotherhood, says Orosius, they held among themselves, who were nurtured and instructed in one family, that it is now to us rather ridiculous that we complain, and that we now call it war, when strangers and foreigners come upon us, and plunder us of some little, and again quickly leave us, and will not think how it then was, when no man could buy his life of another, nor even would those be friends, who were brothers by father and by mother.

BOOK IV.

I.

After Rome had been built four hundred and sixty-four years, the Tarentine people were playing in their city of Tarentum, at their theatre, which had been therein built, when they saw Roman ships running on the sea. Thereupon the Tarentines went quickly to their own ships and sailed after them, and got them all into their power, save five, and those who were there taken they treated with the greatest barbarity: some they slew, some they scourged, some they sold for money. When the Romans were informed of that, they sent envoys to them, and demanded reparation for what had been done to [excite] their indignation. They then treated the envoys with the greatest ignominy, as they had before done the others, and afterwards let them go home. After that, the Romans marched against the Tarentines, and so completely took [all] their force with them, that [even]

pproletarii[1] ne moston him bæftan beon :· Đæt pæron þa þe hý ȝesette hæfdon. ꝥ sceoldan be heora pifum bearna stryñan. þonne hý on ȝepin foran. ⁊ cpædon ꝥ him pislicre þuhte. ꝥ hý þa ne forlure þe þær utfore. hæfde bearn se þe mihte :·

Hý þa Romane comon on Tarentine. ⁊ þær eall apestan ꝥ hý ȝemettan. ⁊ moneȝa býriȝ abræcan :· Đa sendon Tarentine æȝhpar æfter fultume. þær hý him æniȝes pendon. ⁊ Pirrus. Erira cýninȝ. him com to mid þam mæstan fultume. æȝðer ȝe on ȝanȝ-here ȝe on rad-here :· He pæs on ðam daȝum ȝemærsod ofer ealle oðre cýninȝas. æȝðer ȝe mid his miclan fultume. ȝe mid his ræd-þeahtunȝe. ȝe mid his piȝcræfte :· Forþam fýlste Pirrus Tarentinum. forþon þe Tarente seo burh pæs ȝetimbred of Læcedemonium. þe his rice þa pæs. ⁊ he hæfde Thessali him to fultume. ⁊ Mæcedonie. ⁊ he hæfde xx. elpenda to þam ȝefeohte mid him. þe Romane ær na ne ȝesapon. he pæs se forma mann þe hý ærest on Italium brohte. he pæs eac on ðam daȝum ȝleapast to piȝe ⁊ to ȝepinne. buton þam anum ꝥ hine his ȝodas ⁊ his diofolȝýld bespicon þe he beȝanȝende pæs :· Đa he hi ahsode his ȝodas. hpæðer heora sceolde on oðrum siȝe habban. þe he on Romanum. þe Romane on him. þa andpýrdan hi him tpeolice ⁊ cpædon. Đu hæfst oððe næfst[2] :· Đæt forme ȝefeoht ꝥ he pið Romanum hæfde. hit pæs in Lompania. neah þære ea þe mon Lisum hæt :· Đa æfter þam þe þær on æȝðre healfe micel pæl ȝeslegen pæs. þa het Pirrus don þa elpendas on ꝥ ȝefeoht :· Siþþan Romane ꝥ ȝesapan. ꝥ him mon spýlcne pprenc to dýde. spýlcne hý ær ne ȝesapon. ne secȝan ne hýrdon. þa fluȝon hý ealle buton anum menn. se pæs Minutius haten. he ȝeneðde under anne elpend. ꝥ he hine on þone nafelan ofstanȝ :· Đa siððan he ýrre pæs ⁊ ȝepundod. he ofsloh micel þæs folces. ꝥ æȝðer ȝe þa forpurdon þe him on ufan pæran. ȝe eac þa oðre elpendas sticade ⁊ ȝremede. ꝥ þa eac mæst ealle forpurdon. þe þær on ufan pæron. ⁊ þeh þe Romane ȝeflýmed pære. hý pæran þeh ȝebýlde. mid þam ꝥ hý piston hu hý to þam elpendam sceoldan :· On ðam ȝefeohte pæs Romana xiiii. M̄. ofslaȝen feðena. ⁊ hund-eahtatiȝ ⁊ viii. hund. ȝefanȝen. ⁊ þæra ȝehorsedra pæran ofslaȝen iii. hund ⁊ an M̄. ⁊ þær pæron vii. hund ȝuðfanena ȝenumen :· Hit næs na

their *proletarii* might not remain behind. These were those whom they had appointed that they might beget children by their wives, while they went forth to war, and said that it seemed to them wiser not to dispense with those who there went forth, let whoever might have children.

The Romans then came upon the Tarentines, and there laid waste all that they found, and took many towns. Thereupon the Tarentines sent everywhere for aid, where they could expect any: and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, came to them with the greatest aid, both of foot and horse. He was, in those days, famed above all other kings, as well for his great army as for his counsels, and for his military skill. Pyrrhus aided the Tarentines, because the city of Tarentum had been built by the Lacedæmonians, who were then under his government; and he had the Thessalians to aid him, and the Macedonians; and he had twenty elephants with him for that war, which [animals] the Romans had not before seen: he was the first man who introduced them into Italy: he was also in those days the most expert in battle and warfare, except only that his gods and his idols that he worshiped deceived him. When he inquired of his gods, which of them should have victory over the other, he over the Romans, or the Romans over him, they answered him ambiguously: "Thou wilt have it or not have it." The first battle that he had with the Romans was in Campania, near the river called the Liris. There, after a great slaughter was made on both sides, Pyrrhus commanded the elephants to be led into the battle. When the Romans saw that such a wile was practised on them, such as they before had not seen nor heard spoken of, they fled, all save one man, who was called Minutius. He ventured [to go] under an elephant, so that he stabbed it in the navel. When it was angry and wounded it slew many of the people, so that both those perished who were upon it, and he also wounded and irritated the other elephants, so that most of those also perished who were on them; and although the Romans were put to flight, they were, nevertheless, emboldened by knowing how they should [act] with elephants. In that battle fourteen thousand foot of the Romans were slain, and eight hundred and eighty taken prisoners; and of the horse there were slain one thousand three hundred; and there were seven hundred ensigns

ȝeſæð hpæt Piꝛꝛuſeſ ꝼolceſ ȝeꝼeallen pæꝛe. ꝼoꝛþon hit næſ þeap on þam tiðum. ꝥ mon æniȝ pæl on þa healꝼe ꝛimðe. þe þonne pýlðꝛe pæſ. buton þæꝛ þý læſ oꝼſlaȝen pæꝛe. ſpa mið Alexanðꝛe pæſ. on þam ꝼoꝛman ȝeꝼeohte. þe he pið Daꝛiuſ ꝼeaht. þæꝛ næſ hiſ ꝼolceſ na ma oꝼſlaȝen þonne niȝon :· Ac Piꝛꝛuſ ȝebicneðe eꝼt hu him ſeo ſiȝe ȝelicoðe. þe he oꝼeꝛ Romane hæꝼðe. þa he cpæð æt hiſ ȝoðeſ ðuꝛa: ⁊ hit ſpa þæꝛon apꝛat. Ðanc haꝼa ðu Ioꝼeſ. ꝥ ic þa moſte oꝼeꝛpinnan. þe æꝛ pæꝛon unoꝼeꝛpunnen. ⁊ ic eac ꝼꝛam him oꝼeꝛpunnen eom :· Ða ahſeðon hine hiſ þeȝnaſ. hpi he ſpa heanlic poꝛð be him ſýlꝼum ȝecpæðe. ꝥ he oꝼeꝛpunnen pæꝛe. þa anðpýꝛðe he him ⁊ cpæð. Liꝼ ic ȝeꝼaꝛe eꝼt ſpýlcne ſiȝe æt Romanum. þonne mæȝ ic ſiððan butan ælcon þeȝne Lꝛeca lanð ſecean[1] :· Ðæt peaꝛð eac Romanum on ýꝼelum tacne oðýpeð æꝛ þam ȝeꝼeohte. þa hý on ꝼýꝛðe pæꝛon. ꝥ þæſ ꝼolceſ ſceolðe micel hꝛýꝛe beon. þa ðunoꝛ oꝼſloh xxiiii. heoꝛa ꝼoðꝛeꝛa. ⁊ þa oðꝛe ȝebꝛocaðe aþeȝ comon :· Æꝼteꝛ þam ȝeꝼuhton Piꝛꝛuſ ⁊ Romane in Apulia. þæꝛe þeoðe. þæꝛ peaꝛð Piꝛꝛuſ puꝛð on oðꝛan eaꝛme. ⁊ Romane hæꝼðon ſiȝe. ⁊ hæꝼðon ȝeleoꝛnoð ma cꝛæꝼta. hu hý þa elpenðaſ beſpican mihton mið þam þe hý namon tꝛeopu. ⁊ ſloȝon on oðeꝛne enðe moniȝe ſceaꝛpe iſene næȝlaſ. ⁊ hý mið ꝼlexe beꝼunðon. ⁊ onbæꝛnðon hit. ⁊ beþýððon hit þonne on ðone elpenð hinðan. ꝥ hý þonne ꝼoꝛan peðenðe. æȝðeꝛ ȝe ꝼoꝛ þæſ ꝼlexeſ bꝛýne. ȝe ꝼoꝛ þæꝛa næȝla ſticunȝe. ꝥ æt ælcan þa ꝼoꝛpuꝛðon æꝛeſt þe him on uꝼan pæꝛan. ⁊ ſiððan ꝥ oðeꝛ ꝼolc pæꝛon ſpa ſpiðe ſleanðe. ſpa hý him ſcilðan ſceolðan :· On þam ȝeꝼeohte pæſ Romana ehta M̄. oꝼſlaȝen. ⁊ xi. ȝuðꝼanon ȝenumen :· Anð Piꝛꝛuſeſ heꝛeſ pæſ xx. M̄. oꝼſlaȝen. ⁊ hýſ ȝuðꝼana [Liii.][2] ȝenumen :· Ða peaꝛð Piꝛꝛuſe cuð ꝥ Aȝathocleſ. Siꝛacuſa cýniȝ. þæꝛa buꝛh-leoða. pæſ ȝeꝼaꝛen on Sicilia þam lanðe :· Ða ꝼoꝛ he þiðeꝛ. ⁊ ꝥ ꝛice to him ȝenýððe :·

Sona ſpa ꝥ ȝepinn mið Romanum ȝeenðoð pæſ. ſpa pæſ þæꝛ ſeo moniȝꝼealðeſte pol mið man-cpealme. ȝe eac ꝥ nanuht beꝛenðeſ. ne piꝼ ne nýten. ne mihton nanuht libbenðeſ ȝebeꝛan. ꝥ hý þa æt nýhſtan pæꝛon oꝛtꝛeope. hpæðeꝛ him æniȝ mann eac acuman ſceolðe. þa penðe Piꝛꝛuſ ꝼꝛam Sicilium

taken. It was not said how many of Pyrrhus's people were slain, because it was not the custom in those times to count any slaughter on that side which was the prevailing one, unless a very small number were slain, as it was with Alexander, in the first battle he fought against Darius, where of his people there were no more than nine slain. But Pyrrhus testified afterwards how he liked the victory he had over the Romans, when at the door of his god he said, and thereon so wrote it: "Have thanks, thou Jove, that I have been able to overcome those who before had not been overcome; and I am also overcome by them." His officers thereupon asked him why he said such debasing words of himself, that he was overcome, when he answered: "If I again gain such a victory over the Romans, I may afterwards return to Greece without any soldier" For the Romans also it appeared as an evil token, before the battle, when they were in camp, that there would be a great fall of the people, when thunder slew twenty-four of their fodderers, and the others came away half-dead. After that Pyrrhus and the Romans fought in the country of Apulia, where Pyrrhus was wounded in one of his arms, and the Romans had the victory, and had learned more devices, how they might circumvent the elephants, by taking stakes, into one end of which they drove many sharp iron nails, and wound flax about them and set it on fire, and then drove it into the hinder part of the elephant, so that they ran raging mad, both in consequence of the burning of the flax and the pricking of the nails; so that with every one those first perished that were upon them; and afterwards they as impetuously slew the other people as they should have protected them. In that battle eight thousand of the Romans were slain and eleven ensigns taken. And of Pyrrhus's army twenty thousand were slain, and [fifty-three] of his ensigns taken. It then became known to Pyrrhus, that Agathocles, king of the citizens of Syracuse, was dead in the land of Sicily. Thereupon he proceeded thither, and subjected that realm to him.

As soon as that war with the Romans was ended, there was such a complicated pestilence with mortality, that even nothing bearing, neither women nor cattle could bring forth anything living; so that at last they were in despair whether any man should be born to them. Pyrrhus then turned

eft to Romanum. ⁊ him ongean com Lurius. se consul. ⁊ heora ꝥ ðriðde gefeoht wæs on Lucaniam. on Arosius þæne dune :· Ðeh þe Romane[1] sume hwile hæfdon swiðor fleam geþoht þonne gefeoht. ær þonne hý gesawon ꝥ man þa elpendas on ꝥ gefeoht dýde. ac siððan hý þa gesawan hu hý hi gegremedan. ꝥ hý þa wæran swiðe sleande þe hý fýlstan sceoldan. ⁊ Pirruses here weard forþam swiðost on fleame :· On þam gefeohte Pirrus hæfde hund-eahtatig M̄. feðena. ⁊ v. M̄. gehorsedra. ⁊ þær wæs xxxvi. M̄. offlagen. ⁊ iiii. hund gefangen :· Æfter þam Pirrus for of Italium. ýmb v. gear þæs þe he ær þæron com. ⁊ raðe þæs þe he ham com. he wolde abrecan Argus þa burh. ⁊ þær weard mid anum stane ofworpen :·

Æfter þam þe Tarentine geahsodan ꝥ Pirrus dead wæs. þa sendon hý on Affrice. to Lartaginienses. æfter fultume. ⁊ eft wið Romanum wunnan. ⁊ raðe þæs þe hý togædere comon. Romane hæfdon fige :· Ðær onfundon Lartaginigenses ꝥ him mon oferswiþan mihte. þeh hý nan folc ær mid gefeohte oferwinnan ne mihte :· Lemong þam þe Pirrus wið Romane winnende wæs. hy hæfdon ehta legian :· Ða hæfdon hý þa eahteðan Regiense to fultume gesette :· Ða ne getruwade se ehtaða dæl þæra legian ꝥ Romane Pirruse wiðstandan mihte. angunnon þa hergian ⁊ hýnan þa þe hý friðian sceoldan :· Ða Romane ꝥ geahsodan. þa sendon hý þýder Lenutius heora consul mid fultume. to þon ꝥ he on him gewræce. ꝥ hý þa slogon ⁊ hýndon þe ealle Romane friðian woldon. ⁊ he þa swa gedýde :· Sume he offloh. sume geband ⁊ ham sende. ⁊ þær wæran siððan witnade. ⁊ siððan þa heafda mid ceorfæxum of-acorfene :·

II.

Æfter þam þe Romane-burh getimbred wæs cccc. wintrum ⁊ Lxxvii. gewurdon on Rome þa ýfelan wundor. ꝥ wæs ærest. ꝥ ðunor tosloh hýra hehstan godes hus. Iofeses. ⁊ eac þære burge weall micel to eorðan gehreas. ⁊ eac ꝥ þrý wulfas on anre niht brohton anes deades manness lichoman binnan þa burh. ⁊ hýne þær siððan stýccemælum tobrudon. oð þa menn

from Sicily again to the Romans, and Curius, the consul, came against him, and their third battle was in Lucania, on the mountain of Arusius. Although the Romans had for some while thought more of flight than of fighting, before they saw that the enemy brought the elephants into the battle; yet after they saw how they could irritate them, so that they impetuously slew those whom they should aid, Pyrrhus's army was chiefly on that account put to flight. In that battle Pyrrhus had eighty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and there were thirty-six thousand slain and four hundred captured. After that Pyrrhus departed from Italy, about five years from the time he first came thither; and soon after he came home, he would take the city of Argos, and was there mortally struck with a stone.

After the Tarentines had been informed that Pyrrhus was dead, they sent to Africa, to the Carthaginians, for succour, and again warred against the Romans; and quickly after they came together the Romans had the victory. There the Carthaginians found that they could be overcome, although no people had before been able to conquer them in war. While Pyrrhus was warring against the Romans, they had eight legions. They then appointed the eighth to aid the people of Rhegium. When this eighth part of the legions felt not confident that the Romans could withstand Pyrrhus, they began to plunder and oppress those whom they should protect. When the Romans were informed of that, they sent thither their consul Genucius with a force, in order that he might take vengeance on them, for slaying and oppressing those whom all the Romans should protect; and he did so. Some he slew, bound and sent some home, and there they were afterwards scourged, and their heads afterwards cut off with axes.

II.

After the city of Rome had been built four hundred and seventy-seven years, there happened in Rome evil prodigies. The first was, that thunder struck the house of their highest god, Jove; and also much of the city-wall fell to the earth; and also three wolves, in one night, brought a dead man's body into the city, and there afterwards tore it piecemeal,

onþocan. ⁊ ut-uþnon. ⁊ hý ſiððan onþeȝ. fluȝon :· On þam daȝum ȝeþeaþð. ꝥ on anþe dune neah Romebýþiȝ. tohlad ſeo eoþðe. ⁊ þæſ býþnende fýþ up of þæþe eoþðan. ꝥ on ælce healfe þæſ fýþeſ ſeo eoþðe þæſ fif æceþa bþæde to axſan ȝeburnen :· Sona þæſ. on þam æfteþþan ȝeaþe. ȝefoþ Sempþoniuſ ſe conſul. mid fýþde þið Pencenteſ Italia folc :· Ða mid þam þe hý hi ȝetþýmed hæfdon ⁊ toȝædeþe þoldan. þa þeaþð eoþðbeofunȝ. ꝥ æȝðeþ þæþa folca þende untþeoȝendlice. ꝥ hý ſceoldan on þa eoþðan beſincan. ⁊ hý þeah ſþa andþædende ȝebidan ꝥ ſe eȝe ofeþȝan þæſ. ⁊ þæþ ſiððan þælȝþimlice ȝefuhton :· Ðæþ þæſ ſe mæſta blodȝýte on æȝðþe healfe þæþa folca. þeh þe Romane ſiȝe hæfde. þa feaþan þæþ to lafe þuþdon :· Ðæþ þæſ ȝeſyne ꝥ ſeo eoþðbeofunȝ tacnade þa miclan blod-dþýncaſ. þe hýþe mon on þæþe tide to-foþlet :·

III

Æfteþ þam þe Romebuþh ȝetimbþed þæſ iiii. hund þintþum ⁊ Lxxx. ȝemonȝ þam oðþum moneȝum þundþum. þe on ðam daȝum ȝelumpan. ꝥ mon ȝeſeah þeallan blod of eoþðan. ⁊ þinan meolc of heofenum :· On þam daȝum Laþtaȝiniȝenſeſ ſendon fultum Taþentinum. ꝥ hý þe eað mihton feohtan þið Romanum :· Ða ſendon Romane æþendþacan to him. ⁊ hý ahſedon foþ hþý hý ꝥ dýdon :· Ða oðſþoþan hý þam æþendþacan mid þam biſmeþliceſtan aðe. ꝥ hý him næfþe on fultume næþon. þeh þe þa aðaſ þæþan neaþ mane þonne ſoðe :· On þam daȝum Ulciniensſeſ ⁊ Thþuſci þá folc foþneah ealle foþþuþdon foþ heoþa aȝnum dýſiȝe. foþþam þe hý ſume heoþa þeoþaſ ȝefþeodan. ⁊ eac him eallum þuþdon to milde ⁊ to foþȝifene :· Ða ofþuhte heoþa ceoþlum[1]. ꝥ man þa þeoþaſ fþeode. ⁊ hý nolde :· Ða þiðſaþan hý þam hlafoþdum ⁊ þa þeoþaſ mid him. oð hý þýldþan þæþon þonne hý :· And hý ſiððan mid ealle of ðam eaþde adþifon. ⁊ him to þifum dýdon þa þe æþ þæþan heoþa hlæfdian :· Ða ſiððan ȝeſohtan þa hlafoþdaſ Romane. ⁊ hý him ȝefýlſtan. ꝥ hý eft to heoþa aȝnum becomon :·

until the men awoke and ran out, and they afterwards fled away. In those days it befel, that on a hill near the city of Rome, the earth opened and there was burning fire up from the earth, so that on each side of the fire, the earth, for the breadth of five acres, was burnt to ashes. Soon after this, in the following year, Sempronius the consul marched with an army against the Picentes, a people of Italy. Then, when they had put themselves in array, and would engage, there was an earthquake, so that both people imagined indubitably that they would sink into the earth, and they, nevertheless, continued thus dreading until the terror had passed over, and afterwards there fiercely fought. There was a vast bloodshed of those people on both sides, though the Romans had the victory, when few were left there. There was seen that the earthquake betokened the great blood-drenchings which they let flow on her.

III.

After Rome had been built four hundred and eighty years, among many other wonders that happened in those days, blood was seen to boil from the earth, and milk to rain from the heavens. In those days the Carthaginians sent succour to the Tarentines, that they might the more easily fight against the Romans. Thereupon the Romans sent messengers to them, and asked them why they so did? They then swore to the messengers with a most shameful oath, that they had never afforded them aid; although those oaths were nearer to falsehood than to truth. In those days, the nations of the Vulsinienses and Etruscans almost all nearly perished through their own folly, because they had freed some of their slaves, and were also too mild to them all, and too indulgent. Then their churls took it ill that the lords had freed the slaves, and would not [free] them. They thereupon rose against the lords, and the slaves with them, until they were stronger than they. And they afterwards entirely drove them from the country, and took for wives those who had previously been their mistresses. Afterwards the lords applied to the Romans, and they aided them, so that they again came to their own.

IV.

Æfter ðam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs cccc. wintrum ⁊ Lxxx. becom on Romane micel mann-cwealm. ꝥ hý þa æt nýhstan ne ahsedan hwæt þæra gefarenra wære. ac hwæt heora þonne to lafe wære :· And eac þa deofola þe hý on sýmbel weorðodon hý amýrdon. to-eacan þam oðrum monigfealdum bismrum þe hý lærende wæron. ꝥ hý ne cuðan ongitan ꝥ hit Godes wracu wæs. ac heton þa bisceopas ꝥ hý sædon þam folce. ꝥ heora godas him wæron ýrre. to þam ꝥ hi him þa-git swiðor offredon ⁊ blotton þonne hý ær dýdon :· On þære ilcan tide Laperronie wæs hatenu heora goda nunne. þa gebýrede hýre ꝥ heo hý forlæg :· Þý þa Romane for þam gýlte hi ahengan. ⁊ eac þone þe þone gylt mid hýre gewórhte. ⁊ ealle þa þe þone gýlt mid him wiston ⁊ mid him hælon :· Þu wene we nu Romane him sýlf ðýllice writon ⁊ setton for heora agenum gýlpe ⁊ heringe. ⁊ þeah gemong þære heringe þýllica bismera on hý sýlfe asædon. hu wene we hu monegra maran bismra hý forsýgedon. ægðer ge for heora agenre lufan ⁊ landleoda. ge eac for heora senatum ege :·

BE LARTAINA LEWINNE :· Nu we sculon fon. cwæð Orosius. ýmb ꝥ Punica gewinn. ꝥ wæs of þam folce of Lartaina þære býrig. seo wæs getimbred fram Elisann þam wifmen Lxxxii. wintrum ær Romeburh. swa some þæra burhwarena ýfel ⁊ heora bismeres weard lýtel asæd ⁊ awriten. swa swa Trogus ⁊ Justinus sædon. stær-writeras. forþon þe heora wise on nænne sæl wel ne gefor. naðer ne innan fram him sýlfum. ne utane fram oðrum folcum :· Swa-þeah. to-eacan þam ýfelum. hý gesetton. þonne him micel mann-cwealm on becom. ꝥ hý sceoldon menn heora godum blotan :· Swa eac þa deofla. þe hý on gelýfdon. gelærdon hý ꝥ þa þe þær onhælede wæran. ꝥ hý hale for hý cwealdon. ⁊ wæron þa menn to þon dýsige. ꝥ hý wendon ꝥ hý mihton ꝥ ýfel mid þam gestillan. ⁊ þa deofla[1] to þon lýtige. ꝥ hý hit mid þam gemicledan. ⁊ forþon þe hý swa swiðe dýsige wæron. him com on Godes wracu. on gefeohtum

IV.

After Rome had been built four hundred and eighty years, a great mortality came on the Romans, so that at last they did not ask how many had died, but how many of them then remained. And also the devils, whom they constantly worshiped, led them astray, in addition to the other manifold scandals that they taught them, so that they could not understand that it was the vengeance of God; but commanded the priests to tell the people that their gods were wroth with them, in order that they might more frequently offer and sacrifice to them than they had ere done. At the same time it happened that a vestal of their gods, who was named Capparonia, committed incontinence. For that crime the Romans hanged her, and also him who had perpetrated the crime with her, and all those who were privy to the crime, and concealed it among themselves. How can we now imagine, that the Romans themselves wrote and composed such [narratives] for their own glory and praise, and yet, in the midst of the praise, have related such disgraces of themselves? How many may we imagine greater disgraces they have passed in silence, both for love of themselves and countrymen, as well as for fear of their senate?

Of the Carthaginian War. We will now, says Orosius, begin concerning the Carthaginian war (that was of the people of the city of Carthage, that was built by the woman Elisa eighty-two years before Rome), as of the calamities of the citizens and their disasters little has been said and written, as Trogus and Justinus, the historians, have related; because their affairs at no time succeeded well, neither within among themselves, nor without from other nations. And yet, in addition to these evils, they decreed, when a great pestilence came upon them, that they should sacrifice men to their gods. In like manner, the devils, in whom they believed, instructed them, that for those who were unhealed there they should slay the hale; and men were so foolish, that they imagined they might thereby still the evil, and the devils so crafty that they thereby augmented it. And because they were so very foolish, the vengeance of God came upon them, in wars, besides other

to-eacan oðrum ýfelum. þæt þæs oftost on Sicilium ⁊ on Sarðinium þam iglandum. on þa hý gelomlicost þunnon :· Æfter þam þe him sþa oftriædlice mislamp. ꝥ hý angunnon hit þitan heora ladteoþum ⁊ heora cempum heora earfeða. ⁊ him bebudon ꝥ hý on þræcsiðas foran ⁊ on ellþiode :· Raðe æfter þam hý bædan. ꝥ hý mon to heora earde forlete. ꝥ hi mostan gefandian. hþæðer hý heora medsælþa ofersþiðan mihton :· Ða him mon þæs forþyrnde. þa gesohtan hý mid firde :· On þære hergunge gemette se ýldesta ladteoþ. Mazeus. his agenne sunu. mid purpurum gegýredne on bisceophade. he hine þa for þam gýrelan gebealh. ⁊ he hine oferfon het ⁊ ahon. ⁊ þende ꝥ he for his forsefennesse sþelc sceorp þeredе. forþon hit næs þeaþ mid him ꝥ æniz oðer purpuran þeredе buton cýningum :· Raþe æfter þam hý begeatan Lartaina þa burh. ⁊ ealle þa æltæþestan ofslogon. þe þærinne þæron. ⁊ þa oðre to him genýddon :· Ða æt nihstan. he þearð sýlf besýred ⁊ ofslagen :· Ðis þæs geþorden on Liruses dæge. Þersa cýninges :·

V.

Æfter þam Himilco. Lartaina cýning. gefor mid fýrde on Sicilie. ⁊ him þær becom sþa færlic ýfel. ꝥ þa menn þæron sþa raðe deade. sþa hit him on becom. ꝥ hý þa æt nihstan hý bebýrgean ne mihton. ⁊ for þam eze his unþillum þende. ⁊ ham for. mid þam þe þær þæron :· Sona sþa ꝥ forme scip land gesohte. ⁊ ꝥ egeslice spell gebodade. sþa þæron ealle þa burhþare Lartaginigenses mid sþiðlice heafe ⁊ þope onstýred. ⁊ ælc ahsiende ⁊ frinende æfter his frýnd. ⁊ hý untþegendlice nanra treoþða him ne þendon. buton ꝥ hý mid-ealle forþeorðan sceoldan :· Mid þam þe þa burhþare sþa geomorlic angin hæfdon. þa com se cýning sýlf mid his scipe. ⁊ land gesohte mid sþiðe lýðerlican gegýrelan. ⁊ ægðer ge he sýlf hamþeard for. ge ꝥ folc ꝥ him ongean com. eall hit him þepende hampeard folgode. ⁊ he se cýning his handa þæs uppþeardes bræðende þið þæs heofones. ⁊ mid oferheortnesse him þæs þaniende ægðer ge his agenne heardsælþa. ge ealles þæs folces. ⁊ he þa-gýt him sýlfum gedyde ꝥ þær þýrst þæs. þa he to his

evils. That was oftenest in the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, in which they most frequently warred. After they had so often been unsuccessful, they began to blame their generals and their soldiers for their disasters, and commanded them to go into exile and banishment. Shortly after, they prayed to be re-admitted to their country, that they might try whether they could overcome their bad fortune. When this was refused them, they attempted with an army. In the ravage, the general-in-chief, Mazeus, met his own son clad in purple, though one of the priesthood. On account of that garment he was incensed, and he commanded him to be seized and crucified; and thought that in contempt of him he wore such a garment; because it is not a custom with them that any other should be clad in purple but kings. Shortly after this they got the city of Carthage, and slew all the chiefs that were in it, and reduced the others to subjection. Then at last, he was himself circumvented and slain. This happened in the days of Cyrus, king of the Persians.

V.

After that Himilco, king of Carthage, proceeded with an army to Sicily, and there came upon them such a sudden evil, that men were dead as soon as it came upon them, so that at last they could not bury them; and from fear against his will departed, and proceeded home with those that there were. As soon as the first ship reached the land and announced the fearful intelligence, then were all the Carthaginian citizens affected with violent groaning and weeping, and every one asking and inquiring after his friends, and would positively believe nothing true, but that they must all have perished. While the citizens were engaged on so mournful a subject, the king himself came with his ship, and landed in a very squalid garment, and both he himself proceeded homewards, and the people who had come to meet him, all followed him homewards weeping; and he, the king, stretched out his hands upwards towards heaven, and with overflowing heart, bewailed both his own hard fortune and that of all the people; and he, moreover, did to himself that which was worst, when he came to his house, when he there

inne com. þa he ꝥ folc þær-ute betýnde. ⁊ hine ænne þær-inne beleac. ⁊ hine sýlfne offloh :· Æfter þam wæs sum weliz mann binnan Lartaina. se wæs haten Hanno. ⁊ wæs mid unzemete þæs cýnedomes zýrnende :· Ac him zeþuhte ꝥ he mid þæra witena willum him ne mihte tocuman. ⁊ him to ræde zenam ꝥ he hý ealle to zereordum to him zehet. ꝥ he hý siððan mihte mid attre acwellan. ac hit zewearð þurh þa amelbod. þe he zeþoht hæfde ꝥ him to ðære dæde fýlstan sceolde :· Ða he onfunde ꝥ ꝥ cuð wæs. þa zezaderade he ealle þa þeowas ⁊ þa ýfelan menn þe he mihte. ⁊ þohte ꝥ he on þa burhware on unzearewe become. ac hit him wearð æror cuð :· Ða him æt þære byriz ne zeswerw. þa zewende he mid xxiiii. M̄. to anre oðerre býriz. ⁊ þohte ꝥ he þa abræce :· Ða hæfdon þa burh-leoda Mauritane him to fultume. ⁊ him onzean comon butan fæstene. ⁊ Hannon zefenzon. ⁊ þa oðre zeflýmdon. ⁊ þær siððan tintrezad wearð :· Ærest hine man swanz. þa sticode him mon þa ezan ut. ⁊ siððan him mon sloh þa handa of. þa ꝥ heafod. ⁊ eall his cýnn mon offloh. þý læs hit mon uferan dazum wræce. oððe æniz oðer dorste eft swýlc onzinnan :· Ðis zewearð on Philippuses dæze. þæs cýninzes :· Æfter þam hýrdon Lartaniensеs ꝥ se mæra Alexander hæfde abrocen Tirum þa burh. seo wæs on ær-dazum heora ýldrena eðel. ⁊ ondredon ꝥ hý eac to him cuman woldon :· Ða sendon hý þider Amilcor. heora þone zleawéstan mann. ꝥ he Alexandres wisan besceawode. swa he hit him eft ham onbead. on anum brede awriten. ⁊ siððan hit awriten wæs he hit ofer-worhte mid weaxe :· Eft þa Alexander zefaren wæs ⁊ he ham com. þa tuzon hine þære burze witan. ꝥ he heora swicdomes wið Alexander fremmende wære. ⁊ hine for þære tihtlan offlozon :· Æfter þam Lartaniensеs wunnon on Sicilie. þær him seldon teala zeswerw. ⁊ besætan heora heafod-burh. Siracuses wæs hatenu :· Ða ne onhazode Azathocle. heora cýninze. ꝥ he wið hý mihte buton fæstene zefeohtan. ne eac ꝥ hý ealle mihton for meteleste þær binnan zebidan. ac leton heora fultum þær binnan beon. be þam dæle. þe hý æzðer mihton ze heora fæsten zehealdan. ze eac ꝥ þa mete hæfdon þa hwile. ⁊ se cýninz mid þam oðrum dæle on scipum for on Lartaniense. ⁊ hý raðe þæs forbærnan het. þe he to lande zefor. forþon

shut the people out, and locked himself therein alone, and slew himself. After that, there was a wealthy man in Carthage, who was named Hanno, and was immoderately craving after the kingship. But it seemed to him that with the will of the senators he could not attain it, and he took the resolution that he would bid them all to a feast, in order that he might then kill them by poison. But it was divulged through those who he had thought would have aided him in the deed. When he found that it was known, he gathered all the slaves and the evil men that he could, and thought that he could come on the citizens unawares; but it had been previously made known to them. When he did not succeed at the city, he betook himself with twenty-four thousand to another city, and thought he could capture it. But the citizens had the Maúritanians to aid them, and came against him outside the fortress, and took Hanno, and put the others to flight, and there he was afterwards tortured. First they scourged him, then put his eyes out, and afterwards struck off his hands, then his head, and slew all his kin, lest they at a future day might avenge it, or any other might again dare the like. This happened in the days of Philip the king. After that, the Carthaginians heard that the Great Alexander had taken the city of Tyre, which, in days of old, was the country of their forefathers, and dreaded lest they should also come to them. Thereupon they sent Amilcar thither, their most expert man, that he might observe Alexander's movements, so that he might announce it to them at home written on a board; and after it was written, he worked it over with wax. After Alexander was dead and he was come home, the senators of the city accused him of having acted treacherously towards them with Alexander, and for that accusation slew him. After that the Carthaginians made war on Sicily, where they seldom succeeded well, and besieged their chief city called Syracuse. Then it did not seem advisable to Agathocles, their king, that he should fight with them outside his fortress, nor also that, on account of want of food, they should all remain within it; but let a part of their force be within, both that they might hold their fastness, and also that during that while they might have food; and the king with the other part proceeded in ships to the Carthaginian territory, and immediately after he had reached land com-

he nolde ꝥ hiſ ſýnd heoꝛa eſt ænigne anꝑeald hæfde. ⁊ him þæꝛ ꝛaðe ſæſten geꝑoꝛhte. ⁊ ꝑæſ ꝥ ſolc þanon-ut ſleande ⁊ hýnende. oðꝥ Danno. þæſ ſolceſ oðeꝛ cýning. hine æt þam ſæſtene geſohte mid xx. M̄. ⁝ Ac hine Agathocleſ geſlymde ⁊ hiſ ſolceſ oſſloh ii. M̄. ⁊ him æfteꝛ-ſýlgende ꝑæſ oð v. mila to þæꝛe býꝛig Laꝛtaꝛienſe. ⁊ þæꝛ oðeꝛ ſæſten geꝑoꝛhte. ⁊ þæꝛ ýmbutan ꝑæſ heꝛgende ⁊ bæꝛnende. ꝥ Laꝛtaꝛienſe mihton geſeon oſ heoꝛa býꝛig ꝥ ſýꝛ. ⁊ þone teonan þonne hý on ſoꝛe ꝑæꝛon ⁝ Ymbe þone timan þe ðiſ ꝑæſ. Andꝛa ꝑæſ haten Agathocleſ bꝛoðoꝛ. þone he æt ham on þæꝛe býꝛig him beæftan let. he beſiꝛede ꝥ ſolc þe hi embſeten hæfdon. on anꝛe niht ungeaꝛeꝑe. ⁊ hit mæſt eall oſſloh. ⁊ þa oðꝛe to ſcipan oðfluzon ⁝ And ꝛaðe þæſ þe hý ham comon. ⁊ ꝥ ſpell cuð ꝑeaꝛð Laꝛtaꝛienſum. ſꝑa ꝑuꝛdon hý ſꝑa ſꝑiðe ſoꝛþohte. ꝥ nalæſ ꝥ an ꝥ Agathocle maneza býꝛig to gaſol-gýldum ꝑuꝛdon. ac eac hý him heapmælum ſýlfe on hand eodon. ſꝑa eac Ofeſleſ ſe cýning. mid Liꝛene hiſ ſolce. hine eac geſohte ⁝ Ac Agathocleſ gedýde untꝛeoꝑlice ꝑið hine. ꝥ he hine on hiſ ꝑæꝛum beſꝑac ⁊ oſſloh. ſꝑa him eac ſýlfum ſiððan æfteꝛ lamp ⁝ Liſ he ða þa ane untꝛeoꝑða ne gedýde. fꝛom þam dæge he mihte butan bꝛoce ealꝛa Laꝛtaina anꝑeald begitan ⁝ On þæꝛe hꝑile þe he þone unꝛæd ðuꝛhteah. Bomilcoꝛ [Amilcoꝛ]. Pena cýning. ꝑæſ mid ſibbe ꝑið hiſ ſaꝛende. mid eallum hiſ ſolce ⁝ Ac betux Agathocle ⁊ hiſ ſolce ꝑeaꝛð ungeꝛædneſ. ꝥ he ſýlf oſſlagen ꝑeaꝛð ⁝ Æfteꝛ hiſ deaðe ſoꝛan eſt Laꝛtaꝛienſeſ on Sicilie mid ſcipum ⁝ Ða hý ꝥ geahſedon. þa ſendon hý æfteꝛ Piꝛꝛuſe. Epiꝛa cýninge. ⁊ he him ſume hꝑile geſýlſte ⁝

VI.

Æfteꝛ þam þe Romebuꝛh getimbꝛed ꝑæſ cccc. ꝑintꝛum ⁊ Lxxxiii. ſendon Mameꝛtine. Sicilia ſolc. æfteꝛ Romana ſultume. ꝥ hý ꝑið Pena ſolce mihte ⁝ Ða ſendon hý him Appiuſ Llaudiuſ þone conſul mid ſultume ⁝ Eſt þa hý

manded them to be burnt, because he would not that his enemies should have afterwards any power over them; and he there speedily constructed a fortress, and was driving out the people thence and oppressing them, until Hanno, the people's other king, sought him at the fortress with twenty thousand men. But Agathocles put him to flight, and slew two thousand of his people, and followed after him to within five miles of the Carthaginian city, and there constructed another fortress, and there about was harrying and burning, so that the Carthaginians might see the fire from their city, and the calamity, while they were [out] in the expedition. About the time that this was, the brother of Agathocles, who was named Andro, whom he had left behind him at home in the city, overcame by artifice the army that had besieged him, in one night unexpectedly, and slew them almost all, and the others fled to their ships. And immediately after they came home, and the intelligence became known to the Carthaginians, they were so despised, that not only many cities became tributaries to Agathocles, but also surrendered to him in bodies. So also Ophellas, the king, with Cyrene, his people, likewise sought him. But Agathocles acted treacherously towards him, by deceiving him into a compact with him, and slew him; as it happened afterwards also to himself. If he had not done that one act of treachery, he might from that day, without difficulty have acquired the rule over all the Carthaginians. During the time that he was following that evil counsel, Bomilcar, the Punic king, was peaceably marching towards him with all his people. But there was dissension between Agathocles and his people, so that he himself was slain. After his death the Carthaginians proceeded again to Sicily with ships. When they (the Sicilians) were apprized of that, they sent for Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and he for some time aided them.

VI.

After Rome had been built four hundred and eighty-three years, the Mamertini, a Sicilian people, sent to the Romans for aid, that they might withstand the Punic people. Whereupon they sent to them the consul, Appius Claudius, with aid. Then after they had proceeded together with their

toȝæðeꝛe-ꝑeaꝛð ꝼoꝛan mið heoꝛa ꝼolcum. þa ꝼluȝon Pene. ſꝑa hý eꝼt ſýlꝼe ſæðon. ⁊ hý ꝑunðꝛeðan ꝥ hý æꝛ ꝼluȝon. æꝛ hý toȝæðeꝛe ȝenealæhton :· Foꝛ þam ꝼleame Þanno. Pena cýninȝ. mið eallum hiſ ꝼolce. ꝑeaꝛð Romanum to ȝaꝼol-ȝýlðum. ⁊ him ælce ȝeaꝛe ȝeſealðe tꝑa hunð talentana ſeolꝼꝛeſ. on ælcꝛe anꝛe talentan ꝑæſ Lxxx. punða :· Æꝼteꝛ þam Romane beſætan þone ýlðꝛan Þannibalan. Pena cýninȝ. on Aȝꝛiȝente. Sicilia býꝛiȝ. oð he ꝼoꝛneah hunȝꝛe ſꝑealt :· Ða com him Pena oðeꝛ cýninȝ to ꝼultume mið ſciphеꝛe. Þanno ꝑæſ haten. ⁊ þæꝛ ȝeꝼlýmeð ꝑeaꝛð. ⁊ Romane ſiððan ꝥ ꝼæſten abꝛæcan. ⁊ Þannibal ſe cýninȝ on niht ut-oðꝼleah mið ꝼeaꝑum mannum. ⁊ Lxxx. ſcipa ȝeȝaðeꝛaðe. ⁊ on Romana land-ȝemæꝛo heꝛȝaðe :· On þa ꝑꝛace ꝼunðon Romane æꝛeſt ꝥ hý ſcipa ꝑoꝛhtan. ꝥ ȝeꝼꝛemeðe Duiliuſ heoꝛa conſul ꝥ ꝥ anȝin ꝑeaꝛð tiðlice þuꝛhtoȝen. ſꝑa ꝥ æꝼteꝛ ſýxtiȝum ðaȝa þæſ þe ꝥ timbeꝛ acoꝛꝼen ꝑæſ. þæꝛ ꝑæꝛon xxx. ⁊ c. ȝeaꝛoꝑa. ȝe mið mæſte ȝe mið ſeȝle. ⁊ oðeꝛ conſul. ſe ꝑæſ haten Loꝛneliuſ Aſina. ſe ȝeꝼoꝛ on Lipaꝛiſ ꝥ iȝland. to Þannibale to ſunðoꝛ-ſꝑꝛæce mið xvi. ſcipan. þa oꝼſloh he hine :· Sꝑa ꝥ þa ſe oðeꝛ conſul ȝehýꝛðe. Duiliuſ. ſꝑa ȝeꝼoꝛ he to þam iȝlanðe mið xxx. ſcipum ⁊ Þannibaleſ ꝼolceſ iii. hunð oꝼſloh. ⁊ hiſ xxx. ſcipa ȝenam. ⁊ xiii. on ſæ beſencte. ⁊ hýne ſýlꝼne ȝeꝼlýmðe :· Æꝼteꝛ þam Punici. ꝥ ſinðon Laꝛtanienſe. hý ȝeſetton Þannonan oꝼeꝛ heoꝛa ſcipa. ſꝑa Þannibaleſ ꝑæſ æꝛ. ꝥ he beꝑeꝛeðe Saꝛðiniam ⁊ Loꝛſicam þa iȝland ꝑið Romanum. ⁊ he ꝛaðe þæſ ꝑið hý ȝeꝼeaht mið ſciphеꝛe. ⁊ oꝼſlaȝen ꝑeaꝛð :·

Ðæſ on þam æꝼteꝛan ȝeaꝛe Lalatinuſ ſe conſul ꝼoꝛ mið ꝼýꝛðe to Lameꝛinam. Sicilia býꝛiȝ. ac him hæꝼðon Pene þone ꝑeȝ ꝼoꝛſeten. þæꝛ he oꝼeꝛ þone munt ꝼaꝛan ſceolðe :· Ða ȝenam Lalatinuſ iii. hunð manna mið him. ⁊ on anꝛe ðiȝelꝛe ſtoꝑe þone munt oꝼeꝛſtah. ⁊ þa menn aꝼæꝛðe ꝥ hý ealle onȝean hine ꝑæꝛon ꝼeohtenðe. ⁊ þone ꝑeȝ letan butan ꝑaꝛe. ꝥ ſeo ꝼýꝛð ſiððan þæꝛ ðuꝛh ꝼoꝛ. ⁊ þæꝛ ꝑeaꝛð þa iii. hunð manna oꝼſlaȝen ealle. buton þam conſule anum. he com ꝑunð aꝑeȝ :· Æꝼteꝛ ðam Punice ȝeſetton eꝼt þone ealðan Þannibalan. ꝥ he mið ſcipum on Romane ꝑunne. ac eꝼt þa he þæꝛ

people, the Carthaginians fled, as they themselves said afterwards; and they wondered that they fled before they had engaged together. Through that flight, Hanno, the Punic king, with all his subjects, became tributaries to the Romans, and paid them every year two hundred talents of silver, in each single talent were eighty pounds. After that the Romans besieged the elder Annibal, the Punic king, in Agrigentum, a city of Sicily, until he nearly perished with hunger. Then the other Punic king, who was named Hanno, came to his aid with a fleet, and was there put to flight, and the Romans afterwards took the fortress, and the king, Annibal, fled away by night with a few men, and gathered eighty ships, and pillaged on the Roman coasts. In retaliation, the Romans first resolved to construct ships, which Duilius, their consul, promoted, so that the undertaking was speedily accomplished; so that after sixty days from the time that the timber was cut, a hundred and thirty were ready, both with mast and sail; and the other consul, who was named Cornelius Asina, proceeded to the island of Lipara with sixteen ships, to a private conference with Annibal, when he slew him. When Duilius, the other consul, heard that, he proceeded to the island with thirty ships, and slew three hundred of Annibal's people, and took thirty of his ships, and sank thirteen in the sea, and put himself to flight. After that the Pœni, that is, the Carthaginians, placed Hanno over their ships, as Annibal had previously been, that he might defend the islands of Sardinia and Corsica against the Romans; and he soon after fought against them with a fleet and was slain.

In the year after this, the consul Calatinus proceeded with an army to Camerina, a city of Sicily; but the Carthaginians had beset the way, where he was to pass over the mountain. Calatinus thereupon took with him three hundred men and ascended the mountain at a secret place, and the men feared that they were all fighting against them, and left the way without defence, so that the army afterwards passed therethrough; and there were all the three hundred men slain, save the consul alone; he came away wounded. After that the Carthaginians again appointed the old Annibal to make war on the Romans with ships; but again, when he was about to harry there, he was quickly put to flight, and in the

heɲzean ſceolde. he peaꝛð paðe ȝeſlýmeð. ⁊ on þam ſleame hýne oftýnſðon hiꝛ aȝene ȝeſeþan :· Æftep þam Atilluꝛ ſe conſul apeſte Lipaþum ⁊ Melitam. Sicilia iglanð :· Æftep þam ſoþan Romane on Affpice miþ iii. hunð ſcipa ⁊ þpitiȝum :· Ða ſendon hý heoꝛa tpezen cýninȝaꝛ him onȝean. Þannan ⁊ Amilcoꝛ. miþ ſcipum. ⁊ þæp puꝛðon bezen ȝeſlýmeð. ⁊ Romane ȝenamon on him Lxxxiii. ſcipa. ⁊ ſiððan hý abꝛæcon Clýpeam heoꝛa buꝛh. ⁊ pæꝛon heꝛȝenðe oð Capcaina heoꝛa heaꝛoð-buꝛh :· Æftep þam Rezuluꝛ ſe conſul unðeꝛſenȝ Capcaina ȝepinn :· Ða he æpeꝛt þiðep miþ ſýnðe ſaꝛenðe pæꝛ. þa ȝepicoðe he neah anꝛe ea. ſeo pæꝛ haten Bazꝛaða. þa com oꝛ þam pæteꝛe an næðꝛe. ſeo pæꝛ unȝemetlice micel. ⁊ þa menn ealle offloh þe neah þam pæteꝛe comon :· BE ÐÆRE NÆDRAN :· Ða ȝeȝaðeꝛaðe Rezuluꝛ ealle þa ſcýttan þe on þam ſæꝛelðe pæꝛon. ꝥ hý mon miþ ſlanum oꝛeꝛcome. æc þonne hý mon ſloh oððe ſceaꝛ. þonne ȝlað hiꝛ on þam ſcillum. ſpýlce hiꝛ pæꝛe ſmeðe iꝛen :· Ða heꝛ he miþ þam paliſtaꝛ. miþ þam hý peallaꝛ bꝛæcan. þonne hý on ſæꝛtenne ſuhton. ꝥ hiꝛe mon miþ þam þꝛineꝛ onpuppe :· Ða peaꝛð hiꝛe miþ anum ſýꝛꝛe an ꝛibb ſoꝛoþ. ꝥ heo ſiððan mæȝen ne hæꝛbe hý to ȝeꝛcylðanne. ac þaðe þæꝛ heo peaꝛð offlazen. ſoꝛþon hiꝛ iꝛ næðꝛena ȝecýnð. ꝥ heoꝛa mæȝen ⁊ heoꝛa ſeðe bið on heoꝛa ꝛibbum. ſꝛa oðeꝛa cꝛeopenðꝛa ſýꝛma bið on heoꝛa ſotum :· Ða heo ȝeſýlleð pæꝛ. he heꝛ hý behýlðan. ⁊ þa hýðe to Rome bꝛinȝan. ⁊ hý þæp to mæꝛðe aþenian. ſoꝛþon heo pæꝛ hunð-tpelftiȝeꝛ ſota lanȝ :· Æftep þam ȝeſeahꝛ Rezuluꝛ miþ ðꝛý Pena cyninȝaꝛ on anum ȝeſeohte miþ tpezen Þaꝛðu-balaꝛ. ⁊ ſe ðꝛiðða pæꝛ haten Amilcoꝛ. ſe pæꝛ on Sicilium him to ſultume ȝeſett :· On þam ȝeſeohte pæꝛ Capcainienꝛa xvii. M. offlazen. ⁊ xv. M. ȝeſanȝen. ⁊ ix. elpenbaꝛ ȝenumen. ⁊ Lxxxii. tuna him eoðon on hanð :·

Ða æftep þam þe Capcainienꝛe ȝeſlýmðe pæꝛon, hý pilneðon ſniðeꝛ to Rezule. ac eft þa hý onȝeatan. ꝥ he unȝemetlic ȝaꝛol miþ þam ſniðe habban ſolde. þa cpæðon hý ꝥ him leoꝛne pæꝛe ꝥ hy on ſpýlcon niðe ðeað ſoꝛname. þonne hý miþ ſpýlcan niebe ſniþ beȝeate :· Ða ſendon hý æftep ſultume. aȝðeꝛ ȝe on Callie. ȝe on Iſpanie. ȝe on Læceðemonie. æftep Exantipuꝛe. þam cýninȝe :· Eft þa hý ealle ȝeꝛomnaþ pæꝛan. þa beþohtan hý ealle heoꝛa piȝcpæftaꝛ to Exantipuꝛe. ⁊ he ſiððan þa ſolc

flight his own companions stoned him to death. After that the consul Atilius laid waste the Sicilian islands of Lipara and Melita. After that the Romans proceeded to Africa with four hundred and thirty ships. Thereupon they sent their two kings, Hanno and Amilcar, against them with ships; and there were both put to flight, and the Romans took from them eighty-four ships, and they afterwards took their city of Clupea, and harried as far as their chief city, Carthage. After that the consul Regulus undertook the Carthaginian war. When he first came thither with an army, he encamped near a river that was named Bagrada, when there came from the water a serpent that was enormously large, and slew all the men that came near the water. OF THE SERPENT. Thereupon Regulus gathered all the archers that were in the expedition, that they might overcome it with arrows; but when they struck or shot at it, it (the missile) glided on its scales as if they were smooth iron. He then commanded that with the balistas, with which they break walls when they fight against a fortress, they should cast at it obliquely. Thereupon with one cast one of its ribs was broken, so that afterwards it had no power to protect itself, but shortly after was slain; because it is the nature of serpents, that their power and their locomotive faculty is in their ribs, as of other creeping worms it is in their feet. When it was killed, he ordered it to be flayed and the hide brought to Rome, and there to be stretched out as a wonder; because it was a hundred and twenty feet long. After that, Regulus fought against three Punic kings, in one battle, against the two Asdrubals, and the third called Amilcar, who was in Sicily, [but] fetched to aid them. In that battle seventeen thousand Carthaginians were slain, and fifteen thousand captured, and nine elephants taken, and eighty-two towns surrendered to him.

Then, after the Carthaginians had been put to flight, they desired peace from Regulus; but after they had ascertained that he would have an immoderate tribute for the peace, they said that they would rather that death should destroy them in such [a state of] hate, than that they under such hard conditions should obtain peace. Thereupon they sent for succour to Gaul, to Spain, and to Lacedæmonia, to the king, Xantippus. After they were all assembled, they com-

ȝelæddе þæꝛ hý toȝadeꝛe ȝecꝑeden hæfdon. ⁊ ȝeꝛette tꝑa folc diezellice on tꝑa healfa hiꝛ. ⁊ ðꝛiddе beæftan him. ⁊ bebead þam tꝑam folcum. þonne he ꝛýlf mid þam fýꝛmeꝛtan dæle ꝑið þaꝛ æftemeꝛtan fluȝe. ꝥ hý þonne on Reȝuleꝛ fýꝛde on tꝑa healfa þꝑýꝛeꝛ onfoꝛe. þæꝛ ꝑeaꝛð Romana xxx. M̄. ofꝛlaȝen. ⁊ Reȝuluꝛ ȝefanȝen mid v. hund manna :· Ðeꝛ ꝛiȝe ȝeꝑeaꝛð Punicum on þam teoðan ȝeaꝛe heoꝛa ȝeꝑinneꝛ ⁊ Romana :· Raðe þæꝛ Exantipuꝛ foꝛ eft to hiꝛ aȝnum ꝛice. ⁊ him Romane ondꝛed. foꝛþon þe hý foꝛ hiꝛ laꝛe æt heoꝛa ȝemittinȝe beꝛꝑicene ꝑuꝛdon :· Æfteꝛ þam Æmiliuꝛ Pauluꝛ ꝛe conful foꝛ on Affꝛicam mid iii. hund ꝛcipa to Llýꝑeam þam iȝlande. ⁊ him comon þæꝛ onȝean Punice mid ꝛꝑa fela ꝛcipa. ⁊ þæꝛ ȝeflýmde ꝑæꝛon. ⁊ heoꝛa folceꝛ ꝑæꝛ v. M̄. ofꝛlaȝen. ⁊ heoꝛa ꝛcipa xxx. ȝefanȝen. ⁊ iiii. ⁊ an hund adꝛuncen. ⁊ Romana ꝑæꝛ an c. ⁊ an M̄. ofꝛlaȝen. ⁊ heoꝛa ꝛcipa ix. adꝛuncen. ⁊ hý on þam iȝlande fæꝛten ꝑoꝛhtan. ⁊ hý þæꝛ eft Pene ȝeꝛohton mid heoꝛa tꝑam cýninȝum. þa ꝑæꝛan beȝen Hannon hatene. ⁊ þæꝛ heoꝛa ꝑæꝛon ix. M̄. ofꝛlaȝen. ⁊ þa oðꝛe ȝeflýmed :· Mid þæꝛe heꝛe-hýðe Romane ofeꝛhlæꝛtan heoꝛa ꝛcipa. þa hý hamꝑeaꝛd ꝑæꝛon. ꝥ heoꝛa ȝedꝛaf cc. ⁊ xxx. ⁊ Lxx. ꝑeaꝛð to laꝛe. ⁊ uneaðe ȝeneꝛed mid þam ꝥ hý mæꝛt ealle ut-aꝑúꝛꝑon ꝥ þæꝛon ꝑæꝛ :· Æfteꝛ þam Amilcoꝛ. Pena cýninȝ. foꝛ on Numidiam ⁊ on Mauꝛitaniam. ⁊ hý ofeꝛheꝛȝade. ⁊ to ȝafolȝýldum ȝeꝛette. foꝛþon þe hý æꝛ Reȝule on hand eodan :· Ðæꝛ ýmb vi. ȝeaꝛ Seꝛfiliuꝛ Lepio and Sempꝛoniuꝛ Bleꝛuꝛ. þa conꝛulaꝛ. foꝛan mid iii. hund ꝛcipa ⁊ Lx. ȝum on Affꝛice. ⁊ on Laꝛtanienꝛum moneȝa byꝛiȝ abꝛæcon. ⁊ ꝛiððan mid miclum þinȝum hamꝑeaꝛd foꝛan. ⁊ eft heoꝛa ꝛcipa ofeꝛhlæꝛtan. ꝥ heoꝛa ȝedꝛuꝛon L. ⁊ C. :· Æfteꝛ þam Lotta ꝛe conꝛul foꝛ on Sicilie ⁊ hý ealle foꝛheꝛȝade. þæꝛ ꝑæꝛon ꝛꝑa micle mannꝛlýhtaꝛ. on æȝðꝛe healfe. ꝥ hý mon æt nýhꝛtan bebýꝛȝean ne mihte :· On Luciuꝛeꝛ dæȝe Leliúꝛeꝛ. þæꝛ conꝛuleꝛ. ⁊ on Metelluꝛeꝛ Laiuꝛeꝛ. ⁊ on Fuꝛiuꝛeꝛ Paciluꝛeꝛ. com Aꝛteꝛbal. ꝛe niꝑa cýninȝ. of Laꝛtainum on Lilibeum ꝥ iȝland mid xxx. M̄. ȝehoꝛꝛedꝛa. ⁊ mid xxx. ȝum elpenda ⁊ C. ⁊ ꝛaðe þæꝛ

mitted all their military force to Xantippus, and he subsequently led those nations to where they had agreed together, and placed two nations secretly on each side of him, and the third behind him, and commanded the two nations, when he himself with the foremost part should flee towards the hindmost, that they then should march on the army of Regulus, on each side obliquely. There were slain thirty thousand Romans, and Regulus with five hundred men was taken. This victory happened to the Carthaginians in the tenth year of their war with the Romans. Shortly after, Xantippus returned to his own kingdom, and the Romans were fear-stricken, because by his instruction, in their engagement, they had been overreached. After that, the consul Æmilius Paulus proceeded to Africa with three hundred ships, to the island of Clupea, and there the Carthaginians came against him with as many ships, and were there put to flight, and five thousand of their people were slain, and thirty of their ships taken, and a hundred and four sunk; and of the Romans one thousand one hundred were slain, and nine of their ships sunk: and they constructed a fortress on the island; and there the Carthaginians again sought them with their two kings, who were called the two Hannos, and there nine thousand of them were slain, and the others put to flight. With the booty the Romans overloaded their ships when they were [proceeding] homeward, so that two hundred and thirty were lost, and seventy were left, and with difficulty saved, by casting out almost all that was in them. After that, Amilcar, the Punic king, proceeded to Numidia and to Mauritania, and ravaged them, and made them tributary, because they had before submitted to Regulus. Six years after, Servilius Cæpio and Sempronius Blæsus, the consuls, proceeded with three hundred and sixty ships to Africa, and took many towns from the Carthaginians, and afterwards with much spoil proceeded homewards, and again so overloaded their ships, that a hundred and fifty of them were lost. After that, the consul Cotta proceeded to Sicily, and ravaged it all; there were so many slaughters on both sides, that at last they could not be buried. In the days of the consul Lucius Cælius, and of Metellus Caius, and of Furius Pacilus, Asdrubal, the new king of Carthage, came to the island of Lilybæum with thirty thousand horse, and with a

ȝeſeahȣ þið Metellus þone cyning: Ac siððan Metellus þa elpenbaſ oſepcom. siððan he hæfde eac naðe þ oðep folc ȝeflymeð: Æftep þam fleame. Æftepbal peaþð opflazen fnam hiſ aznum folce:

Ða pæpon Lapȣaimienſe ſpa opepcumene. ȝ ſpa ȝeðneſede betux him ſylfum. þ hý hi to nanum onpealde ne bemætan. ac hý ȝepeaþð. þ hý polðan to Romanum fniðeſ pilnian: Ða ſenðon hý Rezulus ðone conſul. þone hý hæfðon mið him fiſ pintep on benðum. ȝ he him ȝefpop on hiſ ȝoða namon. þ he æȝðep polde. ȝe þ æpenðe abeoðan. ſpa ſpa hý hime hetton. ȝe eac him þ anbýrðe eft ȝecýðan. ȝ he hit ſpa ȝelæſte. ȝ abeaþ þ æȝðep þæſna folca oðþum aȝeaſe ealle þa menn þe hý ȝeheþȝaþ hæfðon. ȝ siððan him betpeonum ſibbe heolðan. ȝ æftep þam þe he hit aboden hæfde. he hý halſode. þ hý nanuht þæſna æpenða ne unðeþfenȝon. ȝ cpæð. þ him to micel æpiſte pæne. þ hý ſpa emnlice ppixledon. ȝ eac þ heopa ȝepiſna næne þ hý ſpa heane hý ȝeþohtan. þ hý heopa ȝelican puþðon. Ða æftep þam popðum. hý buðon him þ he on cýðde mið him punode. ȝ to hiſ pice fenȝe. þa anbýrðe he him ȝ cpæð. þ hit na ȝepeoþðan ſceolde. þ ſe pæpe leoða cyning. ſeþe æp pæſ folce þeop. Ða aſæðan hiſ ȝeſeſian hu he heopa æpenða abeaþ. ða foncunſon hi him þa tpa æðpan. on tpa healfa þæſna eaȝan. þ he æftep þam ſlapan ne mihte. oð he ſpa ſeapiȝende hiſ liſ foplet:

Æftep þam Atilius Rezulus ȝ Manlius Ulſco. þa conſulaſ. foſon on Lapȣaine on Lilibeum þ iglanð. mið tpam hunð ſcipa. ȝ þæp beſætan an fæſten: Ða beſop hine þæp Þannibal ſe ȝeonȝa cyning. Amilconeſ ſunu. þæp hý unȝeapeþe buton fæſtene ſætan. ȝ þæp ealle opflazene pæpan buton ſeapum: Æftep þam Llauðiuſ ſe conſul ſop eft on Punice. ȝ him Þannibal ut on ſæ onȝean com ȝ ealle opfloh. butan xxx. ſciplæſta þa oðfluȝon to Lilibeum þam iglanðe. þæp pæſ opflazen ix. M. ȝ xx. M. ȝeſanȝen: Æftep þam ſop Laiuſ Iuniuſ. ſe conſul. on Affpice. ȝ mið eallum hiſ fæpelde on ſæ ſoppeaþð: Dæſ on þam æftepnan ȝeape. Þannibal ſende ſciphepe on Rome. ȝ þæp unȝemetlic ȝeheþȝaðon: Æftep þam Lutatia ſe conſul ſop on Affpice mið iii. hunð ſcipa.

hundred and thirty elephants, and immediately after fought with the king Metellus. But after Metellus had overcome the elephants, he also quickly put the other people to flight. After the flight, Asdrubal was slain by his own people.

Then were the Carthaginians so overcome and so perplexed among themselves, that they could not assume to themselves any power, but they determined that they would desire peace of the Romans. Thereupon they sent the consul Regulus, whom they had had five years with them in bonds; and he swore to them, in the name of his gods, that he would both announce the errand, as they commanded him, and also again declare the answer. And that he so performed, and announced, that each people should restore to the other all the men that they had captured, and afterwards preserve peace between them. And after he had announced that, he implored them not to accept aught of the errands, and said, that it would be a great disgrace to them to exchange on such equal terms; and also that it was not fitting that they should think so meanly of themselves that they were their equals. Then, after those words, they enjoined him to stay at home with them, and assume the government; but he answered them and said, that it could not be that he should be a king of nations, who had before been a slave to people. When his companions had related how he had announced their errands, they cut the two nerves on the two sides of his eyes, so that after that he could not sleep, until thus enduring pain, he yielded up his life.

After that Atilius Regulus and Manlius Vulso, the consuls, proceeded against the Carthaginians, on the isle of Lilybæum, with two hundred ships, and there besieged a fortress. Then the young king, Annibal, the son of Amilcar, betook himself there where unprepared they were sitting about the fortress, and there all were slain save a few. After that the consul Claudius again proceeded to Carthage, and Annibal met them out at sea and slew them all, except thirty transports that escaped to the island of Lilybæum. There were slain nine thousand, and twenty thousand captured. After that the consul Caius Junius proceeded to Africa, and perished at sea with his whole expedition. In the year after, Annibal sent a fleet to Rome, and there they committed great ravages. After that, Lutatius, the consul, proceeded against Africa

to Sicilium. ⁊ him Punice þær ꝑið ȝefuhton. ðær ꝑearð Lutatia ꝑunð þurh ꝥ oðer cneoꝑ. þæs on merȝen com Hanno mið Hannibales fyrðe. ⁊ þær ȝefeaht ꝑiþ Lutatia þeh he ꝑunð ꝑære. ⁊ Hannan ȝeflymde. ⁊ him æfter for. oð he com to Linam þære byriȝ :· Raðe þæs comon eft Pene mið firðe to him. ⁊ ȝeflymde ꝑurðan. ⁊ offlaȝen ii. M̄. :·

Ða ꝑilneðon Lartaine oðre siðe friðes to Romanum. ⁊ hy hit him on ꝥ ȝerað ȝeafan. ꝥ hy him Siciliam to ne tuȝon. ne Sarðiniam. ⁊ eac him ȝesealðon þær on-ufan iii. M̄. talentana ælce ȝeare :·

VII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ȝetimbreð ꝑæs v. hunð ꝑintrum. ⁊ vii. ꝑearð unȝemetlic fyrbryne mið Romanum. ꝥ nan mann nyste hꝑanon hit com :· Ða ꝥ fyr alet. þa ꝑearð Tiber feo ea sꝑa fleðu sꝑa heo næfre ær næs ne siððan. ꝥ heo mæst eall ȝenam ꝥ binnan þære byriȝ ꝑæs þæra manna anðlyfene. ȝe eac on heora ȝetimbrum :· On þam ðaȝum þe Titus Sempronius ⁊ Lratias Laius ꝑæron consulas on Rome. hy ȝefuhton ꝑið Falisci þam folce. ⁊ heora offloȝon xii. M̄. :·

On þam ȝeare ꝑurðon Lallie Romanum ꝑiðerꝑearðe. þe mon nu hætt Lanȝbeardas. ⁊ raðe þæs heora folc toȝæðere ȝelæddon. on heora þam forman ȝefeohte ꝑæs Romana iii. M̄. offlaȝen. ⁊ on þam æfteran ȝeare ꝑæs Lallie iiii. M̄. offlaȝen. ⁊ ii. M̄. ȝefanȝen :· Ða Romane hamꝑearð ꝑæran. þa noldan hy ðon þone triumphan beforan heora consulum. þe heora ȝeꝑuna ꝑæs þonne hy siȝe hæfðon. forþon þe he æt þam ærran ȝefeohte fleah. ⁊ hy ꝥ siððan feala ȝeara on missenlicum siȝum ðreoȝende ꝑæron :· Ðaþa Titus Manlius. ⁊ Torcꝑatus Laius. ⁊ Atilius Bubulcus ꝑæran consulas[1] on Rome. þa onȝunnon Sarðinie. sꝑa hy Pene ȝelærðon. ꝑinnan ꝑið Romanum. ⁊ raðe ofersꝑiðde ꝑæron :· Æfter þam Romane ꝑunnon on Lartaine. forþon þe hy frið abrocen hæfðon :· Ða sendon hy tua heora ærendracan to Romanum æfter friðe. ⁊ hit abiddan ne mihton :· Ða æt þam ðriddan

with three hundred ships to Sicily, and the Carthaginians there fought against him. There was Lutatius wounded through one knee. On the morrow came Hanno with Annibal's army, and there fought against Lutatius, although he was wounded, and he put Hanno to flight, and proceeded after him, until he came to the city of Erycina. Quickly after, the Carthaginians came to him again with an army, and were put to flight, and two thousand slain.

The Carthaginians then a second time sued for peace to the Romans, and they granted it to them on condition that they should not take possession of Sicily nor Sardinia; and should, moreover, pay them three thousand talents every year.

VII.

After Rome had been built five hundred and seven years, there was an immense conflagration among the Romans, and no man knew whence it came. When the fire ceased, the river Tiber was so swollen as it had never been before nor since; so that it carried away almost all the sustenance of the people that was within the city, yea, even in their dwellings. In those days, when Titus Sempronius and Caius Gracchus were consuls at Rome, they fought against the people of the Falisci, and slew twelve thousand of them.

In that year, the Gauls, who are now called Longobards, were hostile to the Romans, and shortly after, led their people together. In their first battle three thousand of the Romans were slain; and in the following year four thousand Gauls were slain, and two thousand captured. When the Romans were [returning] homeward, they would not make a triumph before their consuls, as was their wont when they had victory, because in the first battle they had fled; and they for many years after endured that in divers victories. When Titus Manlius, and Caius Torquatus, and Atilius Bulbus were consuls at Rome, the Sardinians, as the Carthaginians had taught them, began to war against the Romans, and were soon overpowered. After that the Romans made war on the Carthaginians, because they had broken the peace. They thereupon sent two of their messengers to Rome for peace, but could not obtain it. Then, at the third time, they sent

cýrre hý sendon x. heora ýldestan wítena. ⁊ hý hit abiddan ne mihton :· Æt þam feorðan cýrre hý sendon Hannan heora þone unweorðestan þegn. ⁊ he hit abead :· Witodlice. cwæð Orosius. nu we sindon cumen to þam godan tidum. þe us Romane oðwitað. ⁊ to þære genihtsumnesse. þe hý us ealnig fore gýlpað. ꝥ ure ne sien þam gelican :· Ac frine hý mon þonne. æfter hu monega wintrum seo sibb gewurde. þæs þe hý ærst unsibbe wið monegum folcum hæfdon :· Ðonne is ꝥ æfter L. wintra ⁊ cccc. Ahsige þonne eft hu lange seo sibb gestode. þonne wæs ꝥ an gear :·

Sona þæs on þam æfterran geare. Gallie wunnon wið Romane. ⁊ Pene on oðre healfe :· Hu ðincð eow nu Romanum, hu seo sibb gefæstnod wære. hwæðer heo si þam gelicost þe mon nime anne eles dropan ⁊ drýpe on an mýcel fýr. ⁊ ðence hit mid þam adwæscan. þonne is wen swa micle swiðor swa he ðencð ꝥ he hit adwæsce. ꝥ he hit swa micle swiðor ontýnde :· Swa þonne wæs mid Romanum. ꝥ an gear ꝥ hý sibbe hæfdon. ꝥ hý under þære sibbe to þære mæstan sace become.

On heora þam ærestan gewinne. Amilcor Cartaina cýning. þa he to Romanum mid fýrde faran wolde. þa weard he fram Spenum beþridad ⁊ offlagen :· On þam geare Ilirice offlogan Romana ærendracan :· Æfter þam Fuluius Postumius se consul for þam on hi fýrde gelædde. ⁊ fela offlagen weard on ægðre healfe. ⁊ he þeah sige hæfde :· Sona þæs on þam æfterran geare. gelærdan Romana bisceopas swýlce nive ræðas. swýlce hý full oft ær ealde gedýdon. þa him mon on ðreo healfa onwinnende wæs. ægðer ge Gallie be suþan muntum. ge Gallie be norðan muntum. ge Pene. ꝥ hý sceoldan mid mannum for hý heora godum blotan. ⁊ þæt sceolde beon an Gallisc wæpned-mann. ⁊ an Gallisc wifmann. ⁊ hý þa Romane be þæra bisceopa lare. hý swa cuce bebýrgdon :· Ac hit God wræc on him. swa he ær ealneg dýde. swa oft swa hý mid mannum offredan. ꝥ hý mid heora cucum guldon ꝥ hý ungýltige cwealdon :· Ðæt wæs ærest gesýne on þam gefeohte þe hý wið Gallium hæfdon. þeh þe heora agenes fultumes wære eahta hund M̄. buton oðrum folcum þe hý hæfdon to-asponen. ꝥ hý raðe fluzon. þæs þe heora consul offlagen

ten of their eldest senators, and they could not obtain it. At the fourth time, they sent Hanno, their unworthiest minister, and he obtained it. Verily, says Orosius, we are now come to the good times that the Romans twit us with, and to the abundance that they are always boasting of before us, [saying] that ours are not like to them. But let then any one ask them, after how many years the peace was, from the time they first had war with many people? It is then after four hundred and fifty years. Then let him again ask, how long the peace lasted? It was one year!

Immediately after, in the following year, the Gauls made war against the Romans, and, on the other side, the Carthaginians. How think ye now, Romans, how the peace was established, whether it were not likest to any one taking a drop of oil and dropping it on a great fire, and thinking thereby to quench it, when the probability is much greater that, when he thinks that he quenches it, he makes it burn so much more fiercely? So then it was with the Romans, that the one year they had peace, during that peace, they fell into the greatest strife.

In their first war, Amilcar, king of Carthage, when he was about to proceed against the Romans with an army, was surrounded by the Spaniards and slain. In that year the Illyrians slew the Roman envoys. After that Fulvius Postumius, the consul, on that account, led an army against them, and many were slain on both sides, yet he had the victory. Soon after, in the following year, the Roman priests taught, as new doctrines, such as they had very often practised in former times: when a war was raging on three sides of them, with the Gauls on the south of the mountains, the Gauls on the north of the mountains, and the Carthaginians, that they should sacrifice for themselves to their gods with human beings, and that should be a Gaulish man and a Gaulish woman. And the Romans then, by the instruction of their priests, thus buried them alive. But God avenged it on them, as he had always done before. So often as they sacrificed with human beings, they paid with their living ones, for having slain the guiltless. That was first seen in the battle that they had with the Gauls, although their own force was eight hundred thousand, besides other nations that they had drawn to them, when they quickly

þæſ. ⁊ heoꝛa oðꝛeſ ſolceſ iii. M̄. ꝥ him þa ȝeðuhte ſþýlc ꝥ mæſte þæl. ſþylc hý oſt æꝛ ſoꝛ naht hæfðon :· Æt heoꝛa oðꝛan ȝeſeohte þæſ Lallia ix. M̄. oſſlaȝen. þæſ on þam ðꝛiddan ȝeaꝛe Manliuſ Toꝛcuatuſ ⁊ Fuluiuſ Flaccuſ þæꝛon conſulaſ on Rome. hý ȝeſuhton þið Lallium. ⁊ heoꝛa hunð M̄. oſſloȝon. ⁊ vi. M̄. ȝeſenȝon :·

Oñ þam æſteꝛꝛan ȝeaꝛe þæꝛan moniȝe þunðꝛa ȝeſeþene. an þæſ ꝥ on Piceno þam þuða an þille þeoll bloðe. ⁊ on Thꝛacia þam landе mon ſeah ſþýlce ſe heoſon buꝛne. ⁊ on Aꝛiminiо þæꝛe býꝛiȝ þæſ niht oð miðne ðæȝ. ⁊ þeaꝛð ſþa micel eoꝛðbeoſunȝ. ꝥ on Laꝛia ⁊ on Roðum. þam iȝlanðum. þuꝛðon micle hꝛýꝛaſ. ⁊ Loloſſuſ ȝehꝛeaſ :· Ðý ȝeaꝛe Flaminiuſ ſe conſul ſoꝛſeah þa ſæȝene þe þa hlýttan him ſæðon. ⁊ him loȝan ꝥ he æt þam ȝeſeohte ne come þið Lallie., ac he hit ðuꝛhteah. ⁊ mið þeoꝛðſcipe ȝeenðaðe. þæꝛ þæſ Lallia vii. M̄. oſſlaȝen. ⁊ xv. M̄. ȝeſanȝen :· Æſteꝛ þam Llauðiuſ ſe conſul ȝeſeaht þið Lallie. ⁊ heoꝛa oſſloh xxx. M̄. ⁊ he ſýlf ȝeſeaht þið þone cýninȝ anþiȝ ⁊ hýne oſſloh. ⁊ Meȝelan þa buꝛh ȝeeoðe :· Æſteꝛ þam þunnon Iſtꝛie on Romane. þa ſenðon hý heoꝛa conſulaſ onȝean. Loꝛneliuſ ⁊ Minutiuſ. þæꝛ þæſ micel þæl ȝeſlaȝen on æȝðꝛe healfe. ⁊ Iſtꝛie þuꝛðon þeh Romanum unðeꝛþeoððe :·

VIII.

Æſteꝛ þam þe Romebuꝛh ȝetimbꝛeð þæſ v. hunð þintꝛum ⁊ xxxiii. Hannibal. Pena cýninȝ. beſæt Saȝuntum Iſpania buꝛh. ſoꝛþon þe hý on ſimbel þið Romane ſibbe heolðan. ⁊ þæꝛ þæſ ſittenðe viii. monað. oð he hý ealle hunȝꝛe acþealðe ⁊ þa buꝛh toþeaꝛp. þeh þe Romane heoꝛa æꝛenðꝛacan to him ſenðon. ⁊ hý ſiꝛmetton ꝥ hi ꝥ ȝeþin ſoꝛleton. ac he hý ſþa unþeoꝛðlice ſoꝛſeah. ꝥ he heoꝛa ſýlf onſeon nolðe on þam ȝeþinne. ⁊ eac on moneȝum oðꝛum :· Æſteꝛ þam Hannibal ȝecyððe þone nið ⁊ þone hete. þe he beſoꝛan hiſ fæðeꝛ ȝeſþeoꝛ. þa he niȝon þintꝛe cniht þæſ. ꝥ he næſꝛe ne þuꝛðe Romana fꝛeonð :· Ðaþa

fled, because their consul was slain, and of their other people three thousand: that seemed to them as an immense slaughter, what they had often before regarded as naught. In their second battle, nine thousand Gauls were slain. In the third year after this, Manlius Torquatus and Fulvius Flaccus were consuls at Rome. They fought against the Gauls, and slew a hundred thousand of them and took six thousand.

In the year after, there were many wonders seen. One was, that in the wood of Picenum a spring welled with blood; and in the land of Thrace it was seen as if the heavens were burning; and in the city of Ariminum there was night until mid-day; and there was so great an earthquake that in Caria and the isle of Rhodes there were great ruins, and the Colossus fell. In this year, the consul Flaminius despised the sayings that the augurs had said to him, and falsely warned him not to engage in war against the Gauls; but he carried it through and with honour ended it. There were seven thousand of the Gauls slain, and fifteen thousand captured. After that, the consul Claudius fought against the Gauls and slew thirty thousand of them; and he himself fought with the king in single combat, and slew him, and took the city of Milan. After that, the Istrians warred against the Romans; they thereupon sent their consuls, Cornelius and Minucius, against [them]. There was a great slaughter made on both sides, though the Istrians became subjected to the Romans.

VIII.

After Rome had been built five hundred and thirty-three years, Annibal, the Punic king, besieged Saguntum, a city of Spain, because they had ever held peace with the Romans; and was sitting there eight months, until he had killed them all by hunger and destroyed the city; although the Romans sent their messengers to him, and prayed him to abandon the war, but he so injuriously slighted them, that he declined even the sight of them in that war, and also in many others. After that, Annibal manifested the enmity and hate, that he had sworn before his father, when he was a boy of nine years, that he would never be a friend of the Romans. When

Publiuſ Lorneliuſ. ⁊ Scipio Publiuſ. ⁊ Sempronius Longuſ[1]. þa hý þæron conſulaſ. Hannibal abræc mid geſeohte ofer þa beorgaſ þe mon hætt Perenei. þa ſindon betþýx Galleum ⁊ Spaneum. ⁊ ſiððan he geſor ofer þa monegan þeoda. oð he com to Alpiſ þam muntum. ⁊ þær eac ofer abræc. þeh him mon oftræðlice mid geſeohtum þiðſtode. ⁊ þonne þeg geþorhte ofer munti. for ſþa. þonne he to þam ſýndrigum ſtane com. þonne het he hine mid ſýre onhætan. ⁊ ſiððan mid mattucum heaþan. ⁊ mid þam mæſtan geſþince þa muntaſ oferfor :· Hiſ hereſ þæſ an M̄. ſeðena. ⁊ xx. M̄. gehorſeðra :· Ða he hæfde on þam emnette geſaren oð he com to Ticinum þære ea. þa com him þær ongean Scipio ſe conſul. ⁊ þær frecenlice geþundod þearð. ⁊ eac ofſlagen þære. gif hiſ ſunu hiſ ne gehulpe. mid þam þe he hine foran forſtod. oð he on fleame fealh. þær þearð Romana micel þæl geſlagen :· Heora æftere geſeoht þæſ æt Trefia þære ea. ⁊ eft þæron Romane forſlegen ⁊ geflýmed :· Ða þæt Sempronius gehýrde. heora oðer conſul. ſe þæſ on Sicilium mid ſýrde geſaren. he þonan afor. ⁊ begen þa conſulaſ þæron mid ſýrde ongean Hannibal. ⁊ heora gemittinge þæſ eft æt Trefia þære ea. ⁊ eac Romane geflýmed ⁊ ſþiðor forſlagen. ⁊ Hannibal geþundod :· Æfter þam for Hannibal ofer Bardan þone beorh. þeh þe hit ýmbe þone timan þæron ſþa micel ſnaþ-geblanð. ſþa ꝥ ægðer ge þæra horſa fela forþurdon. ge þa elpendaſ ealle buton anum. ge þa menn ſýlfe uneaðe þone cýle genæſan :· Ac forþam he geneðde ſþiðoſt ofer ðone munt. þe he þiſte ꝥ Flaminiuſ ſe conſul þende ꝥ he buton ſorge mihte on þam þinter-ſetle geþunian. þe he þa on þæſ mid þam folce þe he þa gegaðerað hæfde. ⁊ untþeogendlice þende ꝥ nan nære þe ꝥ færelt ýmbe þone timan anginnan dorſte oððe mihte. for þon ungemetlican cýle :· Mid þam þe Hannibal to þam lande becom. ſþa geþicode he on anre dygelre ſtoþe neah þam oðrum folce. ⁊ ſum hiſ folc ſende gind ꝥ land to bærnanne ⁊ to hergeanne. ꝥ ſe conſul þæſ þenende ꝥ eall ꝥ folc þære geond ꝥ land tobræð. ⁊ þiðerþearð farende þæſ. ⁊ ðencende ꝥ he hý on þære hergunge beſþice. ⁊ ꝥ folc buton truman læðde. ſþa he þiſte ꝥ ꝥ oðer þæſ. oð ꝥ Hannibal him com ðþýreſ on mid þam fultume þe he ætgæðere hæfde. ⁊ þone conſul ofſloh. ⁊ þæſ oðreſ folceſ

Publius Cornelius, and Publius Scipio, and Sempronius Longus were consuls, Annibal burst with warfare over the mountains called the Pyrenees, that are between Gaul and Spain, and afterwards he traversed many nations, until he came to the mountains of the Alps, and burst across them also, although oftentimes opposed with battle; and then wrought a way over the mountain [and] so proceeded. When he came to the rock itself, he commanded it to be heated with fire, and afterwards hewed with mattocks, and with the greatest toil crossed the mountains. Of his army there were a [hundred] thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. When he had marched on the plain until he came to the river Ticinus, the consul Scipio came against him, and was there dangerously wounded, and would also have been slain, if his son had not helped him, by placing himself before him, until he betook himself to flight. There was a great slaughter made of the Romans. Their second battle was at the river Trebia, and the Romans were again beaten and put to flight. When Sempronius, their other consul, who was gone with an army to Sicily, heard that, he departed thence, and both consuls proceeded with an army against Annibal, and their meeting was again at the river Trebia, and the Romans [were] also put to flight, and more completely beaten, and Annibal wounded. After that, Annibal proceeded over the Apennine mountains, although about that time there were such great snow-storms, that of the horses many perished, and all the elephants but one; yea, the men themselves with difficulty could sustain the cold. But he ventured across the mountain, chiefly because he knew that the consul Flaminius imagined that he might without apprehension abide in the winter-station in which he then was with the army he had gathered, and imagined undoubtingly that there was no one who durst or could undertake the passage at that season, on account of the intense cold. When Annibal came to that land, he encamped in a secret place near the other army, and sent some of his people over the country to burn and pillage; so that the consul imagined that all the army was dispersed over the land, and proceeded thitherward, and thought he should circumvent them in the plundering, and led the army in disorder, as he knew that the other was, until Annibal came upon his flank with the force that he had together, and slew

xxv. M̄. ⁊ vi. ȝefanȝen. ⁊ Hannibales folces wæs twa M̄. offlaȝen :· Æfter þam Scipio se consul. þæs oðres Scipiones broðor. wæs moneȝa ȝefeoht donde on Ispanium. ⁊ Maȝonem Pena ladteow ȝefenȝ :· ⁊ moneȝa wundor ȝewurdon on þære tide :· Ærest wæs. ꝥ seo sunne wæs swylce heo wære eal ȝelytladu :· Oðer wæs ꝥ mon ȝeseah swylce seo sunne ⁊ se mona fuhton :· Ðas wundor ȝewurdon on Arpis þam lande. ⁊ on Sardinium mon ȝeseah twezen scyldas blode swætan. ⁊ Falisci ꝥ folc hy ȝesawan swylce seo heofon wære tohliden. ⁊ Athium ꝥ folc him ȝeþuhte. ꝥ hy heora corn-ripan ⁊ heora cawlas afylled hæfdon. ꝥ eall þa ear wæron blodiȝe :·

IX.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ȝetimbred wæs v. hund wintrum ⁊ xl. þaþa Lucius Æmilius. ⁊ Paulus Publius. ⁊ Terentius Uarro[1]. þa hy wæron consulas. hy ȝeforan mid fyrde onȝean Hannibal. ac he hi mid þam ilcan wrence bespac. þe he æt heora ærran ȝemetinȝe dyde. ⁊ eac mid þam niwan. þe hy ær ne cuðan. þæt wæs. ꝥ he on fæstre stowe let sum his folc. ⁊ mid sumum for onȝean þa consulas. ⁊ raðe þæs þe hy tosomne comon. he fleah wið þær[2] bæftan wæran. ⁊ him þa consulas wæron æfter-fylȝende. ⁊ ꝥ folc sleande. ⁊ wendon ꝥ hy on þam dæȝe sceoldan habban þone mæstan riȝe. ac raðe þæs þe Hannibal on his fultume com. he ȝeflymde ealle þa consulas. ⁊ on Romanum swa micel wæl ȝesloh. swa heora næfre næs. ne ær ne siððan. æt anum ȝefeohte. þæt wæs xliiii. M̄. ⁊ þæra consula twezen offloh. ⁊ þone ðriddan ȝefenȝ. ⁊ þa on dæȝ he mihte cuman to ealra Romana anwealde. þær he forð ȝefore to ðære byriȝ :· Æfter þam Hannibal sende ham to Lartaina ðreo midd ȝyldenra hrinȝa his size to tacne :· Be þam hrinȝum mon mihte witan hwæt Romana duȝuðe ȝefeallen wæs. forþon þe hit wæs þeaw mid him on þam daȝum. ꝥ nan oðer ne moste ȝyldenne hrinȝ werian. buton he æðeles cynnes wære :· Æfter þam ȝefeohte wæron Romana swa swiðe forþohte. ꝥ Lecilius Metellus. þe þa heora consul wæs. ȝe ealle heora sena-

the consul, and of the other people twenty-five thousand, and six [thousand] were captured; and of Annibal's people two thousand were slain. After that, the consul Scipio, the brother of the other Scipio, fought many battles in Spain, and took Mago, a general of the Carthaginians, prisoner. And many wonders happened at this time. The first was, that the sun was as if it were all diminished. The second was, that it was seen as if the sun and moon were fighting. These wonders happened in the land of Arpi. And in Sardinia two shields were seen to sweat blood. And the people of the Falisci saw the heavens, as it were, cloven. And it seemed to the people of Antium, that, having thrown their bundles of corn into their baskets, all the ears were bloody.

IX.

After Rome had been built five hundred and forty years, when Lucius Æmilius, and Paulus Publius, and Terentius Varro were consuls, they marched with an army against Annibal; but he deceived them by the same stratagem that he had used at their former meeting, and also with a new one which they knew not before; which was, that he left some of his army in a strong place, and with some marched against the consuls, and as soon as they came together, he fled towards those who were behind, and the consuls pursued him and slew his people, and thought that they on that day should have the greatest victory. But as soon as Annibal came to his force, he put all the consuls to flight, and made so great a slaughter of the Romans as never had been of them, neither before nor since, in one battle; that was forty-four thousand; and he slew two of their consuls and captured the third; and on that day he might have come to the dominion of all the Romans, if he had marched on to the city. After that Annibal sent home to Carthage three measures of golden rings, in token of his victory. By the rings might be known how many noble Romans had fallen; because it was their custom in those days, that no one might wear a golden ring, unless he were of noble lineage. After that battle the Romans were so very despondiug, that Cæcilius Metellus, who was then their consul, yea, all their senate, had resolved

tuſ hæfdon ʒeþoht. ꝥ hý ſceoldon Romeburh forlætan. ʒe
furðon ealle Italiam. ⁊ hý ꝥ ſpa ʒelæſton. ʒif him Scipio ne
ʒeſtýrde. ſe þæſ þæra cempena ýldeſt. mid þam þe he hiſ
ſpeorde ʒebræd. ⁊ ſpor ꝥ him leofre þære. ꝥ he hine ſýlfne
acþealde. þonne he forlete hiſ fæder-eðel. ⁊ ſæde eac ꝥ he
þæra ælceſ ehtend polde beon. ſpa ſpa hiſ feondeſ. þe þæſ
þorderſ þære ꝥ fram Romebýriʒ þohte. ⁊ he hý ealle mid þam
ʒenydde. ꝥ hý aðaſ ſporan. ꝥ hý ealle ætʒædere poldon. oððe
on heora earde licʒean. oððe on heora earde libban :· Æfter
þam hý ʒeſettan tictator. ꝥ he ſceolde beon herra ofer þa
conſulaſ. ſe þæſ haten Deciuſ Iuniuſ. he næſ buton xvii.
þintre[1]. ⁊ Scipian hý ʒeſetton to conſule. ⁊ ealle þa men þe hi
on þeoþdome hæfdon. hý ʒefreodon. on ꝥ ʒerad. ꝥ hý aðaſ
ſporan. ꝥ hý him æt þam ʒeþinnum ʒelæſton. ⁊ ſume þa þe
heora freʒean noldan. oð hine anʒode ꝥ hy mihton. þonne ʒul-
don hi þa conſulaſ mid heora ʒemænan feo. ⁊ ſiððan freodon.
⁊ ealle þa þe forðemede þæron ær þam. oððe hý ſýlfe for-
þorht hæfdon. hý hit eall forʒeafon. þið þam þe hi him æt þam
ʒeþinnum fulleodon. þæra manna þæſ vi. M̄. þa hý ʒeʒaderad
þæron. ⁊ ealle Italiam ʒeſþican Romanum. ⁊ to Hannibale ʒe-
cýrdon. forþon þe hý þæron orþene. hþæðer æfre Romane to
heora anþealde become :· Ða ʒefor Hannibal on Benefente. ⁊
hý him onʒean comon. ⁊ him to ʒecirdon :· Æfter þam Ro-
mane hæfdon ʒeʒaderad iiii. leʒian heora folceſ. ⁊ ſendon
Luciuſ Poſtumiuſ þone conſul on þa Lallie þe mon nu Lanʒ-
bearðaſ hæt. ⁊ þær offlaʒen þearð. ⁊ þæſ folceſ fela mid
him :· Æfter þam Romane ʒeſetton Claudiuſ Marcelluſ to
conſule. ſe þæſ ær Scipioneſ ʒefera. he for deaþninʒa mid ʒe-
þealdenan fultume on þone ende Hannibaleſ folceſ þe he ſýlf
on þæſ. ⁊ fela þæſ folceſ offloh. ⁊ hine ſýlfne ʒeflýmde :· Ða
hæfde Marcelluſ Romanum cuð ʒedon. ꝥ mon Hannibal ʒe-
flýman mihte. þeh he hý ær tþeode hþæðer hine mon mid
ænizon man-fultume ʒeflýman mihte :· Lemonʒ þam ʒeþin-
num. þa tþeʒen Scipion. þe þa þæron conſulaſ ⁊ eac ʒebroðor.
hý þæron on Iſpanium mid fýrde. ⁊ ʒefuhton þið Haſterbale.
Hannibaleſ fæderan. ⁊ hine offloʒon. ⁊ hiſ folceſ xxx. M̄.
ſume offloʒon ſume ʒefenʒon. ſe þæſ eac Pena oðer cýnʒ :·
Æfter þam Lenteniuſ Penula ſe conſul bæd ꝥ ſenatuſ him

to abandon the city of Rome, and, in fact, all Italy; and they had so done, if Scipio had not restrained them, who was the eldest of the soldiers, when he drew his sword, and swore that he would rather kill himself than abandon his paternal country; and said also that he would pursue every one of those as his foe, who should give his vote for leaving Rome; and he, at the same time, compelled them to swear oaths that they would altogether either fall in their country or live in their country. After that, they appointed a dictator, who should be master over the consuls; he was named Decimus Junius; he was only seventeen years, and Scipio they appointed consul, and all the men that they had in servitude they freed, on condition that they swore oaths, that they would aid them in the wars; and some, whose masters would not, until they were indemnified to enable them, the consuls paid for with their public money, and then freed them; and all those who had previously been condemned or perpetrated crime, they forgave all, on condition of their rendering full service in the wars. Of these men there were six thousand, when they were gathered together. And all Italy deserted from the Romans and turned to Annibal, because they were without hope that the Romans would ever recover their power. Annibal then marched on Beneventum, and they came to meet him and turned to him. After that, the Romans had collected four legions of their people, and sent Lucius Postumius, the consul, against those Gauls that are now called Langobardi, and he was there slain, and many people with him. After that the Romans appointed Claudius Marcellus for consul, who had previously been the companion of Scipio: he marched secretly with an overwhelming force against that part of Annibal's army, in which he himself was, and slew many of his people, and put him himself to flight. Thus did Marcellus make manifest to the Romans, that Annibal could be put to flight, although they had before doubted whether any one with any human force could defeat him. During these wars, the two Scipios, who were then consuls and also brothers, were in Spain with an army, and fought against Asdrubal, Annibal's uncle, and slew him; and of his thirty thousand men slew some and captured some: he was also the Carthaginians' other king. After that, Centenius Penula, the consul, requested the senate to give him a force,

ꝼultum ſealdon. ꝥ he mihte Hannibal mid ȝeꝼeohte ȝeſecean. ⁊ he þæꝛ oꝼſlaȝen ꝼeaꝛð. ⁊ viii. M̄. hiſ ꝼolceſ :· Æꝼteꝛ þam Sempꝛoniuſ Lꝛiaccuſ ſe conſul ꝼoꝛ eꝼt mid ꝼýꝛde onȝean Hannibal. ⁊ ȝeꝼlymed ꝼeaꝛð. ⁊ hiſ heꝛeſ ꝼæſ micel ꝼæl oꝼſlaȝen :· Hu maȝon nu Romane. cꝼæð Oꝛoſiuſ. to ſoðe ȝeſecȝean. ꝥ hý þa hæꝼdon betꝛan tida þonne hý nu habban. þa hý ſꝼa moneȝa ȝeꝼinn hæꝼdon endemeſ undeꝛꝼonȝen. an ꝼæſ on Iſpania. oðeꝛ on Mæcedonia. þꝛiddе on Lappadocia. ꝼeoꝛðe æt ham ꝼið Hannibal. ⁊ hi eac oꝼtoſt ȝeꝼlýmde ꝼuꝛdon. ⁊ ȝebiſmꝛade :· Ac ꝥ ꝼæſ ſꝼiðe ſꝼeotol. ꝥ hý þa ꝼæꝛon beteꝛan þeȝnaſ þonne hý nu ſien. ꝥ hý þeh þæſ ȝeꝼinneſ ȝeſꝼican noldon. ac hý oꝼt ȝebidan on lýtlum ſtaþole. ⁊ on unꝼenlicum. ꝥ hý þa æt nihſtan hæꝼdon ealꝛa þæꝛa anꝼeald. þe æꝛ neah heoꝛa hæꝼdon :·

X.

Æꝼteꝛ þam þe Romebuꝛh ȝetimbꝛed ꝼæſ v. hund ꝼintꝛum ⁊ xliii. Maꝛcelluſ Claudiuſ ſe conſul ꝼoꝛ mid ſciphеꝛe on Sicilie. ⁊ beȝeat Siꝛacuſeſ heoꝛa þa ꝼeleȝeſtan buꝛh. þeh þe hý æt þam æꝛꝛan ꝼæꝛelte beȝitan ne mihte. þa he hi beſeten hæꝼde. ꝼoꝛ Aꝛchimeðeſ cꝛæꝼte. ſume Sicilie þeȝneſ :· On ðam teoðan ȝeaꝛe þæſ þe Hannibal ꝼonn on Italie. he ꝼoꝛ oꝼ Campania þam lande. oð ðꝛeo mila to Romebýꝛiȝ. ⁊ æt þæꝛe ea ȝeꝼicade þe mon Annianeſ hæt. eallum Romanum to þam mæſtan eȝe. ſꝼa hit mon on þæꝛa ꝼæꝛneð-manna ȝebæꝛum onȝitan mihte. hu hý aꝼýꝛhtede ꝼæꝛan ⁊ aȝælꝼede. þa þa ꝼiꝼmen uꝛnon mid ſtanum ꝼið þæꝛa ꝼealla. ⁊ cꝼædon ꝥ hý þa buꝛh ꝼeꝛiȝan ꝼoldon. ȝiꝼ þa ꝼæꝛneð-men ne doꝛſtan :· Ðæſ on moꝛȝen Hannibal ꝼoꝛ to þæꝛe býꝛiȝ. ⁊ beꝼoꝛan þam ȝeate hiſ ꝼolc ȝetꝛýmede. þe mon hæt Collina :· Ac þa conſulaſ noldan hý ſelꝼe ſꝼa eaꝛȝe ȝeþencean. ſꝼa hi þa ꝼiꝼmen æꝛ ꝼoꝛcꝼædan. ꝥ hý hi binnan þæꝛe býꝛiȝ ꝼeꝛiȝan ne doꝛſtan. ac hy hi butan þam ȝeate onȝean Hannibal tꝛýmedon :· Ac þa hý toȝædeꝛe ꝼoldon. þa com ſꝼa unȝemetlic ꝛen. ꝥ heoꝛa nan ne mihte naneſ ꝼæꝛneſ ȝeꝼealdan. ⁊ ꝼoꝛþam toꝼoꝛan :· Ða ſe ꝛen ablon hý ꝼoꝛan eꝼt toȝædeꝛe. ⁊ eꝼt ꝼeaꝛð oðeꝛ

that he might give battle to Annibal, and he was there slain, and eight thousand of his people. After that, Sempronius Gracchus, the consul, again marched with an army against Annibal, and was put to flight, and of his army a great slaughter was made. How can the Romans now, says Orosius, say with truth, that they had better times then than they now have, when they had, at the same time, undertaken so many wars? One was in Spain, a second in Macedonia, a third in Cappadocia, a fourth at home against Annibal; and they were, moreover, oftenest defeated and disgraced. But it was very manifest that they were better soldiers then than they now are; that they, nevertheless, would not flinch from the war; (but they often rested on a little and hopeless foundation), so that at last they had dominion over all those, whom before they had had for their neighbours.

X.

After Rome had been built five hundred and forty-three years, the consul, Claudius Marcellus, proceeded with a fleet to Sicily, and acquired Syracuse, their wealthiest city, although in the former expedition he could not obtain it, when he had besieged it, by reason of the craft of Archimedes, a Sicilian officer. In the tenth year from the time that Annibal made war in Italy, he proceeded from the land of Campania, as far as three miles of Rome, and encamped by the river that is called the Anien, to the great terror of all the Romans; as in the conduct of the men it might be understood how frightened and panic-stricken they were; when the women ran with stones to the walls, and said that they would defend the city, if the men durst not. On the following morning, Annibal proceeded to the city, and arrayed his army before the gate that is called the Colline. But the consuls would not think themselves so dastardly as the women had before charged them [with being], that they durst not defend themselves within the city: but they arrayed themselves against Annibal without the gate. But when they would join battle, there came such an overwhelming rain, that none of them could govern any weapon, and they therefore separated. When the rain had ceased, they came together again, and again there was another such rain,

ꝼẏlc ꝑen. ꝓ hẏ eꝼt toꝼoꝛꝑan :· Đa onȝeat Đannibal. ⁊ him ꝼẏlꝼ ꝼæðe. ꝑeh ꝑe he ꝑilmenðe ꝓæꝛe ⁊ penenðe Romana onpealðeꝛ. ꝓ hit Loð ne ȝeꝑaꝼoðe :· Leꝛeczað me nu Romane. cꝓæð Oꝛoꝛiuꝛ. hꝓænne ꝓ ȝepuꝛðe oððe hꝓaꝑa. æꝛ ꝑam cꝑiꝛtenðome. oððe ȝe oððe oðeꝛe æt æniȝum ȝoðum mihtoꝛ ꝑen abiððan. ꝼꝓa mon ꝼiððan mihte. ꝼiððan ꝼe cꝑiꝛtenðom pæꝼ. ⁊ nu ȝẏt maȝon moneȝe ȝoðe æt uꝑum hælenðum Lꝑiꝛte. ꝑonne him ꝑeaꝑꝼ bið :· Đit pæꝼ ꝑeah ꝼꝑiðe ꝼꝓeotol. ꝓ ꝼe ilca Lꝑiꝛt. ꝼeꝑe hi eꝼt to cꝑiꝛtenðome onꝑenðe. ꝓ ꝼe him ꝑone ꝑen to ȝeꝼcilðneꝼꝼe onꝼenðe. ꝑeh hi ꝑæꝼ ꝓẏnðe næꝑan. to ꝑon ꝓ hẏ ꝼẏlꝼe. ⁊ eac moniȝe oðꝑe ðuꝑh hẏ. to ðam cꝑiꝛtenðome ⁊ to ꝑam ꝼoðan ȝeleaꝑan become :·

On ꝑam ðaȝum ꝑe ꝑiꝛ ȝepeaꝑð. pæꝑon tpeȝen conꝼulaꝼ oꝼꝼlaȝen on Iꝼꝓania. ꝑa pæꝑon ȝebꝓoðoꝑ. ⁊ pæꝑon beȝen Scipian haten. hẏ puꝑðon beꝼꝼicene ꝼꝑam Đaꝼtenbale Pena cẏninȝe :· On ꝑæꝑe tiðe Quintuꝼ Fuluiuꝼ ꝼe conꝼul ȝeeȝꝼaðe ealle ꝑa ẏlðeꝼtan menn ꝑe on Lampania pæꝑon. ꝓ hẏ hẏ ꝼẏlꝼe mið atte ꝑe acpealðon. ⁊ ealle ꝑa ẏlðeꝼtan menn. ꝑe pæꝑon on Lapu ꝑæꝑe bẏꝛiȝ. he oꝼꝼloh. ꝼoꝑꝑon ꝑe he ꝑenðe ꝓ hi polðon Đannibale on ꝼultume beon. ꝑeh ꝑe ꝑa ꝑenatuꝼ him hæꝼðe ꝑa ðæðe ꝼæꝼte ꝼoꝑboðen :· Đa Romane ȝeahꝼeðon ꝓ ꝑa conꝼulaꝼ on Iꝼpanium oꝼꝼlaȝen puꝑðon. ꝑa ne mihton ꝑa ꝑenatuꝼ nænne conꝼul unðeꝑ him ꝼinðan. ꝑe ðoꝑꝼte on Iꝼpanie mið ꝼẏnðe ȝeꝼaꝑan. butoꝛ ꝑæꝑa conꝼula oðꝑeꝼ ꝼunu. Scipio pæꝼ haten. ꝼe pæꝼ cniht :· Se pæꝼ ȝeoꝑne biððenðe. ꝓ him mon ꝼultum ꝼealðe. ꝓ he moꝼte on Iꝼpanie ꝼẏnðe ȝelæðan. ⁊ he ꝓ pæꝑelðe ꝼꝓiꝑoꝼt ꝼoꝛ ꝑam ꝑuꝑhteah. ꝑe he ꝑohte ꝓ hẏꝼ ꝼæðeꝑ ⁊ hiꝛ ꝼæðeꝑan ȝeppæce. ꝑeh ꝑe he hit ꝼæꝼte pið ꝑenatuꝼ hæle :· Ac Romane pæꝑon pæꝑ ꝼæꝑelteꝼ ꝼꝑa ȝeoꝑnꝼulle. ꝑeh ꝑe hẏ ꝼꝑiðe ȝebꝓocoðe pæꝑon on heoꝑa liczenðan ꝼeo ꝑe hi ȝemæne hæꝼðon. ꝼoꝑ ꝑam ȝepinnum ꝑe hẏ ꝑa hæꝼðon on ꝼeoꝑeꝑ healꝼa. ꝓ hẏ eall him ȝeꝼealðon ꝓ hẏ ꝑa hæꝼðon. ꝑam ꝼæꝑelte to ꝼultume. butoꝛ ꝓ ælc piꝼman hæꝼðe ane ẏnðꝑan ȝolðeꝼ. ⁊ an punð ꝼeolꝼꝑeꝼ. ⁊ ælc pæꝑneð-man anne hꝑinȝ. ⁊ ane hoppan :·

Đa Scipio hæꝼðe ȝeꝼaꝑen to pæꝑe niꝑan bẏꝛiȝ Laꝑtaina. ꝑe mon nu Loꝑboꝼa hæt. he beꝼæt Maȝonem. Đannibaleꝼ bꝓoðoꝑ. ⁊ ꝼoꝑꝑon ꝑe he on ꝑa buꝑh-leoðe on unȝeapeꝑe becom. he hi on lẏtlan ꝼẏꝑꝑte mið hunȝꝑe on ȝepealð ȝenẏðde. ꝓ him ꝼe

and they again separated. Then Annibal was sensible, and to himself said, though he was desirous of and hoping for the dominion over the Romans, that God did not permit it. Tell me now, Romans, says Orosius, when it happened or where, before Christianity, that either ye or others could by prayer obtain rain from any gods as men afterwards could, after Christianity was, and may now yet many blessings of our Saviour Christ, when they have need. For it was very manifest, that the same Christ, who afterwards converted them to Christianity, sent them the rain as a protection, although they were not worthy of it, in order that they themselves, and many others also, through them, might come to Christianity and to true belief.

In the days that this happened there were two consuls slain in Spain, they were brothers, and were both named Scipio. They were drawn into an ambuscade by Asdrubal, the Punic king. At that time, the consul, Quintus Fulvius, terrified all the chief men that were in Campania, so that they killed themselves with poison. And all the chief men that were in the city of Capua he slew, because he thought that they would be a support to Annibal, although the senate had strongly forbidden him that deed. When the Romans were informed that the consuls were slain in Spain, the senate could not among themselves find any consul that durst proceed with an army to Spain, except the son of one of the consuls, who was named Scipio, who was a youth. He earnestly entreated that they would grant him support, that he might lead an army to Spain, and he was chiefly desirous to accomplish this expedition, because he hoped he could avenge his father and his uncle; although he strictly concealed this from the senate. But the Romans were so eager for the expedition, although they were greatly broken in their treasure, which they had in common, in consequence of the wars, which they had on four sides, that they gave him all that they had, in aid of the expedition, excepting that every woman retained one ounce of gold and one pound of silver, and every man one ring and one *bulla*.

When Scipio had marched to the new city of Carthage, which is now called Cordova, he besieged Mago, the brother of Annibal, and because he came unawares on the inhabitants, he in a little time reduced them under his power by hunger,

cýnıng ſýlf on hanð eoðe. ⁊ he ealle þa oðre ſume offloh ſume ȝebanð. ⁊ þone cýnıng ȝebunðenne to Rome ſenðe. ⁊ monıȝe mıð hım þæra ýlðeſtena þeotena :· Bınnan þære býrıȝ þæſ mıcel lıcȝenðe ſeoh ſunðen. ſum hıt Scıpıo to Rome ſenðe. ſum he hıt het þam ſolce ðælan :· On þære tıðe ſor Leuınuſ ſe conſul of Mæceðonıa on Sıcılıe mıð ſcıphere. ⁊ þær ȝeeoðe Agrıȝentum þa burh. ⁊ ȝeſenȝ Hannonan heora laðteoþ. ſıððan hım eoðan on hanð xl. burȝa. ⁊ xxvı. he ȝeeoðe mıð ȝeſeohte :· On þære tıðe Hannıbal offloh Lneuſ Fuluıuſ þone conſul on Italıum. ⁊ eahta M̄. mıð hım :· Æfter þam Hannıbal ſeaht þıð Marcelluſ þone conſul ðrý ðaȝaſ. þý forman ðæȝe þa ſolc ſeollan on æȝðre healſe ȝelıce. þý æfteran ðæȝe Hannıbal hæfðe ſıȝe. þý ðrıddan ðæȝe hæfðe ſe conſul :· Æfter þam Fauıuſ Maxımuſ ſe conſul for mıð ſcıphere to Tarentan þære býrıȝ. ſþa Hannıbal nýſte. ⁊ þa burh on nıht abræc. ſþa þa nýſtan þe þærınne þæron. ⁊ Hannıbaleſ laðteoþ offloh. Lartolon. ⁊ xxx. M̄. mıð hım :· Ðæſ on þam æfteran ȝeare Hannıbal beſtæl on Marcelluſ Llauðıuſ þone conſul. þær he on fýrðe ſæt. ⁊ hıne offloh. ⁊ hıſ ſolc mıð hım :· On þam ðaȝum Scıpıo ȝeſlýmðe Haſterbal on Iſpanıum. Hannıbaleſ oðerne broðor. ⁊ þæſ ſolceſ hım eoðe on hanð hunðeahtatıȝ burȝa :· Sþa lað þæſ Pena ſolc Scıpıone. þa he hý ȝeſlýmeð hæfðe. ſþa-þeh þe he hý ſume þıð ſeo ȝeſealðe. ꝥ he ꝥ þeorð nolðe aȝan ꝥ hım mon þıð ſealðe. ac hıt oðrum mannum ſealðe :· On þam ılcan ȝeare beſþac eft Hannıbal tþeȝen conſulaſ. Marcelluſ ⁊ Lrıſpınuſ. ⁊ hý offloh :· Ða Llauðıuſ Nero anð Marcuſ Lıuıuſ Salınator þæran conſulaſ. Haſterbal. Hannıbaleſ broðor. for mıð fýrðe of Iſpanıum on Italıa. Hannıbale to fultume. þa ȝeahſeðon þa conſulaſ ꝥ ær Hannıbal. ⁊ hım onȝean comon. ſþa he þa muntaſ oferfaren hæfðe. ⁊ þær hæfðon lanȝſum ȝeſeoht. ær þæra ſolca aþer fluȝe. ꝥ þæſ ſþıðor on þam ȝelanȝ. ꝥ Haſterbal ſþa late fleah. forþon þe he elpenðaſ mıð hım hæfðe. ⁊ Romane hæfðon ſıȝe :· Ðar þearð Haſterbal offlaȝen. ⁊ Lııı. M̄. hereſ. ⁊ v. M. ȝeſanȝen :· Ða heton þa conſulaſ Haſterbale ꝥ heaſoð of-aceorfan. ⁊ aþeorpan hıt beforan Hannıbaleſ þıc-ſtoþe :· Ða Hannıbale cuð þæſ ꝥ hıſ broðor offleȝen þæſ. ⁊ þæſ ſolceſ ſþa fela mıð

so that the king himself surrendered, and of all the others some he slew, some bound, and sent the king bound to Rome, and with him many of the chief senators. Within the city a great treasure was found: some of it Scipio sent to Rome, some he ordered to be divided among his people. At that time the consul Lævinus proceeded with a fleet from Macedonia to Sicily, and there took the city of Agrigentum, and captured Hanno, their leader. Afterwards forty towns surrendered to him, and twenty-six he gained by warfare. At that time Annibal slew the consul Cneus Fulvius in Italy, and eight thousand with him. After that Annibal fought against Marcellus, the consul, for three days: on the first day, the people fell alike on either side; on the second day, Annibal had the victory; on the third day, the consul had. After that, the consul, Fabius Maximus, proceeded with a fleet to the city of Tarentum, unknown to Annibal, and captured the city by night, so that they knew it not who were therein; and slew Carthalo, Annibal's general, and thirty thousand with him. In the year after this, Annibal stole on the consul, Claudius Marcellus, where he sat with his army, and slew him and his people with him. In those days Scipio put to flight Asdrubal in Spain, the other brother of Annibal, and of that people there surrendered to him eighty towns. So hateful were the Punic people to Scipio, that, when he had defeated them, although he sold some for money, he would not possess the value that had been given him for them, but gave it to other persons. In the same year, Annibal again circumvented two consuls, Marcellus and Crispinus, and slew them. When Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius Salinator were consuls, Asdrubal, Annibal's brother, marched with an army from Spain to Italy, to the aid of Annibal. Then the consuls were apprized of that before Annibal, and came against him when he had crossed the mountains, and there they had a long battle ere either of the armies fled. It was chiefly in consequence of his having elephants with him that Asdrubal was so slow to flee; and the Romans had the victory. There was Asdrubal slain, and fifty-three thousand of his army, and five thousand captured. The consuls then commanded Asdrubal's head to be cut off and cast before Annibal's camp. When it was known to Annibal that his brother was slain, and so many of the people with him, then he first felt fear of the

him. þa ƿeaꞃð him æꞃeſt eȝe ſꞃam Romanum. ⁊ ȝeſoꞃ on Bꞃuti ꝥ land :. Ða hæfde Hannibal ⁊ Romane an ȝeaꞃ ſtilneſſe him betƿeonum. foꞃþon þe þa folc butu on feſeꞃ-adle. mid unȝemete ſƿulton :. On þæꞃe ſtilneſſe Scipio ȝeeode ealle Iſpanie. ⁊ ſiððan com to Rome. ⁊ Romanum to ꞃæde ȝelæꞃde. ꝥ hý mid ſcipum foꞃe on Hannibaleſ land :. Ða ſendon Romane hine. ꝥ he þæſ fæꞃelteſ conſul ƿæꞃe. ⁊ ꞃaðe þæſ þe he on Pene com. him com onȝean Hanno ſe cýninȝ unƿæꞃlice. ⁊ þæꞃ ƿeaꞃð ofſlaȝen :. On þæꞃe tide Hannibal feaht ƿið Sempꞃoniuſ þone conſul on Italiam. ⁊ hine bedꞃaf into Romebýꞃiȝ :. Æfteꞃ þam foꞃan Pene onȝean Scipion mid eallum heoꞃa fultume. ⁊ ƿic-ſtoƿe namon on tƿam ſtoƿum. neah þæꞃe býꞃiȝ þe mon Utica het. on oðꞃe ƿæꞃan Pene. on oðꞃe Numeðe. þe him on fultume ƿæꞃon. ⁊ ȝeþoht hæfdon ꝥ hý þæꞃ ſceoldan ƿinteꞃ-ſelt habban :. Ac ſiððan Scipio ȝeahſode ꝥ þa foꞃeƿeaꞃdaſ ƿæꞃon feoꞃ þam fæſtenne ȝeſette. ⁊ eac ꝥ þæꞃ nane oðꞃe neaꞃ ƿæꞃan. he þa dýȝellice ȝelædde hiſ fýꞃde betuh þam ƿeaꞃdum. ⁊ feaƿa menn to oðꞃum þæꞃa fæſtenna onſende. to þon ꝥ hý hiſ ænne ende onbæꞃndon. ꝥ ſiððan mæſt ealle þe þæꞃ binnan ƿæꞃan. ƿæꞃon ƿið þæſ fýꞃeſ ƿeaꞃd. to þon ꝥ hý hit acƿencan þohton :. Þe þa Scipio. ȝemonȝ þam. hý mæſt ealle ofſloh :. Ða ꝥ þa oðꞃe onfundon. þe on þam oðꞃum fæſtenna ƿæꞃon. hi ƿæꞃan flocmælum þideꞃƿeaꞃd þam oðꞃum to fultume. ⁊ hý Scipio ƿæſ ealle þa niht ſleande ſƿa hi þonne comon oð dæȝ. ⁊ ſiððan he ſloh ofeꞃ ealne þone dæȝ fleonde. ⁊ heoꞃa tƿeȝen cýninȝaſ. Haſteꞃbal ⁊ Siſax. oðfluȝon to Laſtaina þæꞃe býꞃiȝ. ⁊ ȝeȝadeꞃedan þone fultum þe hi þa hæfdon. ⁊ onȝean Scipian comon. ⁊ eft ƿuꞃdon ȝeflýmed into Laꞃtaina :. Sume oðfluȝon to Lꞃetan þam iȝlande. ⁊ him Scipio ſende ſciphe ꞃæfteꞃ. ꝥ mon ſume ofſloh ſume ȝefenȝ. ⁊ Siſax ƿeaꞃð ȝefanȝen. heoꞃa oðeꞃ cýninȝ. ⁊ ſiððan ƿæſ to Rome on ꞃacentan ſended :.

On þam ȝefeohtum ƿæꞃon Pene ſƿa foꞃhýnde. ꝥ hý na ſiððan hý ƿið Romane to nahte ne bemæton. ⁊ ſendon on Italie æfteꞃ Hannibale. ⁊ bædan ꝥ he him to fultume come. ⁊ he him ƿepende þæꞃe bene ȝetýȝðade. foꞃþon þe he ſceolde Italiam foꞃlætan. on þam þꞃeoteoðan ȝeaꞃe. þe he æꞃ on com. ⁊ he ealle ofſloh þe of þam landum hiſ menn ƿæꞃon. ⁊ mid him ofeꞃ ſæ noldan :. Ða he hamƿeaꞃd ſeȝlede. þa het he anne mann ſtiȝan on þone mæſt.

Romans, and marched into the land of the Bruttii. Thereupon Annibal and the Romans had a year of stillness between them, because of both armies vast numbers died of fever. During that stillness, Scipio conquered all Spain, and afterwards came to Rome, and counselled the Romans to proceed with ships to Annibal's land. Thereupon the Romans sent him, that he might be the commander of the expedition; and as soon as he came to Carthage, Hanno, the king, came against him unawares, and was there slain. At that time Annibal fought against the consul Sempronius in Italy, and drove him into Rome. After that the Carthaginians proceeded against Scipio with all their force, and pitched a camp in two places, near the city that is called Utica; in the one were the Carthaginians, in the other the Numidians, who were in aid of them, and had thought they should there have winter-quarters. But when Scipio learned that the foremost watches were stationed far from the fortress, and also that there were no others nearer, he secretly led his army between the watches, and sent a few men to one of their fastnesses, that they might set one end of it on fire, that then most of all those that were within would run towards the fire, for the purpose of quenching it. He then, Scipio, in the mean while, slew almost all of them. When the others, who were in the other fastness, discovered that, they went thitherward in flocks, to aid the others; and Scipio was all that night slaying them as they came, until day; and afterwards he slew those fleeing through the whole day; and their two kings, Asdrubal and Syphax, fled to the city of Carthage, and gathered the force that they had there, and came against Scipio, and were again driven into Carthage. Some fled to the isle of Cirta, and Scipio sent a fleet after them, so that some were slain, some taken; and Syphax was taken, one of their kings, and was afterwards sent in chains to Rome.

In these wars, the Carthaginians were so reduced, that they afterwards esteemed themselves as naught against the Romans, and sent to Italy for Annibal, and prayed that he would come to their aid, and he granted their prayer weeping, because he must abandon Italy, in the thirteenth year after he had first come thither; and he slew all his men that were of those countries, who would not [cross] the sea with him. When he sailed homewards, he commanded a man to ascend the mast

⁊ locian hþæðer he ꝥ land ȝecneoþe ꝥ hi toþeard þæron. þa ſæde he him. ꝥ he ȝeſaþe ane tobrocene býrȝenne. ſþýlce heora þeaþ þæſ ꝥ mon ricum mannum buſan eorðan oſ ſtanum þorhte :. Ða þæſ Hannibale. æfter heora hæþeniſcum ȝeþunan. ꝥ andþýrde ſþiðe lað. ⁊ him unþanc ſæde þæſ andþýrdeſ. ⁊ ealne þone here ſe het mid þam ſcipum þanon þendan þe he ȝeþoht hæfde. ⁊ up comon æt Leptan þam tune. ⁊ hræðlice ſor to Lartaina. ⁊ biddende þæſ ꝥ he moſte þið Scipion ſprecan. ⁊ þilniende þæſ ꝥ he ſþið betþeox þam ſolcum ſindan ſceolde :. Ac hý heora ſundor-ſpræce þe hý betþeox þam ſotum toȝæderе-þeard ȝeſpræcon. [⁊] to unſibbe brohton. ⁊ hý to ȝeſeohte ȝýredon. ⁊ raðe þæſ þe hi toȝæderе comon. Hannibaleſ ſolc þeard ȝeſlýmed. ⁊ xx. M̄. oſſlaȝen. ⁊ v. hund ⁊ eahtatiȝ elpenda. ⁊ Hannibal oðfleah ſeoþera ſum to Aðrametum þam fæſtenne :. Ða ſendon þa burh-leode oſ Lartaina æfter Hannibale. ⁊ cþædon ꝥ him ſeleſt þære. ꝥ hý ſþiðeſ to Romanum þilnade :. Ðaþa Laiuſ Lorneliuſ ⁊ Lentuluſ Publiuſ[1] þæron conſulaſ. þeard Lartainum ſþið. alýfed ſþam Scipion. mid þæra Senatuſeſ þillan. on ꝥ ȝerad. ꝥ þa iȝland Sicilia ⁊ Sardinia hirdon to Romanum. ⁊ ꝥ hý him ælce ȝeare ȝeſealde ſþa ſela talentana ſeolfreſ. ſþa hý him þonne alýfde. ⁊ Scipio het v. hund heora ſcipa up-ateon ⁊ forbærnan. ⁊ ſiððan to Rome hamþeard ſor :. Ða him mon þone triumphan onȝean brohte. þa eode þærmid Terrentiuſ ſe mæra Lartaina ſceop. ⁊ bær hætt on hiſ heafde. forþon Romane hæfdon þa niþlice ȝeſett. ꝥ þa þe hætt beran moſton. þonne hý ſþýlc ſolc oferþunnen hæfdon. ꝥ þa moſton æȝðer habban. ȝe ſeorh ȝe ſþeodom :.

XI.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ȝetimbred þæſ v. hund þintrum ⁊ L. þæſ ȝeendad ꝥ æftere Punica ȝeþinn ⁊ Romana. ꝥ hi dreoȝende þæran xiiii. þinter. ac Romane raðe þæſ oðer onȝunnon þið Mæcedonie :. Ða hlutan þa conſulaſ. hþýlc heora ꝥ ȝeþinn æreſt underfon ſceolde :. Ða ȝehleat hit Quintiuſ Flaminiuſ. ⁊ on þam ȝeþinne moneȝa ȝeſeoht

and look whether he knew the land towards which they were going. Then he said to him that he saw a ruined sepulchre, such as it was their custom to make above the earth of stones for rich men. Thereupon was to Annibal, according to their heathen custom, that answer extremely distasteful, and he expressed his dissatisfaction at the answer, and he commanded all the army with the ships to turn from the place to which he had resolved [to go], and arrived at the town of Leptis, and speedily proceeded to Carthage, and prayed that he might speak with Scipio, and desired that he might settle a peace between the [two] nations: but their private conference, which they had with each other, they brought to a hostile termination, and prepared themselves for battle; and soon after they had come together, Annibal's army was put to flight and twenty thousand slain, and five hundred and eighty elephants; and Annibal with three others fled to the fortress of Adrumetum. Thereupon the inhabitants of Carthage sent for Annibal, and said that it would be best for them to desire peace of the Romans. When Caius Cornelius and Publius Lentulus were consuls, peace was granted to the Carthaginians by Scipio, with the consent of the senate, on condition that the islands of Sicily and Sardinia should belong to the Romans, and that they should pay them every year as many talents of silver as they then conceded to them; and Scipio ordered five hundred of their ships to be drawn up and burnt, and then proceeded homeward to Rome. Then they brought the triumph to meet him, when therewith went Terentius, the great Carthaginian poet, and bare a hat on his head; because the Romans had newly decreed, that those who might bear a hat, when they had overcome such people, might have both life and freedom.

XI.

After Rome had been built five hundred and fifty years, the second war of the Carthaginians and Romans was ended, that they had been carrying on for fourteen years; but the Romans, immediately after, began another against the Macedonians. Then the consuls drew lots, which of them should first undertake that war. The lot then fell on Quinctius Flamininus, who in that war fought many battles, and

ðurhteah. ⁊ oftost siȝe hæfde. oð Philippus heora cýninȝ friðes bæd. ⁊ hit him Romane alýfdon. ⁊ siððan he for on Læcedemonie. ⁊ Quintius Flaminius ȝenýdde beȝen þa cýninȝas. ꝥ hý sealdon heora suna to ȝislum. Philippus Mæcedonia cýninȝ sealde Demetrius his sunu. ⁊ Læcedemonia cýninȝ sealde Armenian his sunu. ⁊ ealle þa Romaniscan menn þe Hannibal on Lrece ȝesealð hæfde. him bebeað se consul. ꝥ hý eall heora heafod bescearon. to tacne ꝥ he hý of þeoþdome aðýde :· On ðære tide Insubres ⁊ Lenomanni þa folc. hý toȝæðere hý ȝesomnoðan. for Amilcores lare. Hannibales breðer. þone he ær on Italium him beæftan forlet. ⁊ siððan foran on Placentie ⁊ on Lremone þa land. ⁊ hý mid-ealle aþeston :· Ða sendon Romane þider Llaudius Fuluius[1] þone consul. ⁊ he hý uneaðe oferþann :· Æfter þam Flaminius se consul ȝefeaht þið Philippus. Macedonia cýninȝ. ⁊ þið Thraci. ⁊ þið Ilirice. ⁊ þið moneȝa oðre ðeoda on anum ȝefeohte. ⁊ hý ealle ȝeflýmde. þær þæs Mæcedonia ehta M̄. ofslaȝen. ⁊ vi. M̄. ȝefanȝen :· Æfter þam Sempronius se consul þearð ofslaȝen on Ispania mid ealre his fýrde :· On þære tide Marcellus se consul þearð ȝeflýmed on Etruria þam lande. þa com Furius oðer consul him to fultume. ⁊ siȝe hæfde. ⁊ hý siþþan ꝥ land eall aþestan :· Ðaþa Lucius Ualerius ⁊ Flaccus Marcus[2] þæron consulas. þa onȝan Antiochus Siria cýninȝ þinnan þið Romanum. ⁊ of Asia on Europe mid fýrde ȝefor :· On þære tide bebudon Romane ꝥ mon Hannibal Lartaina cýninȝ ȝefenȝe. ⁊ hine siððan to Rome brohte :· Ða he ꝥ ȝehýrde. þa fleah he to Antiochuse. Siria cýninȝe. þær he on tþeoȝendlican onbide þæs. hþæþer he þið Romanum þinnan dorste. sþa he onȝunnen hæfde :· Ac hine Hannibal aspon. ꝥ he ꝥ ȝeþinn lenȝ onȝan :· Ða sendon Romane Scipion Affricanus heora ærendracan to Antiochuse. þa het he Hannibal. ꝥ he þið þa ærendracan sprræce. ⁊ him ȝeandþýrde :· Ða hý nanre sibbe ne ȝeþearð. þa com æfter þam Scipio se consul mid Llafrione. oðrum consule. ⁊ Antiochuses folces ofsloh xl. M̄. þæs on þam æfteran ȝeare ȝefeaht Scipio þið Hannibal ute on sæ. ⁊ siȝe hæfde :· Ða Antiochus ꝥ ȝehýrde. þa bæd he Scipion friðes. ⁊ him his sunu ham onsende. se þæs

oftenest had the victory, until Philip, their king, sued for peace, and the Romans granted it to him; and he after went to Lacedæmonia, and Quinctius Flamininus compelled both kings to give their sons as hostages. Philip, the Macedonian king, gave his son Demetrius, and the Lacedæmonian king gave his son Armenes. And of all the Roman men that Annibal had sold into Greece, the consul commanded their heads to be shaved, in token that he released them from slavery. At that time the nations of the Insubres and Cenomani assembled together, at the instigation of Amilcar, the brother of Annibal, whom he had before left behind him in Italy, and they afterwards proceeded against the lands of Placentia and Cremona, and totally laid them waste. Thereupon the Romans sent thither the consul Claudius Fulvius, and he with difficulty overcame them. After that the consul Flamininus fought against Philip, the king of Macedon, against the Thracians, and against the Illyrians, and against many other nations, in one battle, and put them all to flight. There were of the Macedonians eight thousand slain, and six thousand taken. After that the consul Sempronius was slain in Spain with all his army. At that time the consul Marcellus was routed in the land of Etruria, when Furius, the other consul, came to his aid and had victory, and they afterwards laid waste all that land. When Lucius Valerius and Marcus Flaccus were consuls, Antiochus, the Syrian king, began to war against the Romans, and came from Asia into Europe with an army. At that time, the Romans commanded that Annibal, the Carthaginian king, should be seized and afterwards brought to Rome. When he heard that, he fled to Antiochus, the Syrian king, where he was in a state of doubt, whether he durst war against the Romans as he had begun. But Annibal induced him that he carried on the war longer. Thereupon the Romans sent Scipio Africanus, as their ambassador, to Antiochus, when he commanded Annibal to speak with the ambassadors, and answer them. When they obtained no peace, the consul Scipio came after that with Glabrio, another consul, and of the people of Antiochus slew forty thousand. In the following year, Scipio fought against Annibal out at sea, and had the victory. When Antiochus heard that, he prayed Scipio for peace, and sent his son home to him, who was in

on hiſ ꝑealde. ſꝑa he nẏſte hu he him to com. butan ſꝑa ſume menn ſædan. ꝥ he ſceolde beon on herzunze zeſanzen. oððe on ꝑearde :· On þære ſirran Iſpanie ſorꝑearð Emiliuſ ſe conſul mid eallum hiſ folce. ſram Luſitaniam þære þeode :· On þam dazum ſorꝑearð Luciuſ Beuiuſ ſe conſul. mid eallum hiſ folce. ſram Etruſci þam leodum. ꝥ þær nan to laſe ne ꝑearð ꝥ hit to Rome zebodade :· Æfter þam Fuluiuſ ſe conſul ſor mid ſẏrde on Crece to þam beorzum þe mon Olimphuſ het. þa ꝑæſ þæſ ſolceſ ſela on an ſæſten oðflozen. þa on þam zeſeohte. þa hi ꝥ ſæſten brecan ꝑolden. ꝑæſ ſela Romana mid ſlanum oſſcotod. ⁊ mid ſtanum oftorſod. þa ſe conſul onzeat ꝥ hẏ ꝥ ſæſten abrecan ne mihton. þa bebeaꝺ he ſumum þam ſolce. ꝥ hẏ ſram þam ſæſtenne aſoran. ⁊ þa oðre he het ꝥ hẏ ꝑid þæra oðerra ſluzan þonne ꝥ zeſeoht mæſt ꝑære. ꝥ hi mid þam aloccodan ut þa þe þær binnan ꝑæran :· On þam ſleame. þa þa burhꝑare eſt ꝑid þæſ ſæſteneſ ſluzon. heora ꝑearð oſſlazen xl. M̄. ⁊ þa þe þær to laſe ꝑurdon him on hand eodan :· On þam dazum ſor Marcuſ ſe conſul on Lizor ꝥ land. ⁊ zeſlẏmed ꝑearð. ⁊ hiſ ſolceſ oſſlazen iiii. M̄. :· Ðaþa Marcuſ Claudiuſ ⁊ Marcelluſ Quintuſ[1] ꝑæron conſulaſ. Philippuſ. Mæcedonia cẏninz. oſſloh Romana ærendracan. ⁊ ſende Demetriuſ hiſ ſunu to þam ſenatum. ꝥ he ꝥ yrre zeſette ꝑid hẏ. ⁊ þeh þe he ſꝑa zedẏde. þa he ham com. Philippuſ het hiſ oðerne ſunu ꝥ he hine mid attre acꝑealde. ſorþon þe he teah hine ꝥ he hẏſ unzeriſna ſpræce ꝑid þa ſenatuſ :· On þære ilcan tide Þannibal hiſ aznum ꝑillan hine ſẏlſne mid attre acꝑealde :· On þære tide oðieꝑde Fulcania ꝥ izland on Sicilium. ꝥ næſ zeſeꝑen ær þa :· On þære tide Quintuſ Fuluiuſ ſe conſul zeſeaht ꝑid þa ſẏrran Iſpanie. ⁊ ſize hæfde :· Ðaþa Lepiduſ Mutiuſ[2] ꝑæſ conſul. ꝑolde ſeo ſtrenzeſte þeod ꝑinnan on Romane. þe mon þa het Baſterne. ⁊ nu hẏ mon hæt Þunzerie. hẏ ꝑolden cuman Perſeuſe to ſultume. Mæcedonia cẏninze. þa ꝑæſ Donua ſeo ea ſꝑa ſꝑiðe oſerſroren. ꝥ hẏ zetruꝑedon ꝥ hẏ oſer þam iſe ſaran mihton. ac hẏ mæſt ealle þær ſorꝑurdon :· Ðaþa P. Liciniuſ Craſſuſ ⁊ Caiuſ Caſſiuſ ꝑæron conſulaſ. þa zeꝑearð ꝥ Mæcedoniſce zeꝑinn. ꝥ mon eaðe mæz to þam mæſtan zeꝑinnum zetellan. ſorþam þe on þam dazum ꝑæron ealle Italie Ro-

his power, as he knew not how he came to him, unless, as some men said, that he had been captured while plundering, or on his watch. In the further Spain, Æmilius, the consul, perished with all his army by the Lusitanian nation. In those days, the consul, Lucius Bæbius, perished with all his army, by the Etruscan nations, so that none was left to announce it at Rome. After that, the consul Fulvius proceeded with an army to Greece, to the mountains that are called Olympus, where many of that people had fled to a fastness. Then, in the fight, when they would capture the fastness, many of the Romans were shot with arrows and struck with stones. When the consul was sensible that they could not take the fastness, he commanded some of the army to depart from the fastness, and the others he ordered to flee towards the others, when the fight was hottest, that they might thereby entice out those that were there within. In the flight, when the inhabitants fled back towards the fastness, forty thousand of them were slain, and those that were left surrendered to him. In those days, the consul Marcius went with an army to the land of Liguria, and was put to flight, and four thousand of his army were slain. When Marcus Claudius and Marcellus Quintus were consuls, Philip, king of Macedon, slew the Roman ambassadors, and sent his son, Demetrius, to the senate, that he might allay their anger: and, although he did so, when he came home Philip commanded his other son to kill him with poison, because he accused him of speaking disparagingly of him before the senate. At the same time, Annibal voluntarily killed himself by poison. At that same time, appeared the island of Vulcan, in Sicily, which had not been seen before then. At that time the consul, Quintus Fulvius, fought against the further Spaniards, and had victory. When Lepidus Mucius was consul, that most fierce nation called the Basternæ (but now called Hungarii) resolved to make war on the Romans. They wished to come to the aid of Perseus, the Macedonian king. At that time the river Danube was so greatly frozen over, that they trusted that they could pass over the ice, but almost all of them there perished. When P. Licinius Crassus and Caius Cassius were consuls, the Macedonian war took place, which may well be numbered among the greatest wars, because in those days all the Italians

manum on fultume. ⁊ eac Phtolomeus Egýpta cýning. ⁊ Argeatus Lappadocia cýning. ⁊ Eumenis Asia cýning. ⁊ Masinissa Numeðia cýning :· And Perseuse Mæcedonia cýninge. him pæron on fultume ealle Thraci ⁊ Ilirice. ⁊ raðe þæs þe hý tosomne comon. Romane purdon geflýmed. ⁊ raðe þæs æt oðrum gefeohte hý purdon eac geflýmed. ⁊ æfter þam gefeohtum Perseus þæs ealne þone gear Romane sþiðe sþencende. ⁊ siððan he for on Ilirice. ⁊ abræc Sulcanum heorna burh. seo þæs Romanum underþeod. ⁊ micel þæs manncýnnes. sum acþealde sum Mæcedonie lædde :· Æfter þam gefeaht Lucius Emilius se consul þið Perseus ⁊ hine oferþonn. ⁊ his folces ofsloh xx. M̄. ⁊ he sýlf æt þam cýrre oðfleah. ⁊ raðe æfter þam gefangen þearð. ⁊ to Rome broht. ⁊ þær ofslagen. ⁊ monega gefeoht geþurdon on þam dagum on monegum landum. ꝥ hit nu is to longsum ealle to secganne :·

XII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred þæs vi. hund þintrum þaþa Lucius Lucinius. ⁊ Lucullus Aula[1] þæron consulas. þearð Romanum se mæsta ege fram Sceltiferum. Ispania folce. ⁊ nanne mann næfdon þe þider mid fýrde dorste gefaran. butan Scipion þam consule, se þæs æfter þam færelte Afficanus haten. forþon þe he þa oðre siðe þider for þa nan oðer ne dorste. þeh þe Romane hæfde geþorden hþene ær. ꝥ he on Asiam faran sceolde. ac he monega gefeoht on Ispanium on missenlicum sigum þurhteah :· On þam dagum Seruius Lalua. Scipion gefera. gefeaht þið Lusitaniam. Ispania folce. ⁊ geflýmed þearð :· On þam dagum bebudon Romana godas þam senatum ꝥ mon theatrum þorhte him to plegan. ac hit Scipio[2] oftræðlice him abead. ꝥ hý hit ne angunnon. ⁊ eac sýlf sæde. þa he ham of Ispaniam com. ꝥ hit þære se mæsta unræd. ⁊ se mæsta gedþola :· Þý þa Romane for his cidinge. ⁊ ðurh his lare. oferhýrdon þam godum. ⁊ eall ꝥ feoh ꝥ hi þærto samnod hæfdon. þe hý þið þam sýlum. ⁊ þið þam þorce sýllan þoldan. hý hit þið oðrum ðingum sealdan :· Nu mæg þam cristenan gescomian. þe sþylc deofolgýld lufiað ⁊ begongað. þa se seþe cristen næs. hit sþa sþiðe forseah. seþe hit

were in aid of the Romans, and also Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, and Eumenes, king of Asia, and Massanissa, king of Numidia. And of Perseus, king of Macedon, there were in aid all the Thracians and Illyrians. And soon after they came together, the Romans were put to flight, and soon after, in a second battle, they were also put to flight; and after those battles, Perseus greatly harassed the Romans all that year, and afterwards marched into Illyria, and took their town of Sulcanum, which was subject to the Romans, and of the people some he slew, some led into Macedonia. After that, Lucius Æmilius, the consul, fought against Perseus and overcame him, and slew twenty thousand of his army, and he himself on that occasion fled, and soon afterwards was captured and brought to Rome, and there slain. And there were many wars in those days in many lands, which it is now too tedious to relate.

XII.

After Rome had been built six hundred years, when Lucius Licinius and Lucullus Aulus were consuls, the Romans were in the greatest fear of the Celtiberians, a Spanish people, and had no man who durst proceed thither with an army, except the consul Scipio, who after that expedition was called Africanus, because he a second time went whither no other durst [go]; although the Romans, a little while before, had decreed that he should go to Asia; but he fought many battles in Spain with divers victories. In those days, Servius Galba, a companion of Scipio, fought against the Lusitanians, a people of Spain, and was defeated. In those days, the Roman gods commanded the senate to build them a theatre for plays; but Scipio oftentimes enjoined them not to undertake it, and also himself said, when he came from Spain, that it would be the greatest imprudence and the greatest error. The Romans then, through his chiding and his advice, contemned the gods; and all the money that they had thereto collected, with which they had intended to pay for the pillars and for the work, they paid for other things. Now may those Christians feel shame, who love and cultivate such idolatry; when he, who was not a Christian, so greatly

ſýnðrian ſceolde. æfter heora agnum ġeþunan :· Æfter þam Sertiuſ Galua fop eft on Luſitanie. ⁊ ſpið ġenamon þið hý. ⁊ hý unden þam ſpiðe berpac :· Seo dæd peapð ſopneah Romanum to þam mæſtan heaſme. þ him nan ſolc ne ġetþu-pode. þe him undeꝑþeod pæſ :·

XIII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ġetimbred pæſ vi. hund pintrum ⁊ ii. þapa Lenſopinuſ Manicuſ ⁊ Manliuſ Luciuſ[1] pæpon conſulaſ. þa ġepeapð þ ðridde ġepinn Romana ⁊ Lartaina. ⁊ ġepeapð þa ſenatuſ him betpeonum. ġif hý mon ðridðan ſiðe ofepþunne. þ mon ealle Lartaina topuſpe. ⁊ eft ſendon Scipian þiden. ⁊ he hi æt heora ſopman ġefeohte ġefýmde. ⁊ beðnaſ into Lartaina :· Æfter þam hý bæðan ſpiðeſ Romane. ac hit Scipio nolde him alýſan pið nanum oðrum ðinge. buton hý him ealle heora pæpeno aġeapon. ⁊ þa burh ſopleton. ⁊ þ nan ne ſæte hýne x. milum neah :· Æfter þam þe þ ġeðon pæſ. hý cpæðon þ him leofre pære þ hi miþ þære býriġ ætġædere ſoppurðon. þonne hi mon buton him topuſpe. ⁊ him eft pæpeno pophton. þa þe iren hæfðon. ⁊ þa þe næfðon. hý pophton ſume of ſeolfre. ſume of tpeopum. ⁊ ġeſetton him to cýningum tpeġen Dafteribalaſ :· Nu ic pille. cpæð Oroſiuſ. ſecġan hulucu heo pæſ hýre ymbeġanġeſ xxx. mila briað. ⁊ eall heo pæſ miþ ſæ utan beġanġen. buton ðrim milum. ⁊ ſe peall pæſ xx. ſota ðicce. ⁊ xl. ealna heah. ⁊ þæt pæſ binnan oðen læſſe fæſten. on þam ſæſ cliffe. þ pæſ tpeġra mila heah[2] :· Þý þa Lartaimenſeſ æt þam cyrre þam burh apeſtedon. þeh þe Scipio æn ſela þæſ pealleſ tobrocen hæfde. ⁊ ſiððan hampeapð ſop :·

Ðaþa Gneo Cornelius ⁊ Lentuluſ Luciliuſ pæpon conſulaſ. þa ſop Scipio ðridðan ſiðe on Affrice. to þon þ he þohte Lartainan topeorpan. ⁊ þa he þæt com. he pæſ vi. ðaġaſ on þa burh ſeohtende. oð þa burhpare bædon þ hý morton beon heora undeꝑþeoþaſ. þa hý bepeſtan ne mihton :· Ða het Scipio ealle þa pifmenn. þæra pæſ xxvi. M. ⁊ þa þa pæpneð-

despised it, who should have furthered it according to their own custom. After that, Servius Galba went again to Lusitania, and made peace with them, and during that peace circumvented them. That deed was almost of the greatest harm to the Romans, so that no people would trust them who was subject to them.

XIII.

After Rome had been built six hundred and two years, when Censorinus Marcus and Lucius Manilius were consuls, there happened the third war of the Romans and Carthaginians: and the senate agreed among themselves, that, if they overcame them a third time, they would destroy all Carthage. And they again sent Scipio thither, and in their first battle he put them to flight and drove them into Carthage. After that, they sued the Romans for peace; but Scipio would not grant it them on any other condition, except they would all give up their weapons, and abandon the city, and that no one should settle nearer than ten miles to it. After that was done, they said that they would rather perish together with the city, than that it should be destroyed without them; and they again made themselves weapons, those that had iron; and those that had not, made them, some of silver, some of wood, and appointed the two Asdrubals for their kings. Now I will, says Orosius, relate how in circuit it was thirty miles about, and was all without surrounded with sea, except three miles; and the wall was twenty feet thick and forty ells high; and within there was another less fastness, on the sea-shore, that was two miles high. The Carthaginians then, at that time, defended the city, although Scipio had before broken down much of the wall, and afterwards returned homewards.

When Cneus Cornelius and Lucius Lentulus were consuls, Scipio proceeded a third time to Africa, because he intended to destroy Carthage; and when he came there he was six days fighting against the city, until the citizens prayed that they might be their thralls, as they could not defend themselves. Thereupon Scipio commanded all the women, of whom there were twenty-six thousand, and then the men, the number of whom was thirty thousand [to go out]; and

menn þæꞃa ꝼæꞃ xxx. M̄. ⁊ ꞃe cẏnınʒ Ꝺaꞃteꞃbal hıne ꞃẏlꞃne acꝼealde. ⁊ hıꞃ ꝼıꞃ mıd hẏꞃe tꝼam ꞃunum hı ꞃẏlꞃe ꞃoꞃbæꞃnde ꞃoꞃ þæꞃ cẏnınʒeꞃ deaðe. ⁊ Scıpıo het ealle þa buꞃh toꝼeoꞃꞃan. ⁊ ælcne hıeꝼe ꞃtan tobeatan. ꝥ hẏ to nanum ꝼealle ꞃıððan ne mıhton. ⁊ ꞃeo buꞃh ınneꝼeaꞃd baꞃn xvı. daʒaꞃ. ẏmb vıı. hund ꝼıntꞃa þæꞃ þe heo æꞃ ʒetımbꞃed ꝼæꞃ :· Ða ꝼæꞃ ꝥ ðꞃıdde ʒeꝼınn ʒeendod Punıca ⁊ Romana. on þam ꞃeoꞃðan ʒeaꞃe þæꞃ þe hıt æꞃ onʒunnen ꝼæꞃ. þeh þe Romane hæꞃdon æꞃ lanʒꞃum ʒemot ẏmbe ꝥ. hꝼæðeꞃ hım ꞃædlıcꞃe ꝼæꞃe. þe hı þa buꞃh mıd-ealle ꞃoꞃdẏdon. ꝥ hẏ a ꞃıððan on þa healꞃe ꞃꞃıð hæꞃdon. þe hẏ hı ꞃtandan ꞃoꞃletan. to þon ꝥ hım ʒeꝼınn eꞃt þonan aꝼoce. ꞃoꞃþon hẏ ondꞃedan. ʒıꞃ hı hꝼılum ne ꝼunnon. ꝥ hẏ to ꞃaðe aꞃlaꝼedon ⁊ aeaꞃʒadon :· Sꝼa[1] ꝥ eoꝼ Romanum nu eꞃt çuð ꝼeaꞃð. ꞃıððan ꞃe cꞃıꞃtendom ꝼæꞃ. cꝼæð Oꞃoꞃıuꞃ. ꝥ ʒe eoꝼꞃa ẏldꞃena hꝼetꞃtan ꞃoꞃluꞃon. eoꝼꞃa ʒeꝼınna. ⁊ eoꝼꞃeꞃ hꝼætꞃcıꝼeꞃ. ꞃoꞃþon ʒe ꞃẏndon nu utan ꞃætte ⁊ ınnan hlæne. ac eoꝼꞃe ẏldꞃan ꝼæꞃon utan hlæne ⁊ ınnan ꞃætte. ꞃtꞃonʒeꞃ modeꞃ ⁊ ꞃæꞃteꞃ :· Ic nat eac. cꝼæð he. hu nẏtt ıc þa hꝼıle beo. þe ıc þaꞃ ꝼoꞃd ꞃꞃꞃece. buton ꝥ ıc mın ʒeꞃꝼınc amẏꞃꞃe :· Ꝺıt bıð eac ʒeoꞃnlıc. ꝥ mon heaꞃdlıce ʒnıde þone hneꞃceꞃtan mealm-ꞃtan. æꞃteꞃ þam ꝥ he ðence þone ꞃeleꞃtan hꝼetꞃtan on to ʒeꞃæcanne :· Sꝼa þonne ıꞃ me nu ꞃꝼıðe eaꞃꞃeðe heoꞃa mod to ahꝼettan. nu hıt naðoꞃ nele beon. ne ꞃceaꞃꞃ ne heaꞃd :·

BOOK V.

I.

IL ꝼat. cꝼæð Oꞃoꞃıuꞃ. hꝼæt ꞃe Romana ʒılꝼ ꞃꝼıðoꞃt ıꞃ. ꞃoꞃþon þe hı maneʒa ꞃolc oꞃeꞃꝼunnan. ⁊ maneʒa cẏnınʒaꞃ beꞃoꞃan heoꞃa tꞃıumphan oꞃtꞃædlıce dꞃıꞃan. ꝥ ꞃındon þa ʒodcundan tıda. þe hẏ ealne ꝼeʒ ꞃoꞃeʒılꝼað. ʒelıcoꞃt þam þe hı nu cꝼædon. ꝥ þa tıda hım anum ʒeꞃealde ꝼæꞃan. ⁊ næꞃan eallum ꞃolce. ac þæꞃ hı hıt ʒeoꞃne onʒıtan cuðan. þonne ꝼæꞃon hı eallum ꞃolcum ʒemæne :· Lıꞃ hı þonne cꝼeðað. ꝥ þa tıda ʒode ꝼæꞃon. ꞃoꞃþon hı þa ane buꞃh ꝼelıʒe ʒedẏdan. þonne maʒon hı ꞃıhtoꞃ cꝼeðan. ꝥ þa ꝼæꞃan þa unʒeꞃælıʒeꞃtan. ꞃoꞃþon þe ðuꞃh þæꞃe

the king Asdrubal, killed himself, and his wife with her two sons burned themselves, because of the king's death; and Scipio commanded all the city to be destroyed, and every hewn stone to be beaten to pieces, that they might not afterwards [serve] for any wall. And the city within was burning for sixteen days, about seven hundred years from the time when it was first built. Then was the third war of the Carthaginians and Romans ended, in the fourth year from the time when it was first begun; although the Romans had previously a long consultation, as to whether it were more advisable totally to destroy the city, that they might ever after have peace on that side, or they should leave it standing, that war might afterwards be raised up from thence; because they dreaded, if they had not sometimes war, that they would too quickly become slothful and spiritless. So that it is now manifest to you, Romans, that since Christianity was, says Orosius, that ye have lost the whetstone of your forefathers, of your wars and your energy; because ye are now fat without and lean within; but your forefathers were lean without and fat within, of strong and firm mind. I also know not, says he, how useful I may be while I am speaking these words, or whether I may lose my labour. It is also desirable for a man to rub hardly the softest metal, if he intends the most excellent whetstone to work upon it. So then it is to me now very difficult to whet their mood, now when it will be neither sharp nor hard.

BOOK V.

I.

I KNOW, says Orosius, what the Roman vaunt chiefly is; [it is] because they have overcome many nations and have oftentimes driven many kings before their triumphs. Those are the blessed times that they are always boasting of, as if they now said, that those times were given to them alone, and not to all people; but, if they could well understand it, they were common to all nations. But if they say that those times were good, because they made one city prosperous, then more justly may they say, that they were the most unhappy, because through the pride of that one city, all the others were

anre burȝe ꝑlenceo ꝑurdon ealle oðre to ꝑædlan ȝedone :. Lif hi þonne þæs ne ȝelýfan. acsian þonne Italia. hýra aȝene landleode. hu him þa tida ȝelicodon. þa hi man sloh ⁊ hýnde. ⁊ on oðre land sealde xx. ꝑintra ⁊ c. ȝif hi þonne him ne ȝelýfan. acsiȝe þonne Ispanie. þe ꝥ ýlce ꝑæran dreoȝende tꝑa hund ꝑintra. ⁊ maniȝe oðre þeoda. ⁊ eac þa maneȝan cýninȝas. hu him licode. þonne hi man on ȝeocon ⁊ on racentan beforan heora triumphan driꝼon. him to ȝilpe. ꝑið Romane ꝑeard. ⁊ sýððan on carcernum laȝon. oð þe hi deaðe sꝑulton :. And hi maniȝe cýninȝas ȝesꝑenctan. to þon ꝥ hi eal ȝesealdon ꝥ hi þonne hæfdon. ꝑið heora earman life :. Ac forþon hit is us uncuð ⁊ unȝelýfedlic. forþon þe ꝑe sýnd on ðam friðe ȝeborene. þe hi þa uneaðe heora feorh[1] mid ȝeceapodon :. Ðæt ꝑæs sýððan Crist ȝeboren ꝑæs. ꝥ ꝑe ꝑæron of ælcon þeoꝑdome alýsede. ⁊ of ælcon eȝe. ȝif ꝑe him fulȝanȝan ꝑýllað :.

II.

Æfter þam þe Romana burh ȝetimbred ꝑæs vi. hund ꝑintrum ⁊ vi. ꝥ ꝑæs þý ilcan ȝeare þe Cartaina toꝑorꝑen ꝑæs. æfter hýre hrýre. Lneo Cornelius ⁊ Lentulus Lucio[2] toꝑurꝑon Corinthum. ealra Creaca heafod-burh :. On hýre brýne ȝemultan ealle þa anlicnessa toȝædere. þe þær binnan ꝑæran. ȝe ȝýldene. ȝe sýlfrene. ȝe ærene. ȝe cýꝑerene. ⁊ on ꝑýttas besuncon :. Lit to-dæȝe man hæt Corinthisce fatu ealle þe þærof ȝeꝑorhte ꝑæran. forþon þe hi sint fæȝeran ⁊ dýrran þonne æniȝe oðre :.

Oh þam daȝum ꝑæs an hýrde on Hispanium se ꝑæs Ueriatus haten. ⁊ ꝑæs mýcel ðeofman. ⁊ on ðære stalunȝe he ꝑeard reafere. ⁊ on þam reaflace he him ȝeteah to mýcelne manfultum. ⁊ maniȝe tunas oferherȝode :. Æfter þam his ꝑerod ꝑeox to þon sꝑiðe ꝥ he maniȝe land forherȝode. ⁊ Romanum ꝑeard micel eȝe fram him. ⁊ Uetilius þone consul onȝean hine mid fýrde sendan. ⁊ he þær ȝeflýmed ꝑeard. ⁊ his folces se mæsta dæl offlaȝen :. Æt oðrum cýrre þýder for Laius Folucius se consul. ⁊ eac ȝeflýmed ꝑeard :. Æt ðriddan cýrre þýder for Claudius se consul. ⁊ þohte ꝥ he Romana býsmor ȝebetan sceolde. ac he hit on þam færeldе sꝑýðor ȝeýhte. ⁊ uneaðe sýlf aꝑeȝ com :. Æfter þam Ueriatus ȝemette. mid ðrim

reduced to indigence. But if they do not believe this, let them ask the Italians, their own countrymen, how they liked those times, when they were slain, and oppressed, and sold into other lands for a hundred and twenty years? But if they do not believe them, let them ask the Spaniards, who were suffering the same for two hundred years, and many other nations. And also the many kings, how they liked it, when in yokes and in chains they were driven in pride before their triumphs towards Rome, and afterwards lay in prisons until they perished by death? And many kings they afflicted, that they might give them all that they had for their miserable life. But therefore it is unknown to us and incredible, because we are born in that peace that they could hardly buy with their lives. It was after Christ was born that we were redeemed from every thraldom and from every fear, if we will fulfil his precepts.

II.

After Rome had been built six hundred and six years, that was in the same year in which Carthage was destroyed: after its fall, Cneus Cornelius and Lucius Lentulus destroyed Corinth, the chief city of all the Greeks. In its burning, all the statues that were in it, were melted together, of gold, of silver, brazen, or of copper, and sunk into pits. Yet to this day we call Corinthian vessels all that were made thereof; for they are fairer and dearer than any others.

In those days there was a shepherd in Spain, who was named Viriathus, and was a great thief, and in his stealing he became a robber, and in his robberies drew to him a large force of men, and plundered many towns. After that his gang increased so much that he ravaged many lands, and the Romans were in great dread of him, and sent the consul Vetilius against him with an army, and he was there put to flight, and the greatest part of his people slain. At the second time, Caius Plautius the consul proceeded thither, and was also put to flight. At the third time, the consul Claudius proceeded thither, and thought that he would repair the Roman disgrace; but he in that expedition rather increased it, and escaped himself with difficulty. After that

hund manna. Romana an M̄. on anum ꝑuda. þæꝛ ꝑæſ Ueꝛiatuſeſ ꝼolceſ hund-ſeoꝼontiȝ oꝼſlaȝen. ⁊ Romana iii. hund. ⁊ þa oðꝛe ȝeꝼlýmede ꝑuꝛdan :. On þam ꝼleame ꝑeaꝛð an Feꝛiatuſ þeȝen þam oðꝛum to lanȝe æꝼteꝛ-ꝼýlȝende. oð man hiſ hoꝛſ undeꝛ him oꝼſceat. þa ꝑoldan þa oðꝛe ealle hine ænne oꝼſlean. oððe ȝebindan. þa ſloh he aneſ manneſ hoꝛſ. mid hiſ ſꝑeoꝛde. ꝥ him ꝑand ꝥ heaꝼod oꝼ. ſiððan ꝑæſ eallum þam oðꝛum ſꝑa mýcel eȝe ꝼꝛam him. ꝥ hi hine ȝꝛetan ne doꝛſtan :. Æꝼteꝛ þam Appiuſ Claudiuſ ſe conſul ȝeꝼeaht ꝑið Lallie. ⁊ þæꝛ ȝeꝼlýmed ꝑeaꝛð. ⁊ ꝛaðe þæſ eꝼt ꝼýꝛde ȝelædde ꝑið hi. ⁊ ſiȝe hæꝼde. ⁊ heoꝛa oꝼſloh vi. M̄. :. Ða he hamꝑeaꝛd ꝑæſ. þa bæd he ꝥ man dýde beꝼoꝛan him þone tꝛiumphan. ac Romane him untꝑeoꝑlice hiſ ꝼoꝛꝑýꝛndon. ⁊ hit undeꝛ ꝥ ladedon. ꝼoꝛþon þe he æꝛ æt þam oðꝛum cýꝛꝛe ſiȝe næꝼde :. Æꝼteꝛ þam ꝑæſ ſꝑa mýcel man-cꝑealm on Rome. ꝥ þæꝛ nan uten-cumen man cuman ne doꝛſte. ⁊ maniȝe land binnan þæꝛe býꝛiȝ ꝑæꝛon butan ælcum ýꝛꝼeꝑeaꝛde :. Hi ꝑiton þeah ꝥ ꝥ ilce ýꝼel oꝼeꝛeode butan ȝeblote. ſꝑa þa maneȝan æꝛ dýdon þe hi ꝑendon ꝥ hý mid heoꝛa deoꝼolȝýldum ȝeſtýꝛed hæꝼdon :. Butan tꝑeon. ȝiꝼ hi þa blotan mihtan. hi ꝑoldan ſecȝean ꝥ him heoꝛa ȝodaſ ȝehulpan :. Ac hit ꝑæſ Lodeſ ȝiꝼu. ꝥ ealle þa laȝon þe hit don ſceoldan. oð hit ſýlꝼ oꝼeꝛeode :. Æꝼteꝛ þam Fauiuſ ſe conſul ꝼoꝛ mid ꝼýꝛde onȝean Feꝛiatuſ. ⁊ ȝeꝼlýmed ꝑeaꝛð :. Se conſul ȝedýde eallum Romanum þa býſmeꝛliceſtan dæde. þa he aſpeon oꝼ Sciþþium ſýx hund manna to him hiſ ȝeþoꝼtena. ⁊ þa hi him to coman. het him eallum þa handa oꝼ-aceoꝛꝼan[1] :. Æſteꝛ þam ꝼoꝛ Pompeiuſ ſe conſul on Numantinaſ. Iſpania þeode. ⁊ ȝeꝼlýmed ꝑeaꝛð :. Ymbe ꝼeoꝑeꝛtýne ȝeaꝛ þæſ þe Ueꝛiatuſ ꝑið Romane onȝan. he ꝑeaꝛð ꝼꝛam hiſ aȝenum mannum oꝼſlaȝen. ⁊ ſꝑa oꝼt ſꝑa hine Romane mid ȝeꝼeohte ȝeſohton. he hi ſimle ȝeꝼlýmde :. Ðæꝛ dýdan þeah Romane lýtle tꝛeoꝑþa. ꝥ him þa ꝑæꝛan laðe ⁊ unꝑýꝛðe þe heoꝛa hlaꝼoꝛd beſꝑicon. þeah þe hi him leana to þæꝛe tide ꝑendan :. Ic ſceal eac nýde þaꝛa maneȝꝛa ȝeꝑinna ȝeſꝑiȝian. þe on þam eaſtlandum ȝeꝑuꝛdan. hiſ me ſceal aþꝛeotan ꝼoꝛ Romana ȝeꝑin-

Viriathus, with three hundred men, met with a thousand Romans in a wood, where of Viriathus' people seventy were slain, and of the Romans three hundred, and the others were put to flight. In the flight there was a soldier of Viriathus following at too great a distance from the others, until his horse was slain under him, when all the others [Romans] would slay or bind him, a single man. Thereupon he slew a man's horse with his sword, so that its head flew off, whereupon the others were in such great fear of him that they durst not encounter him. After that, the consul, Appius Claudius, fought against the Gauls, and was put to flight, and soon after again led an army against them, and had the victory, and slew six thousand of them. When on his return home, he begged that the triumph might be brought to meet him; but the Romans positively refused it, and excused it under the [plea] that he previously, on the other occasion, had not the victory. After that there was so great a pestilence at Rome that no stranger durst come thither, and many lands within the city were without any inheritor. They knew, however, that the same evil would pass away without sacrifice, as the many others had done, that they imagined they had repressed by their idolatries. Without doubt, if they could then have sacrificed, they would have said that their gods had helped them. But it was God's grace that they all lay [sick] who should have done it, until it passed over of itself. After that, Fabius, the consul, marched with an army against Viriathus, and was put to flight. The consul did a most disgraceful deed for all the Romans, when he enticed to him from Scythia six hundred men of his associates, and when they came to him, commanded the hands of them all to be cut off. After that the consul Pompeius proceeded against the Numantines, a nation of Spain, and was put to flight. About fourteen years from the time when Viriathus began to [make war] against the Romans, he was slain by his own men; and as often as the Romans had sought him with battle, he always put them to flight. There, however, the Romans showed a little regard to faith, and that those were hateful to them and unworthy who betrayed their lord, although they at that time expected rewards. I shall also from necessity pass in silence the many wars which took place in the east lands. I shall grow weary of these Roman

num :· On þære tiðe Mitriðatis. Partha cýning. geeoðe Babiloniam. ⁊ ealle þa land þe betweox þam twam ean wæron. Þinðuse ⁊ Iðasse. þa wæron ær on Romana anwealðe. ⁊ siððan he gebræðde his rice east oð Inðea gemæro. ⁊ Demetrius. Asia cýning. hine twiwa mið fýrðe gesohte :· Æt oðrum cýrre he wearð geflýmeð. æt oðrum gefangen :· Þe wæs on Romana anwealðe. forþon þe hi hine þær gesetton :· Æfter þam Mancinus se consul for on Numantine. Ispania folc. ⁊ þær wæs winnende. oð he nam frið wið ꝥ folc. ⁊ sýððan hine awegbestæl :· Ða he ham com. þa heton hine Romane gebinðan. ⁊ gebringan beforan Numantia fæstenes geate :· Ða naðer ne hine þa eft ham læðan ne dorstan. þe hine þýðer læddan. ne his þa onfon noldon. þe hine man to brohte. ac swiðe hreowlice swa gebend he on anre stowe beforan þam geate wæs wuniende. oð he his lif forlet :·

On þam dagum Brutus se consul offloh Ispania folces Lx. M̄. þa wæran Lusitaniam on fultume. ⁊ raðe þæs he for eft on Lusitanie. ⁊ hýra offloh L. M̄. ⁊ vi. M̄. gefeng :· On þam dagum for Lepidus se consul on þa nearan Ispanie. ⁊ geflýmeð wearð. ⁊ his folces wæs offlagen vi. M̄. ⁊ þa þe þær awegcoman. hi oðflugon mið þam mæstan bismore :· Hwæðer Romane hit witon ænigum men to secganne. hwæt heora folces on Ispaniam on feawa gearon forwurðe. þonne hi fram gesæligum tiðum gilpað. þonne wæron þa him sýlfum þa ungesæligestan :·

Ðaþa Seruius Fuluius ⁊ Flaccus Quintus wæron consulas[1]. wearð on Rome an cild geboren ꝥ hæfde feower fet. ⁊ feower handa. ⁊ feower eagan. ⁊ feower earan :· On þam geare asprang up Etna fýr on Sicilium. ⁊ mare þæs landes forbærnde þonne hit æfre ær býðe :·

III.

Æfter þam þe Romana burh getimbred wæs vi. hund wintrum ⁊ xx. þaþa Mancinus gedýðe þone ýfelan frýð on Numantium. swa hit Romane sýlf sæðon. ꝥ under heora anwealðe nan býsmorlicre dæð ne gewurðe. buton on þam

wars. At that time, Mithridates, king of the Parthians, conquered Babylonia and all the lands that were between the two rivers, the Indus and the Hydaspes, which had previously been under the Roman power: and afterwards he extended his dominion east as far as the confines of India; and Demetrius, the king of Asia, sought him twice with an army. At one time he was put to flight, at the other captured. He was under the Roman power, because they had established him there." After that, Mancinus, the consul, proceeded against the Numantines, a people of Spain, and was there warring until he made peace with that people, and afterwards stole himself away. When he came home, the Romans ordered him to be bound and brought before the gate of the fortress of Numantia. Then, neither those who had led him thither durst lead him back, nor would those receive him to whom he was brought; but very cruelly, thus bound, he continued in one place, before the gate, until he gave up his life.

In those days, the consul Brutus slew of the Spanish nation sixty thousand, who had been aiding the Lusitanians; and immediately after, he again proceeded against the Lusitanians and slew fifty thousand of them, and captured six thousand. In those days, the consul Lepidus proceeded to the hither Spain, and was put to flight, and of his army six thousand were slain, and those who came away, fled with the greatest disgrace. Can the Romans reproach any man for saying how many of their people perished in a few years in Spain, when they boast of happy times, while those were to themselves the most unhappy?

When Servius Fulvius and Quintus Flaccus were consuls, a child was born at Rome that had four feet, and four hands, and four eyes, and four ears. In that year fire sprang up from Etna, in Sicily, and burned more of that land than it had ever done before.

III.

After Rome had been built six hundred and twenty years, when Mancinus made the evil peace in Numantia, as the Romans themselves said, that, during their dominion, no more disgraceful deed had taken place, except at the battle

ȝefeohte æt Laudenes Furculus. þa sendon Romane Scipion on Numantie mid fyrde :· Hi syndon on þam norð-west ende Ispania. ⁊ hi hi sylf ær þam mid iiii. M̄. aþeredon feoþertyne þinter þið Romana xl. M̄. ⁊ oftost siȝe hæfdon :· Ða besæt hi Scipio healf ȝear on heora fæstene. ⁊ hi to þon ȝebrócode. ꝥ him leofre þæs ꝥ hi hi sylfe forneþde. þonne hi þa ýrmþa lencȝ þroþedon :· Ða se Scipio onȝeat ꝥ hi sþýlces modes þæran. þa het he sum his folc feohtan on ꝥ fæsten. ꝥ hý mid þam ꝥ folc ut-aloccodan :· Ða burhþare to þon faȝene ⁊ to þon bliðe. ꝥ hi feohtan mostan. ⁊ ȝemanȝ þam ȝefean hi hi sylf mid ealað oferdrenctan. ⁊ utýrnende þæron æt tþam ȝeaton :· On þære býriȝ þæs ærest ealo-ȝeþeorc onȝunnon. forþon þe hi þin næfdon :· On þam sþicdome þearð Numantia duȝuð ȝefeallen. ⁊ se dæl þe þær to lafe þearð forbærndon ealle þa burh. forþon þe hi ne uðon ꝥ heora fýnd to heora ealdan ȝestreonon fenȝon. ⁊ æfter þam hi hi sylfe on þam fýre forspildon :·

Ða se Scipio hine hamþeard þende of þam lande. þa com him to an ealð man se þæs Numentisc. þa fræȝn se Scipio hine. on hþý hit ȝelanȝ þære ꝥ Numantie sþa raðe ahnescodon. sþa hearde sþa hi lanȝe þæran. þa sæde he him. ꝥ hi þæran hearde þa hþile þe hi heora anræðnesse ȝeheoldan him betþeonan. ⁊ anfealdnýsse. ⁊ sona sþa hi him betþeonum unȝeræðnesse up-ahofon. sþa forþurdon hi ealle :· Ða þearð þam Scipion ꝥ andþýrde sþiðe andrýsne. ⁊ eallum Romanum þitum. for þam andþýrde ⁊ for þam þordum hi þurdon sþiðe mid ȝeeȝesode. þa he ham com. forþon þe hi þa hæfdon unȝeræðnýsse him betþeonum :·

On þære tide Lreaccus þæs haten an þara consula. ⁊ he þinnan onȝann þið ealle þa oðre. oð hi hine offloȝon. ⁊ eac on þære tide on Sicilium þa þeoþas þunnan þið þa hlafordas. ⁊ uneaðe oferþunnene þurdon. ⁊ vii. M̄. offlaȝen ær man hi ȝebiȝan mihte. ⁊ æt þære anre býriȝ Minturnan heora man ahenȝ fifte healf hundred :·

of Caudinæ Furculæ; the Romans sent Scipio against the Numantines with an army. They are in the north-west end of Spain, and had previously defended themselves with four thousand [men], for fourteen years, against forty thousand Romans, and oftenest had victory. Scipio then besieged them a half year in their fastness, and reduced them to such straits, that they preferred devoting themselves, to longer enduring those miseries. When Scipio was aware that they were of such a mind, he commanded some of his army to fight against the fastness, that they thereby might entice the people out. The inhabitants [were] much rejoiced and much elated at being enabled to fight, and amid their joy overdrenched themselves with ale, and ran out at two gates. In that city ale-works were first begun, because they had no wine. By that device the flower of Numantia fell, and the part that was left burned the entire city, because they would not allow their enemies to succeed to their ancient treasures; and after that they destroyed themselves in the fire.

When Scipio was returning homeward from that land, there came to him an old man, who was a Numantine. Then Scipio asked him, what the cause was that the Numantines had so rapidly become so enervated, so bold as they had long been. He thereupon said to him, that they were bold as long as they preserved unanimity and simplicity among themselves; but as soon as they raised up discord among themselves, they all perished. To Scipio that answer appeared of serious import, and to all the Roman senators; by that answer, and by those words, they were greatly terrified when he came home; because they then had discord among themselves.

At that time one of their consuls was named Gracchus, and he began to war against all the others, until they slew him. And also at that time in Sicily the slaves made war on their lords, and were with difficulty overcome, and seven thousand slain before they could be reduced. And at the single town of Minturnæ four hundred and fifty were crucified.

IV.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs vi. hund wintrum ⁊ xxi. Lucinius Crassus se consul. he wæs eac Romana ÿldesta biscеop. he gefor mid fÿrde ongean Aristonicuse þam cÿnincge. se wolde him geagnian þa læssan Asiam. þeh þe hi ær Attalius. his agen broðor. hæfde Romanum to boclande gesealð:. Crassuse wæron manige cÿningas of manegum landum to fultume cumen. an[1] wæs Nicomedia. twegen of Bithinia. ðrÿ of Ponto. iiii. of Armenia. v. of Argeata. vi. of Cappadocia. vii. of Filimine. viii. of Paflagonia. ⁊ þeah-hwæþere raðe þæs þe hi togædere coman. se consul weard aflÿmed. þeah þe he mÿcelne fultum hæfde:. Ða ꝥ Perpena gehÿrde. se oðer consul. he þa hræðlice fÿrde gegaderade. ⁊ on þone cÿnincg unwærne becom. þa his fÿrd eall tofaren wæs. ⁊ hine bedraf into anum fæstene. ⁊ hine besæt oð hine ealle þa burh-leode ageafan þam consule. ⁊ he hine het sÿððan to Rome bringan. ⁊ on carcerne bescufan. ⁊ he þær læg oð he his lif forlet:. On þære tide Antiochuse. Assiria cÿninge. geþuhte ꝥ he rice genoh næfde. ⁊ wilnode ꝥ he Parthe begeate. ⁊ þÿder for mid manegum ðusendum. ⁊ hine þær Parthe ÿðelice oferwunnan. ⁊ þone cÿning offlogon. ⁊ him ꝥ rice geahnedon. forþon Antiochus ne gÿmde hwæt he hæfde manna gerimes. ⁊ ne nam nane ware hwÿlce hi wæran. forþon heora wæs ma forcuðra þonne æltæwra:. On þære tide Scipio. se betsta ⁊ se selesta Romana witena ⁊ þegena. mænde his earfeða to Romana witum. þær hi æt heora gemote wæron. for hwÿ hi hine swa unwÿrðne on his ÿlde dydan. ⁊ ahsode hi. for hwi hi noldon geðencean ealle þa brocu ⁊ þa geswinc þe he for heora willan. ⁊ eac for neod-þearfe. fela wintra dreogende wæs unarimedlice oft siðum. ⁊ hu he hi adÿde of Hannibales þeowdome. ⁊ of manigre oðre ðeode. ⁊ hu he him to þeowdome gewÿlde ealle Ispanie. ⁊ ealle Affrice. ⁊ þa on þære ilcan niht. þe he on dæg þas word sprræc. Romane him geðancedon ealles his geswinces mid wÿrsan leane þonne he to him geearnod hæfde. þa hi hine on his bedde asmoredan ⁊ aðrysemodan. ꝥ

IV.

After Rome had been built six hundred and twenty-one years, the consul, Licinius Crassus, who was also the chief priest of the Romans, proceeded with an army against Aristonicus, the king, who would appropriate to himself the Lesser Asia, although Attalus, his own brother, had previously given it to the Romans by his will. To the aid of Crassus there came many kings from many lands: one was from Nicomedia, two from Bithynia, three from Pontus, four from Armenia, five from Argeata, six from Cappadocia, seven from Pylemene, eight from Paphlagonia; and yet, soon after they came together, the consul was put to flight, although he had a great force. When Perperna, the other consul, heard that, he hastily gathered an army, and came on the king unawares, when his army was all dispersed, and drove him into a fortress, and besieged him until all the inhabitants delivered him to the consul, and he afterwards ordered him to be brought to Rome and cast into prison, and he there lay until he gave up his life. At that time it appeared to Antiochus, king of Assyria, that he had not realm enough, and was desirous of acquiring Parthia, and proceeded thither with many thousands, and there the Parthians easily overcame him, and slew the king, and appropriated to themselves the kingdom; because Antiochus recked not what number of men he had, and took no heed of what sort they were, there were therefore more dissolute than decent among them. At that time, Scipio, the best and the most excellent of Roman senators and officers, bewailed his hardships to the Roman senators, when they were at their meeting, [demanding] why they treated him so unworthily in his age; and asked them, why they would not remember all the miseries and the toils that he had undergone for their sake, and also from necessity, for many years and at countless times, and how he had saved them from Annibal's thraldom, and of many another nation; and how he had reduced to their servitude all Spain and all Africa. And then, on that same night, after the day on which he had spoken, the Romans thanked him for all his toil with a worse reward than he had earned from them, when they smothered and suffocated him in his bed,

he hiꝛ liꝛ aleꝺ:. Ealа Romane hpa mæʒ eop nu ꝺpupian. þa ʒe ꝛþýlc lean ðýðon eopꝛum þam ʒeꝺꝛýpeꝛꝺan piꝺan:. Đaþa Emiliuꝛ æþeꝛꝺeꝛ[1] pæꝛ conꝛul. Etna ꝛýꝛ aꝛleop up ꝛpa bpaþ ꝛ ꝛpa mýċęl þ ꝛeapa þapa manna mihꝺe beon eaꝛðþæꝛꝺe. ðe on Lipaꝛe paꝛe in þam iʒlanꝺe. þe þæꝛ nihꝺ pæꝛ. ꝛoꝛ þæþe hæꝺe. ꝛ ꝛoꝛ þam ꝛꝺence:. Le ealle þa cliꝛu þe neah þæþe ꝛæ pæþon. ꝛoꝛbuþnen ꝺo ahꝛan. ꝛ ealle þa ꝛcipu ꝛoꝛmulꝺan. þe þeah þam ꝛæ ꝛaþenꝺe pæþon:. Le ealle þa ꝛixaꝛ. þe on þam ꝛæ pæþon. acpælan ꝛoꝛ þæþe hæꝺan:.

Đaþa Maꝛcuꝛ Flaccuꝛ pæꝛ conꝛul. coman ʒæþꝛꝺapan on Affpice. ꝛ ælc uhꝺ ꝛoꝛꝛcpuꝛon þæꝛ þe on þam lanꝺe pæꝛ peaxenꝺeꝛ ꝛ ʒnopenꝺeꝛ:. Æꝛteꝛ þam þe hi abꝛuncene pæþan. hi peapp ꝛeo ꝛæ up. ꝛ ꝛiððan mæꝛꝺ eall ꝛoꝛpeapð þ on þam lanꝺe pæꝛ. ʒe manna. ʒe nýꝺena. ʒe pilꝺeoꝛ. ꝛoꝛ þam ꝛꝺence:.

V.

Æꝛteꝛ þam þe Romana buꝛuh ʒeꝺimbꝺeꝺ pæꝛ vi. hunꝺ pintꝛum ꝛ xxiii. þaþa Luciuꝛ Mella ꝛ Quintuꝛ Flaminiuꝛ[2] pæþon conꝛulaꝛ. þa ʒepeapð þam þa ꝛenatuꝛ. þ man eꝛt ꝛceolꝺe timbꝺian Laꝛtaina:. Ac þæþe ilcan nihꝺ þe man on ðæʒ hæꝛꝺe þa buꝛuh miꝺ ꝛtacum ʒemeꝛcoꝺ. ꝛpa ꝛpa hi hi þa puꝛicean polꝺan. þa tuʒon pulꝛaꝛ þa ꝛtacan up. þa ꝛoꝛleton hi þ peoꝛc ꝛoꝛþam. ꝛ laŋʒ ʒemoꝺ hæꝛꝺon. hpæþeꝛ hit tacnoꝺe þe ꝛibbe þe unꝛibbe. ꝛ hi hý ꝛpa-þeah eꝛt ʒeꝺimbꝺeꝺan:.

On þæþe ꝺiꝺe Metellus ꝛe conꝛul ꝛoꝛ on Baleaꝛiꝛ þ lanꝺ. ꝛ oꝛeppann þa picinʒaꝛ þe on þ lanꝺ heꝛʒoꝺan. þeah þe þæþa lanꝺleoꝺa ꝛela ꝛoppuꝛꝺe:.

VI.

Æꝛteꝛ þam þe Romana buꝛh ʒeꝺimbꝺeꝺ pæꝛ vi. hunꝺ pintꝛum ꝛ xxvii. Fauiuꝛ ꝛe conꝛul ʒemette Betuitu̇an. Ballia cýninʒ. ꝛ hine miꝺ lýtlum ꝛulcume oꝛeꝛcom:.

so that he lost his life. Alas, Romans! who can now trust you, when you so rewarded your most faithful senator? When Æmilius and Orestes were consuls, the fire of Etna flowed up so broad and so much, that few of the inhabitants of the island of Lipari could remain in their dwellings, who were there that night, on account of the heat and of the stench. Yea, all the cliffs, that were near the sea, were burnt to ashes, and all the ships were consumed, although they were sailing on the sea. Yea, all the fishes, that were in the sea, perished from the heat.

When Marcus Flaccus was consul, locusts came into Africa, and every morning cropped off whatever was waxing and growing on the land. After they were drowned, the sea cast them up, and afterwards almost everything perished that was on the land, both men and cattle, and also the wild animals, by reason of the stench.

V.

After the city of Rome had been built six hundred and twenty-four years, when Lucius Metellus and Quintus Flamininus were consuls, the senate decreed, that Carthage should be rebuilt. But on the same night of the day on which they had marked the city out with stakes, so as they wished to construct it, the wolves pulled up the stakes; then, because of that, they abandoned the work, and had a long consultation, whether it betokened peace or war; but, nevertheless, they rebuilt it.

At that time, Metellus the consul proceeded to the Balearic islands, and overcame the pirates who plundered in those islands, although many of the inhabitants perished.

VI.

After the city of Rome had been built six hundred and twenty-seven years, the consul Fabius met Bituitus, king of Gaul, and, with a small force, overcame him.

VII.

Æfter þam þe Romana burh getimbred wæs vi. hund wintrum ⁊ xxxv. þaþa Scipio Nasica and Lucius Calfurnius wæran consulas. Romane wunnon wið Leowedrðan. Numeða cýning:· Se ilca Leowedrða wæs Mecipsuses mæg. Numeþa cýninges. ⁊ he hine on his geogoðe underfeng. ⁊ hine fedan het. ⁊ læran mid his twam sunum. ⁊ þa se cýning gefor. he bebead his twam sunum ⁊ hi þæs ricces ðriddan dæl Leowedrðan sealdon:· Ac siððan se ðridda dæl on his gewealde wæs. he bespac begen þa sunu. oðerne he ofsloh. oðerne he adræfde. ⁊ he siððan gesohte Romane him to friðe. ⁊ hi sendon Calfurnan ðone consul mid him mid fýrde:· Ac Leowedrþa geceapode mid his feo æt þam consule. ⁊ he þæs gewinnes lýtel ðurhteah:· Æfter þam Leowedrða com to Rome. ⁊ digellice geceapode to ðam senatum. to anum ⁊ to anum. ⁊ hi ealle wæron ymbe hine twýwýrdige:· Ða he hine hamweard of þære býrig wende. þa tælde he Romane. ⁊ hi swiðe bismorode mid his wordum. ⁊ sæde ⁊ man nane burh ne mihte ýð mid feo geceapian. gif hýre ænig man ceapode:· Ðæs on þam æfteran geare Romane sendon Anilius Postumius þone consul. mid Lx. M̄. ongean Leowedðan:· Þeora gemittincg wæs æt Calama þære býrig. ⁊ þær wæran Romane oferwunnen. ⁊ siððan lýtle hwile hi genamon frið him betweonum. ⁊ siððan mæst ealle Affrice gecyrdon to Leowedrðan:· Æfter þam Romane sendon eft Metellus mid fýrde ongean Leowedrðan. ⁊ he sige hæfde æt twam cýrrum. ⁊ æt ðriddan cýrre he bedraf Leowedrðan on Numeðian. his agen land. ⁊ hine genýdde ⁊ he sealde Romanum ðreo hund gisla. ⁊ he þeah siððan na þe læs ne hergode on Romane:· Ða sendon hi eft Marius þone consul ongean Leowedrðan. a swa lýtigne: ⁊ a swa bredendne swa he wæs. ⁊ for to anre býrig gelicost þam þe he hi abrecan þohte:· Ac sona swa Leowedrða hæfde his fultum to þære býrig gelæd ongean Marius. þa forlet he Marius ⁊ fæsten. ⁊ for to oðrum þær he geahsode ⁊ Leowedrðan gold-hord wæs. ⁊ genýdde þa burh-leode ⁊ hi him eodan on hand. ⁊ him ageafon eall ⁊ licgende feoh. ⁊ þær binnan wæs:· Ða ne getrýwode Leowedrða his agenum folce

VII.

After the city of Rome had been built six hundred and thirty-five years, when Scipio Nasica and Lucius Calpurnius were consuls, the Romans warred against Jugurtha, king of Numidia. The same Jugurtha was the son of Micipsa, king of Numidia, and he adopted him in his youth, and ordered him to be fed and taught with his two sons: and when the king died, he commanded his two sons to give a third part of his realm to Jugurtha. But when the third part was in his power, he deceived both the sons, one he slew, the other he drove away, and he afterwards applied to the Romans for protection; and they sent the consul Calpurnius with him with an army. But Jugurtha with his money bribed the consul, so that he performed but little of warfare. After that, Jugurtha came to Rome, and secretly bribed the senators, one by one, so that they were all vacillating about him. When he returned homewards from the city, he reproached the Romans, and insulted them with his words, and said, that no city could be bought more easily with money, if any one were inclined to buy it. In the following year, the Romans sent Aulus Postumius, the consul, with sixty thousand [men] against Jugurtha. Their meeting was at the city of Calama, and there the Romans were overcome, and a little while after, they made peace between them; and afterwards, almost all Africa turned to Jugurtha. After that, the Romans again sent Metellus with an army against Jugurtha, and he had victory on two occasions, and, on the third occasion, he drove Jugurtha into Numidia, his own land, and compelled him to give the Romans three hundred hostages; and he yet afterwards made depredations on the Romans. They then after that sent the consul Marius against Jugurtha, [one] ever as crafty and cunning as he was; and [he] proceeded to a city exactly as if he intended to besiege it. But as soon as Jugurtha had led his force to that city against Marius, he, Marius, then abandoned that fortress, and marched to another, where he had learned that Jugurtha's treasure was, and compelled the inhabitants to surrender to him; and they gave up to him all the treasure that was therein. Jugurtha then did not trust his own people after

ofer þæt. ac geþoftude him þið Bohan, Mauritania cynincge. ⁊ he him com to mid miclum man-fultume. ⁊ oftrædlice on Romane stalode. oð hi gecþædan folc-gefeoht him betþeonum :. To þam gefeohte hæfde Boho Leoþeorðan gebroht to fultume Lx. M̄. gehorsedra buton feðan :. Mid Romanum næs ær ne siððan sþa heard gefeoht sþa þær þæs. forþon þe hi þurdon on ælce healfe utan befangen. ⁊ heora eac mæst forþon forþearð. þe heora mitinc þæs on sandihtre dune. ꝥ hi for duste ne mihtan geseon hu hi hi behealdan sceoldan. to-eacon þam hi derode ægðer ge ðurst ge hæte. ⁊ ealne þone dæg þæron ꝥ þafiende oð niht :. Ða on mergen hi þæron ꝥ ilce donde. ⁊ eft þæron on ælce healfe utan befangen. sþa hi ær þæron. ⁊ þa hi sþiðost tþeode hþæðer hi aþeg coman. þa gecþædan hi ꝥ hi sume hi beæftan þæredon. ⁊ sume ðurh ealle þa truman utan afuhtan. gif hi mihton :. Ða hi sþa gedon hæfdon. þa com an ren ⁊ sþiðe. ꝥ Mauritanie þæron mid þam geþergode. forþon þe heora scýldas þæron betogene mid ylpendan hýdum. ꝥ hi heora feaþa for þam þætan ahebban mihte. ⁊ for þam geflýmede þurdon. forþon þe elpendes hýd þýle drincan þætan gelice an spinge deð :. Ðær þearð Mauritania offlagen xl. M̄. ⁊ i. hund manna :. Æfter þam Boho genam frið þið Romanum. ⁊ him Leoþeorðan gebundenne ageaf. ⁊ hine man dýde siððan on carcern. ⁊ his tþegen suna. oð hi þær ealle acþælon :.

VIII.

Æfter þam þe Romane burh getimbred þæs vi. hund þintrum ⁊ xlii. þaþa Mallius ⁊ Quintinus[1] þæron consulas. Romane gefuhton þið Limbros. ⁊ þið Teutonas. ⁊ þið Ambronos. þas þeoda þæron on Lallium. ⁊ þær ealle offlagene þurdon. buton x. mannum. ꝥ þæs xl. M̄. ⁊ þær þæs Romana offlagen hund-eahtatig M̄. ⁊ heora consul ⁊ his tþegen suna :. Æfter þam þa ýlcan þeoda besætan Marius ðone consul on anum fæstene. ⁊ hit lang first þæs ær he ut faran þolde to gefeohte. ær him man sæde. ꝥ hi þoldan faran on Italiam. Romana land :. Ac siððon he him for to ut of þam fæstene. þa hi hi

that, but associated himself with Bocchus, king of Mauritania, and he came to him with a large aid of men, and frequently stole on the Romans, until a general battle was resolved on between them. For that battle Bocchus had brought to the aid of Jugurtha sixty thousand horse besides foot. With the Romans there was not, neither before nor since, so hard a fight as there was, because they were surrounded on every side, and also the most of them perished, because their meeting was on a sandy down, so that for dust they could not see how they should defend themselves; besides which they were annoyed both by thirst and heat, and all that day they were enduring that until night. In the morning they were doing the same, and were again surrounded on every side, as they had been before: and when they were most doubting whether they could escape, they resolved that some should protect their rear, and some, if they might, fight [their way] out through all the cohorts. When they had so done, there came a rain, and so violently, that the Mauritanians were wearied by it, because their shields were covered with the hides of elephants, so that few of them could raise them, in consequence of the wet, and were, therefore, put to flight; because an elephant's hide will drink water as a sponge does. Of the Mauritanians there were slain forty thousand one hundred men. After that, Bocchus made peace with the Romans, and delivered Jugurtha to them bound, and he was afterwards cast into prison and his two sons, until they there all perished.

VIII.

After Rome had been built six hundred and forty-two years, when Manlius and Quintus were consuls, the Romans fought against the Cimbri, and against the Teutones, and against the Ambrones (these nations were in Gaul), and all were there slain, except ten men, that was forty thousand[1]; and of the Romans were there slain eighty thousand, and their consul and his two sons. After that, these same nations besieged the consul Marius in a fortress, and it was a long time before he would go out to battle, until it was told him that they would go into Italy, the land of the Romans. But

on anre ðune ȝemetton. þa mænðe þæȝ conſuleȝ ſolc to him heoꝛa þuꝛſt þe him ȝetenȝe pæȝ. þa aꝛðýꝛðe he him. ⁊ cpæð. Eaðe þe maȝon ȝeſeon. on oðꝛe healfe uꝛꝛa ſeonða. hpæꝛ ꝛe ðꝛinca hiꝛ ȝelanȝ. þe uꝛ nýhꝛt iꝛ. ac ſoꝛþam þe hi uꝛ neaꝛ ſýnð. þe hí ne maȝon buton ȝeſeohte to-cuman[1]. Ðæꝛ hæſðon Romana ꝛiȝe. ⁊ þæꝛ pæȝ Lallia oꝛꝛlaȝen tpa hunð þuſenða ⁊ heoꝛa laðteoꝛ. ⁊ hunð-eahtatiȝ M. ȝeſanȝen.

IX.

Æſtep þam þe Romana buꝛh ȝetimbꝛeð pæȝ vi. hunð pintꝛum ⁊ xlv. on þam ꝛiꝛtan ȝeaꝛe þe Maꝛiuȝ pæȝ conſul. ⁊ eac þa mið Romana pæȝ ꝛiþ oſ oðꝛum ſolcum. þa onȝunnon Romane þa mæꝛtan ꝛace him betpeonum up-aꝛæꝛan. þeah ic hit nu ꝛceoꝛtlice ꝛecȝan ꝛcýle. cpæð Oꝛoꝛiuȝ. hpa þæȝ oꝛiðꝛuman pæꝛon. þ pæȝ æꝛeꝛt Maꝛiuȝ ꝛe conſul. ⁊ Luciuȝ. ⁊ Apuleiuȝ. ⁊ Satuꝛninuȝ. þ hi aðꝛæſðon Metelluȝ ðone conſul on elþeoðe. ꝛe pæȝ conſul æꝛ Maꝛiuȝ. Þit pæȝ þa ȝýðe oſðincende þam oðꝛum conſulum. Pompeiuꝛe ⁊ Laton. þeah þe hi mið þæꝛe ꝛtace þam aðꝛæſðon on nanum ꝛtæle beon ne mihtan. hi þeah þuꝛhtuȝon þ hi oꝛꝛlozon Luciuȝ ⁊ Satuꝛninuȝ. ⁊ eꝛt pæꝛnan biddenðe þ Metelluȝ to Rome moꝛte. ac him þa-ȝýt Maꝛiuȝ ⁊ Fuꝛiuȝ ſoꝛþýꝛnðan. ⁊ him þa ꝛiððan ꝛe ſeonðꝛcipe pæȝ betpeonum pexanðe. þeah þe hit hi openlice cýðan ne ðoꝛꝛtan. ſoꝛ þæꝛa ꝛenatum eȝe.

X.

Æſtep þam þe Romana buꝛh ȝetimbꝛeð pæȝ vi. hunð, pintꝛum ⁊ Lxi. on þam vi. ȝeaꝛe þe Iuliuȝ ꝛe Laȝeꝛe pæȝ conſul. ⁊ Luciuȝ Maꝛciuȝ. peaꝛð oꝛep ealle Italia unȝeſeꝛlic unꝛiþ. ⁊ openlice cuð betuh Iuliuꝛe ⁊ Pompeiuꝛe. þeah hi hit æꝛ ꝛpiþe him betpeonum býꝛnðon. Ánð eac on ðam ȝeaꝛe ȝepuꝛðon manize punðoꝛ on manezum landum. Án pæȝ þ man ȝeſeah ꝛwýlce an ꝛýꝛen hꝛinȝ noꝛðan cumen. mið mycclum ꝛpeze. Oðeꝛ peaꝛð on Taꝛentam þæꝛe býꝛiȝ. æt anre ſeoꝛme. þonne

after he went towards them out of the fortress, he met them on a down, when the consul's men complained to him of their thirst, which was oppressive to them; whereupon he answered them and said: "We can easily see, on the other side of our enemies, where the drink is to be had that is nearest to us; but because they are nearer to us, we cannot come to it without fighting." The Romans there had victory, and of the Gauls there were slain two hundred thousand and their leader, and eighty thousand taken.

IX.

After the city of Rome had been built six hundred and forty-five years, in the fifth year that Marius was consul, and also when there was peace with the Romans from other nations, then the Romans began to raise the greatest strife among themselves; though I shall [but] shortly now say, says Orosius, who its authors were. That was, in the first place, the consul Marius, and Lucius, and Apuleius, and Saturninus, because these drove the consul Metellus into exile, who was consul before Marius. The other consuls then, Pompey and Cato taking this extremely ill, although they could stand the exile, with regard to his banishment, in no stead, nevertheless, succeeded in slaying Lucius and Saturninus, and afterward requested that Metellus might [return] to Rome; but Marius and Furius still forbade it; and the enmity between them was afterwards increased; although they durst not openly manifest it for fear of the senate.

X.

After the city of Rome had been built six hundred and sixty-one years, in the sixth year that Julius Cæsar was consul, and Lucius Martius, there was over all Italy unnatural and open hostility between Julius and Pompey; although they had previously completely concealed it between themselves. And also in that year many wonders happened in many lands. One was, that people saw as if a fiery ring came from the north, with a great sound. The second was in the city of Aretium, at a feast, when the loaves were

man þa hlaſaſ þnaт to þicgenne. þonne aþn þæþ blob ut:· Đæt ðnibbe pæſ þ hit hazolabe bæzeſ ⁊ nihteſ oſeþ ealle Romane. ⁊ on Somnia þam lanbe þeo eoþðe tobæþſt. ⁊ þanon up pæſ bỳnnenbe ſyþ þið þæſ heoþoneſ. ⁊ man zeſeah ſpylce hit pæþe an zylben hþincz on heoþonum bnabbne þonne ſunne. ⁊ pæſ ſnam þam heoþone bnabienbe niðeþ 'oð þa eoþðan. ⁊ pæſ eſt ſaþenbe þið þæſ heoþoneſ:· On þæþe tibe Picenbe þ ſolc. ⁊ Ueſtine. ⁊ Mapſi. ⁊ Pelizni. ⁊ Mappucini. ⁊ Somnite. ⁊ Lucani. hi ealle zeþeaþð him betþeonum. þ hi polban Romanum zeſpican. ⁊ oſſlozon Laiuſ Seþuliuſ. Romana ealboþman. ſe pæſ mið æþenbum to him aſenbeb:· On þam bazum apebban þa nỳtena ⁊ þa hunbaſ þe pæþan on Somnitum:· Æſtep þam zeſeahte Pompeiuſ ſe conſul þið þa ſolc. ⁊ zeſlỳmeb peaþþ. ⁊ Iuliuſ ſe caſeþe zeſeahte þið Mapſe þam ſolce. ⁊ zeſlỳmeb peaþð. ⁊ þaðe þæſ Iuliuſ zeſeahte þið Somnitum ⁊ þið Lucanum. ⁊ hi zeſlỳmbe:· Æſtep þam hine man het Laſeþe:· Đa bæb he þ man þone tþiumphan him onzean bnohte. þa ſenbe him man ane blace hacelan onzean him: on bỳſmoþ ſoþ tþiumphan. ⁊ eſt hi him ſenbon ane tunecan. þa þe hi tozeheton. þ he ealleſ buton aþinze to Rome ne com:· Æſtep þam Silla ſe conſul. Pompeiuſeſ zeſepa. zeſeahte þið Ɛſepnium þam ſolce. ⁊ hi zeſlỳmbe:· Æſtep þam zeſeahte Pompeiuſ þið Picenteſ þam ſolce. ⁊ hi zeſlỳmbe:· Đa bnohtan Romana þone tþiumphan onzean Pompeiuſ mið micelne pỳþðfulnỳſſe. ſoþ þam lỳtlan ſize þe he þa hæſbe. ⁊ nolbon Iuliuſe nanne peoþðſcipe bon. þeah he maþan bæbe zebon hæſbe. buton ane tunican. ⁊ heoþa zepinn mið þam ſþiðe zeſettan:· Æſtep þam Iuliuſ ⁊ Pompeiuſ ábþæcon Æſculum þa buþh on Mæþſum. ⁊ þæþ oſſlozon ehtatỳne M.:· Æſtep þam zeſeahte Silla ſe conſul þið Somnitum. ⁊ heoþa oſſloh xviii. M.:·

XI.

Æſtep þam þe Romana buþh zetimbneb pæſ vi. hunð pintþum ⁊ Lxii. Romane ſenbon Sillan þone conſul onzean Me-

scored for eating, there ran blood out. The third was, that it hailed day and night over all the Roman [territory], and in the Samnites' land the earth burst asunder, and thence fire burnt up to the heavens, and there was seen as it were a golden ring in the heavens, broader than the sun, and extending itself from the heavens down to the earth, and afterwards returned towards the heavens. At that time, the nation of the Picentes, and the Vestini, and the Marsi, and the Peligni, and the Marrucini, and the Samnites, and the Lucani, all agreed together that they would revolt from the Romans, and slew Caius Servilius, the Roman prætor, who had been sent to them with messages. In those days, the cattle became mad, and the dogs that were with the Samnites. After that, the consul Pompey fought against those nations and was put to flight; and Julius Cæsar fought against the nation of the Marsi, and was put to flight; and shortly after Julius fought against the Samnites and against the Lucani and put them to flight. After that they named him *Cæsar*. He then demanded that the triumph should be brought to meet him, when they sent him a black mantle, as an insult, instead of a triumph; and afterwards they sent him a toga, which they had promised, so that he did not come to Rome altogether without honour. After that, Sylla, the consul, the companion of Pompey, fought against the people of Æsernia, and put them to flight. After that, Pompey fought against the nation of the Picentes, and put them to flight. The Romans then brought the triumph to meet Pompey, with great honour, for that little victory that he had had, and would not do any honour to Julius, although he had done a greater deed, except a toga, and therewith greatly confirmed their [mutual] hostility. After that, Julius and Pompey took the town of Asculum from the Marsi, and there slew eighteen thousand. After that, the consul Sylla fought against the Samnites, and slew eighteen thousand of them.

XI.

After the city of Rome had been built six hundred and sixty-two years, the Romans sent the consul Sylla against

tridatis Partha cynincze :· Ða ofþuhte þ Mariuse þam consule. Iuliuses eame. þ man þ zeþinn him betæcean nolde. ⁊ bæd þ man him sealde þone seofoðan consulatum. ⁊ eac þ zeþinn. forþon hit þæs þeaþ mid heom þ man ýmbe xii. monað dýde alces consules setl anum þýle hýrre þonne hit ær þæs :· Ða Silla zeahsode on hþýlc zerad Mariuf com to Rome. he þa hræðlice mid eallre his fýrde þið Romeþeard farende þæs. ⁊ Mariuf bedraf into Romebýriz mid eallum his folce. ⁊ hine siððon þa burh-leode zefenzon ⁊ zebundon. ⁊ hine siððon þohton Sillan aziran :· Ac he fleah þære ilcan nihte of þam bendum þe hine man on dæz zebende. ⁊ siððon fleah suð ofer sæ on Affricam. þær his fultum mæst þæs. ⁊ raðe eft þæs cýrrende þið Romeþeard :· Him þæron tþezen consulas on fultume. Linna ⁊ Sertorius. þa þæron simble ælces ýfeles ordfruman :· ⁊ raðe þæs þe þa senatus zehýrdon. þ Mariuf to Rome nealæhte. hi ealle utfluzon on Lreaca land æfter Sillan ⁊ æfter Pompeiuse. þýder hi þa mid fýrde zefarene þæron :· Ða þæs Silla mid mýcelre zeornfulnesse farende of Lrecum þið Romeþeard. ⁊ þið Mariuf heardlice zefeoht ðurhteah. ⁊ hine zeflýmde. ⁊ ealle offloh binnon Romebýriz þe Mariuse on fultume þæron :· Raðe þæs ealle þa consulas þæron deade buton tþam. Mariuf ⁊ Silla zeforan him sýlf. ⁊ Linna þæs offlazen on Smýrna. Asia býriz. ⁊ Sertorius þæs offlazen on Ispania :·

Ða underfenz Pompeiuf Partha zeþinn. forþon Metridates heora cýninz teah him to þa læssan Asiam ⁊ eall Lreaca land. ac hine Pompeiuf of eallum þam lande aflýmde. ⁊ hine bedraf on Armenie. ⁊ him æfter fýlizende þæs oð hine oðre men offlozon. ⁊ zenýdde Archelaus þone ladteoþ. þ he þæs his underþeoþ :· Hit is nu unzelýfedlic to seczenne. cþæð Orosius. hþæt on þam zeþinne forþeard. þ hi þæron dreozende xl. þintra ær hit zeendod beon mihte. æzðer ze on þeode forherzunze. ze on cýninza slihtum. ze on hunzre :·

Ða Pompeiuf hamþeard þæs. þa noldan þa land þ fæsten alýfan æt Hierusalem. him þæron on fultume xxii. cýninza :· Ða het Pompeiuf þ man þ fæsten bræce. ⁊ onfuhte dæzes. ⁊

Mithridates, king of the Parthians. Then Marius the consul, the uncle of Julius, took it ill that they would not commit that war to him, and demanded that a seventh consulate should be given to him, and also that war; because it was a custom with them, that after a twelvemonth they raised the seat of every consul higher by a cushion than it was before. When Sylla was informed with what design Marius had come to Rome, he instantly marched towards Rome with all his army, and drove Marius into the city of Rome with all his people; and the citizens afterwards seized and bound him, and afterwards resolved on delivering him to Sylla. But he fled in that same night from the bonds with which they had bound him in the day; and afterwards fled south over the sea to Africa, where his greatest support was; and quickly again turned towards Rome. Two of the consuls were his supporters, Cinna and Sertorius, who were ever authors of every evil. And immediately after the senate heard that Marius was approaching Rome, they all fled out to the land of Greece, after Sylla and after Pompey, whither they had then proceeded with an army. Thereupon Sylla with great diligence proceeded from Greece towards Rome, and fought obstinate battles against Marius, and put him to flight, and slew within the city of Rome all who had been in aid of Marius. Immediately after, all the consuls died save two. Marius and Sylla died voluntarily, and Cinna was slain at Smyrna, a city of Asia; and Sertorius was slain in Spain.

Pompey then undertook the Parthian war, because Mithridates, their king, had taken to himself the Lesser Asia, and all the land of the Greeks; but Pompey made him flee from all that land, and drove him into Armenia, and pursued him, until other men slew him; and he compelled Archelaus, the general, to be his underling. It is now incredible to say, says Orosius, how many perished in that war, which they endured for forty years, before it could be ended, as well through the devastation of nations, the slaughters of kings, and hunger.

When Pompey was [on his way] homewards, those nations would not deliver up the fortress at Jerusalem. They were supported by twenty-two kings. Then Pompey commanded the fortress to be taken, and fought against it by day, and

nihtes simble onlæg æfter oðre unperige. ⁊ ꝥ folc mid þam aðrýtan. ꝥ hi him on hand eodan ýmbe ðrý monðas þæs þe hi man ær began :· Ðær þæs Iudea offlagen xiii. M̄. ⁊ man topearp þone þeall nýðer oð þone grund. ⁊ man lædde Aristobulus to Rome gebundenne. se þæs ægðer ge heora cýning ge heora bisceop :·

XII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred þæs vi. hund þintrum ⁊ Lxvii. Romane gesealdon Laiuse Iulius seofon legion to þon ꝥ he sceolde fif þinter þinnan on Lallie :·

Æfter þam þe he hi oferþunnen hæfde. he for on Brýttonie ꝥ igland. ⁊ þið þa Brýttas gefeaht. ⁊ geflýmed þearð on þam lande þe man hæt Lentland :· Raðe þæs he gefeaht þið þa Brýttas eft on Lentlande. ⁊ hi þurdon aflýmede. Þeora ðridde gefeoht þæs neah þære ea þe man hæt Temese. neah þam forda þe man hæt Þelingaford :· Æfter þam gefeohte him eode on hand se cýning ⁊ þa burhþare. þe þæron on Lýrnceastre. ⁊ siððon ealle þe on þam iglande þæron :·

Æfter þam Iulius for to Rome. ⁊ bæd ꝥ him man brohte þone triumphan ongean. þa bebudon hi him. ꝥ he come mid feaþum mannum to Rome. ⁊ ealne his fultum beæftan him lete :· Ac þa he hampeard for. him coman ongean þa ðrý ealdormenn þe him on fultume þæron. ⁊ him sædon ꝥ hi for his ðingum adræfde þæron. ⁊ eac ꝥ ealle þa legian. þe þæron on Romane anþealde. þæron Pompeiuse on fultume gesealð. ꝥ he þe fæstlicre geþinn mihte habban þið hine :· Ða þende eft Iulius to his agenum folce. ⁊ þepende mænde þa unare þe man him buton geþýrhton dýde. ⁊ spiðost þara manna þe for his ðingum forþurdon. ⁊ he him aspeon to siþþan þa seofon legian þe þæron on Sulmone þam lande :·

Ða Pompeius ⁊ Lato ⁊ ealle þa senatus ꝥ gehýrdon. þa foran hi on Lreacas. ⁊ micelne fultum gegaderodan on Thraci ðære dune :· Ða for Iulius to Rome. ⁊ tobræc heora madm-hus. ⁊ eall gedælde ꝥ þærinne þæs :· Ðæt is unalýfedlic to secganne. cþæð Orosius. hþæt þæs

by night, one after another, unwearied pressed it, and thereby so harassed the people, that they surrendered to him three months after they had first invested it. There were thirteen thousand Jews slain, and the walls were cast down to the ground; and Aristobulus was led bound to Rome, who was both their king and their priest.

XII.

After Rome had been built six hundred and sixty-seven years, the Romans gave Caius Julius seven legions, that he might war five years in Gaul.

After he had overcome them, he proceeded to the island of Britain, and fought against the Britons, and was put to flight in the land that is called Kentland. Soon after, he again fought against the Britons in Kentland, and they were put to flight. Their third battle was near the river that is called Thames, near the ford that is called Wallingford. After that battle, the king surrendered to him, and the inhabitants that were in "Cyrnceaster," and afterwards all who were in the island.

After that, Julius went to Rome, and demanded the triumph to be brought to meet him; whereupon they commanded him that he should come to Rome with few men, and leave the whole of his force behind him. But as he was proceeding homewards, there came to meet him the three senators who were his supporters, and said to him, that they, on his account, had been driven away; and also, that all the legions, that were in the power of the Romans, had been given to aid Pompey, that he might have the securer contest with him. Julius thereupon returned to his own army, and, weeping, complained of the dishonour that had been so undeservedly done him, and chiefly [on account] of those men who had perished for his sake: and he afterwards enticed to him the seven legions that were in the land of Sulmo.

When Pompey, and Cato, and all the senators heard that, they went to the Greeks, and gathered a large force in the mountain of Thrace. Then Julius marched to Rome, and broke open their treasury, and divided all that was therein. It is incredible to say, says Orosius, how much there was of

ealles þæs :. Æfter þam he for to Massiliam ꝥ land. ⁊ þær let ðreo legian beæftan him. to ðon ꝥ hi ꝥ folc to him genýddon. ⁊ he sýlf mid þam oðrum dæle for on Ispanie. þær Pompeiuses legian þæron mid his ðrim latteoþum. ⁊ he hi ealle to him genýdde :. Æfter þam he for on Lreacaland. þær his Pompeius on ánre dune onbad mid xxx. cýningan. buton his agenum fultume :. Ða for Pompeius þær Marcellus þæs. Iuliuses ladteoþ. ⁊ hine offloh mid eallum his folce :. Æfter þam Iulius besæt Torquatus. Pompeiuses latteoþ. on anum fæstene. ⁊ him Pompeius æfter for. þær þearð Iulius geflýmed. ⁊ his folces fela forslagen. forþam þe him man feaht on tþa healfa. on oðre healfe Pompeius. on oðre healfe se ladteoþ :. Siððan for Iulius on Thessaliam. ⁊ þær his fultum gegaderade :. Ða Pompeius ꝥ gehýrde. þa for he him æfter mid ungemetlicum fultume. he hæfde hund-eahtatig coortana. ꝥ þe nu truman hatað. ꝥ þæs on þam dagum fif hund manna. ⁊ an M̄. þis eall he hæfde buton his agenum fultume. ⁊ butan Latone his geferan. ⁊ buton þara senatuses :. And Iulius hæfde hund-eahtatig coortana :. Þeora ægðer hæfde his folc on ðrim heapum. ⁊ hi sýlfe þæron on þam midmestan. ⁊ þa oðre on tþam healfa heora :. Ða Iulius hæfde ænne þæra dæla geflýmed. þa clýpode Pompeius him to ýmbe Romane ealde gecþýdrædene. þeah þe hi sýlf gelæstan ne þohte. Lefera. gefera. gemýne ꝥ ðu ure geferrædenne ⁊ cþýdrædenne to lange ne oferbræc :. Ða andþearde he him. ⁊ cþæð. On sumere tide ðu þære min gefera. ⁊ forþam þe ðu nu ne eart. me is eall leofost ꝥ ðe is laðost :. Ðæt þæs seo gecþýdræden þe Romane geset hæfdon. ꝥ heora nan oðerne on ðone andþlitan ne sloge. þær þær hi hi æt gefeohtum gemetton :. Æfter þam þordum Pompeius þearð geflýmed mid eallum his folce. ⁊ he sýlf siððan oðfleah on Asiam mid his þife. ⁊ mid his bearnum. ⁊ sýððon he for on Egýptum. ⁊ his fultumes bæd æt Phtolomeuse þam cýninge. ⁊ raðe þæs þe he to him com. he him het ꝥ heafud ofaceorfan. ⁊ hit sýððon het Iuliuse onsendon. ⁊ his hring mid :. Ac þa man hit to him brohte. he þæs mænende þa dæde mid miclum þope. forþon he þæs ealra manna mildheortast on þam dagum :. Æfter þam Phtolomeus gelædde fýrde þið Iuliuse. ⁊ eall his folc þearð geflýmed. ⁊ he sýlf gefangen. ⁊

it all. After that he proceeded to the land of Marseilles, and there left three legions behind him, that he might reduce that people to subjection, and he himself, with the other part, proceeded to Spain, where Pompey's legions were with his three generals, and he subjected them all to him. After that he proceeded to Greece, where Pompey awaited him on a mountain, with thirty kings besides his own force. Pompey then marched to where Marcellus, Julius' general, was, and slew him with all his army. After that, Julius besieged Torquatus, Pompey's general, in a fortress, and Pompey proceeded after him: there was Julius put to flight, and many of his people slain, because they fought on both sides of him, on one side Pompey, on the other the general. Julius then marched into Thessaly, and there gathered his force. When Pompey heard that, he marched after him with an immense force: he had eighty cohorts, which we now call *truman*, which in those days were of a thousand five hundred men: all this he had besides his own force, and besides [that of] Cato, his associate, and besides that of the senate. And Julius had eighty cohorts. Each of them had his force in three bodies, and they themselves were in the middlemost, and the others on the two sides of them. When Julius had put one of the bodies to flight, Pompey called to him about the old Roman compact, although he himself did not think of observing it: "Comrade, comrade, remember that thou do not too long infringe our old fellowship and covenant." Thereupon he answered him, and said: "At one time thou wast my comrade, and because thou art not [so] now, that is most desirable to me that is most hateful to thee." This was the compact that the Romans had established, that none of them should strike another in the face, wherever they met in battles. After those words, Pompey was put to flight with all his army; and he himself afterwards fled into Asia with his wife and his children, and afterwards he went to Egypt, and asked aid of Ptolemy the king. And soon after he came to him, he commanded his head to be cut off, and afterwards sent to Julius, and his ring with it. But when it was brought to him, he bewailed the deed with much weeping; because he was of all men the most compassionate in those days. After that, Ptolemy led an army against Julius, and all his people were put to flight, and he himself cap-

ealle þa men Iuliuſ het oſſlean. þe æt þæne lane þæran ꝥ man Pompeiuſ oſſloh. ⁊ he ſwa-þeah eft forlet Phtolomeuſ to hiſ rice :. Æfter þam Iuliuſ ȝefealt þið Phtolomeuſ þriwa. ⁊ æt ælcon cýrre ſiȝe hæfde :.

Æfter þam ȝefeohte ealle Ɛȝypti þurdon Iuliuſe underþeoþaſ. ⁊ he him ſýððon hþearf to Rome. ⁊ eft ſette ſenatuſ. ⁊ hine ſýlfne man ȝeſette ꝥ he þæſ hýrre þonne conſul. ꝥ hi hetan tictator :. Æfter þam he for on Affrice æfter Latone þam conſule :. Ða he ꝥ ȝealſode. þa lærde he hiſ ſunu ꝥ he him onȝean fore. ⁊ hine him to friðe ȝeſohte. forþon. cþæð he. þe ic þat. ꝥ nan ſwa ȝod man ne leofað ſwa he iſ on þiſſon life. þeah þe he me ſý ſe laðoſta. ⁊ forþon ic ne mæȝ finðan æt me ſýlfum. ꝥ ic hine æfre ȝeſeo :.

Æfter þam þorde he eode to þære burȝe þeallum. ⁊ fleah ut ofer. ꝥ he eall tobærſt :. Ac þa Iuliuſ to þære býriȝ com. he him þæſ ſþiðe mænende ꝥ he to him cuco ne com. ⁊ ꝥ he ſþýlcon deaðe ſþealt :. Æfter þam Iuliuſ ȝefealt þið Pompeiuſeſ ȝenefon. ⁊ þið maniȝe hiſ maȝaſ. ⁊ he hi ealle oſſloh. ⁊ ſiððon to Rome for. ⁊ þær þæſ ſwa andrýſne. ꝥ him man dýde feoþer ſiðon þone triumphan þa he ham com :. Siððon he for on Iſpanie. ⁊ ȝefealt þið Pompeiuſeſ tþam ſunum. ⁊ þær þæſ hiſ folc ſwa ſþiðe forſlaȝen. ꝥ he ſume hþile þende ꝥ man hine ȝefon ſceolde. ⁊ he for ðære ondræðinȝe þæſ þe ſþiðor on ꝥ þeroð þranȝ. forþon þe him þæſ leofre ꝥ hine man oſſloȝe. þonne hine man ȝebunde :.

Æfter þam he com to Rome. ⁊ ealle þa ȝeſetnyſſa þe þær to ſtranȝe þæron ⁊ to hearde. he hi ealle ȝedýde leohtran ⁊ liðran. hit þa eallum þam ſenatum ofðincendum. ⁊ þam conſulum. ꝥ he heora ealdan ȝeſetnýſſa tobrecan þolde. ahleopon þa ealle. ⁊ hine mid heora met-ſeaxum offticedon on heora ȝemot-erne :. Ðara þunda þæſ xxvii. :.

XIII.

Æfter þam þe Romana burh ȝetimbred þæſ vii. hund þintrum ⁊ Lx. fenȝ Octavianuſ to Romana anþealde. heora unðanceſ. æfter Iuliuſeſ ſleȝe hiſ mæȝeſ. forþon þe hine

tured; and Julius commanded all the men to be slain who were of the counsel for slaying Pompey; and he, nevertheless, dismissed Ptolemy again to his kingdom. After that Julius fought thrice against Ptolemy, and at every time had victory.

After that war, all the Egyptians were subdued by Julius; and he afterwards returned to Rome, and re-established the senate, and appointed himself to be higher than consul, what they called a *dictator*. After that he proceeded to Africa after the consul Cato. When he [Cato] heard that, he advised his son to go to meet him, and sue to him for peace: "Because," said he, "I know that so good a man as he is lives not in this life, although to me he is the most hostile, and therefore I cannot prevail on myself ever to see him."

After that speech, he went to the city walls, and flew out over them, so that he was all burst to pieces. But when Julius came to the city, he greatly grieved that he had not come to him alive, and that he had died by such a death. After that, Julius fought against the nephews of Pompey, and against many of his kin, and he slew them all, and afterwards proceeded to Rome, and was there in such veneration, that they granted him the triumph four times after he came home. Afterwards he proceeded to Spain and fought against Pompey's two sons, and there his army was so slaughtered, that he for some time thought he should be captured, and, by reason of that dread, he the more pressed into the [hostile] army, because it was to him more desirable to be slain than bound.

After that he came to Rome, and all the laws there that were too severe and too hard, he made lighter and milder. All the senate then and the two consuls taking it ill that he would destroy their old laws, all rushed upon him, and stabbed him with their daggers in their senate-house. The wounds were twenty-seven.

XIII.

After Rome had been built seven hundred and sixty years, Octavianus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, without their concurrence, after the slaying of Julius his kins-

hæfde Iuliuſ him æfter miðdæle gefæhðnoð. þæt he æfter him to eallum hiſ gefyſneonum fenge, forþon þe he hine for mægnæðene gelæfde ⁊ getýðe ⁊ he fýlfon iii. geſeoht pel cýnelice geſeahte ⁊ ðurhteah. ſpa ſpa Iuliuſ hiſ mæg býde æfter Pompeiuſ. oðer wið Antoniuſ þone conſul. ðridde wið Laſtiuſ. ſeofoðe wið Lepidus. þeah þe he naðe þæſ hiſ ſneonð pyrde. ⁊ he eac gebýde þ Antoniuſ hiſ ſneonð peaſð. þ he hiſ dohtor ſealde Octaviane to wife. ⁊ eac þ Octavianuſ ſealde hiſ ſweoſtor Antoniuſe.

Siddon him gesteah Antoniuſ to gesealde ealle Asiam. Æfter þam he forlet Octavianuſes ſweoſter. ⁊ him fýlfum onbeah gesinn. ⁊ opene ſeondſcipe. ⁊ he him het to wife gesteccean Cleopatran þa cwene. þa hæfde Iuliuſ æfter. ⁊ hine forþam hæfde gesealð eall Egypta. Naðe þæſ Octavianuſ gelæddde fyrde wið Antoniuſ. ⁊ hine naðe gesfylmde þæſ he hi togædere coman. Ðæſ ymbe ðreo niht hi gesuhton ut on ſæ. Octavianuſ hæfde xxx. ſcipa ⁊ cc. þara miclra dryfeðena. on þam pæron ſaſende eahta legian. ⁊ Antoniuſ hæfde hund-eahtatig ſcipa. on þam pæran ſaſende x. legian. forþon ſpa micle ſpa he læſ hæfde. ſpa micle hi pæron betera ⁊ maran. forþon hi pæron ſpa gesforht. þ hi man ne mihte mid mannum ofsephlæſtan. þ hi næran cýn fota heage buſan wætere. Ðæt geseohte peaſð ſriðe mæne. þeah þe Octavianuſ ſige hæfde. þæſ Antoniuſes[1] folces wæſ oſſlagen xii. M. ⁊ Cleopatra hiſ cwen peaſð gesflýmed. ſpa hi togædere coman mid hine here. Æfter þam Octavianuſ gesealde wið Antoniuſ ⁊ wið Cleopatran. ⁊ hi gesflýmde. þ wæſ on þære tide kal. Agustuſ. ⁊ on þam dæge þe he hatað hlafmæſſan. Siddon wæſ Octavianuſ Agustuſ haten. forþon þe he on þære tide ſige hæfde. Æfter þam Antoniuſ ⁊ Cleopatra hæfdon gegaderad ſciphere on þam Readan ſæ. ac þa him man ſæde þ Octavianuſ þýderweard wæſ. þa gecýrde eall þ folc to Octavianuſe. ⁊ hi fýlfe oðflugon to anum lýtlum wuda. Deo þa Cleopatra het abelſan hýne býrigenne. ⁊ þær on-innan eode. þa heo þæron gelegen wæſ. þa het heo niman up nalæ þa næddran. ⁊ don to hire eaxle. þ heo hi abite. forþon þe þære næddran gecýnd is ðæt ælc uht wæſ þe heo abit ſceal hiſ

man; because Julius had previously confirmed to him by writings, that he after him should succeed to all his acquisitions; because he had, on account of kinship, instructed and educated him. And he afterwards most royally fought in and carried on four wars, as Julius, his kinsman, had done before; one against Pompey, the second against the consul Anthony, the third against Cassius, the fourth against Lepidus, though he quickly after became his friend; and he also acted so that Anthony became his friend, so that he gave his daughter to Octavianus to wife, and also that Octavianus gave his sister to Anthony.

Afterwards Anthony reduced all Asia under his power. After that he forsook the sister of Octavianus, and declared war and open hostility against himself; and he commanded the queen Cleopatra to be fetched to him for a wife, whom Julius had previously had, and on that account had given to her all Egypt. Immediately after, Octavianus led an army against Anthony; and speedily put him to flight after they had come together. After this, they fought for three days out at sea. Octavianus had thirty ships and two hundred of the large triremes, on board of which were faring eight legions, and Anthony had eighty ships, on board of which were faring ten legions; because by so many as he had fewer, by so much were they better and larger; for they were so constructed that they could not be overloaded with men, being ten feet high above the water[1]. The battle was very great, though Octavianus had victory. Of Anthony's people there were slain twelve thousand, and Cleopatra, his queen, was put to flight when they engaged with her army. After that, Octavianus fought against Anthony and against Cleopatra, and put them to flight: it was at that time the first of August, on the day that we call Lammas. Octavianus was afterwards called Augustus, because he at that time had victory. After that, Anthony and Cleopatra collected a naval force on the Red Sea; but when it was told them that Octavianus was [coming] thitherward, all their people turned to Octavianus, and they themselves fled to a little army. Cleopatra then ordered her sepulchre to be dug, and entered into it. When she was laid in it, she then commanded an adder to be taken up and applied to her arm, that it might bite her; because it is the nature of the adder, that every

lif on ſlæpe ȝeendian. ⁊ heo for þam ſpa dýde ꝥ heo nolde hi man drife beforan þam triumphan þið Romeþeard :. Ða Antonius ȝeſeah ꝥ heo hi to deaðe ȝýrede. þa ofſticode he hine ſýlfne. ⁊ bebead ꝥ hine man on þa ýlcan býrȝenne to hire ſpa ſamcuce aleȝde :. Ða Octavianus þýder com. þa het he niman oðres cýnnes nædran. uiſſillus[1] is haten. ſeo mæȝ ateon ælces cýnnes attor ut of men. ȝif hi man tidlice to brincð. ac heo þæs forðfaren ær he þýder come :. Siððon Octavianus beȝeat Alexandriam Eȝýpta heafod-burh. ⁊ mid hire ȝeſtreone he ȝeþelȝode Romeburh ſþiðe. ꝥ man ælcne ceap mihte be tþam fealdum bet ceapian. þonne man ær mihte :.

XIV.

Æfter þam þe Romane burh ȝetimbred þæs vii. hund þintrum ⁊ fif ⁊ xxx. ȝeþeard ꝥ Octavianus Leaſar, on his fiftan conſulatu betýnde Ianes duru. ⁊ ȝeþeard ꝥ he hæfde anþeald ealles middanȝeardes :. Ða[2] þæs ſþeotole ȝetacnod þa he cniht þæs. ⁊ hine man þið Romeþeard lædde æfter Iuliuſes ſleȝe :. Ðý ilcan dæȝe. þe hine man to conſule ſette. ȝeþeard ꝥ man ȝeſeah ýmbe þa ſunnan ſþýlce an ȝýlden rinȝ. ⁊ binnan Romebýriȝ þeoll an þýlle ele ealne dæȝ :. On þam hrinȝe þæs ȝetacnod ꝥ on his daȝum ſceolde þeorðan ȝeboren ſeþe leohtra is ⁊ ſcinendra þonne ſeo ſunne þa þære. and ſe ele ȝetacnode miltſunȝe eallum mancýnne. ſþa he eac mæniȝ tacen ſýlf ȝedýde þe eft ȝeþurdon. þeah þe hi unþitende dýde. on Lodes býſene :. Sum þæs æreſt ꝥ he bebead ofer ealne middanȝeard ꝥ ælc mæȝð ýmbe ȝeares rýne toȝædere come. ꝥ ælc man þý ȝearor þiſte hþar hi ſibbe hæfdon. þæt tacnode ꝥ on his daȝum ſceolde beon ȝeboren. ſeþe us ealle to anum mæȝ-ȝemote ȝelaþode. ꝥ bið on þam toþerdan life :. Oðer þæs ꝥ he bebead ꝥ eall mancýn ane ſibbe hæfdon. ⁊ an ȝafol ȝuldon. ꝥ tacnode ꝥ þe ealle ſceulon ænne ȝeleafon habbon. ⁊ ænne þillan ȝodra þeorca :. Ðridde þæs ꝥ he bebead ꝥ ælc ðara þe on ælðeodiȝnýſſe þære. come to his aȝenum ȝearde. ⁊ to his fæder eðle. ȝe þeoþe ȝe friȝe. ⁊ ſeþe ꝥ nolde. he be-

creature that it bites will end its life in sleep. And she did so because she would not be driven before a triumph towards Rome. When Anthony saw that she was preparing herself for death, he stabbed himself, and commanded, thus half dead, to be laid in the same sepulchre. When Octavianus came thither, he commanded another kind of adder to be taken, called psyllus, which can draw every kind of poison out of a man, if it be applied in time. But she had expired before he came thither. After that, Octavianus got Alexandria, the chief city of Egypt, and with its treasures greatly enriched Rome, so that every commodity might be bought better by twofold than it could previously.

XIV.

After Rome had been built seven hundred and thirty-five years, it came to pass that Octavianus Cæsar, in his fifth consulship, closed the doors of Janus; and it befel that he had dominion of all the earth. That was manifestly betokened when he was a boy, and was brought to Rome after the slaying of Julius. On the same day on which he was appointed consul, it happened that there was seen about the sun as it were a golden ring, and within the city of Rome, a spring, for a whole day, welled forth oil. By the ring was betokened that in his days there should be born he who is lighter and brighter than the sun then was; and the oil betokened mercy to all mankind. So he [Octavianus] also himself made many a sign, which afterwards came to pass, though he unwittingly did them, by God's incitement. One was, first, that he commanded, over all the earth, that every nation, after the course of a year, should come together, that every man might know the more readily where he had peace. That betokened, that in his days should be born he who has invited us all to one kindred meeting, which will be in the life to come. The second was, that he commanded all men to have one peace and pay one tribute. That betokened, that we should all have one belief, and one will of good works. The third was, that he commanded all those who were in foreign lands to come to his own dwelling, and to his paternal home, both servile and free; and those who would

beaδ ꝥ man þa ealle ofsloȝe. þaꞃa ꝩæꞃon vi. M̄. þa hi ȝeȝaδeꞃaδ ꝩæꞃon. þæt tacnoδe ꝥ uſ eallum iſ beboδen ꝥ ꝩe ſceolon cuman of δiſſe ꝩoꞃulδe to uꞃeſ fæδeꞃ eδle. ꝥ iſ to heofonum ꞃice. ⁊ ſeþe ꝥ nele. he ꝩýꞃδ aꝩoꞃꞃen ⁊ ofſlaȝen :·

XV.

Æfteꞃ þam þe Romebuꞃh ȝetimbꞃeδ ꝩæſ vii. hunδ ꝩintꞃum ⁊ xxxvi. ꝩuꞃδon ſume Iſpanie leoδa Ꝁȝuſtuſe ꝩiδeꞃꝩinnan. þa onδýδe he eft Ianeſ δuꞃu. ⁊ ꝩiδ hi fýꞃδe læδδe. ⁊ hi ȝeflýmδe. ⁊ hi ſiδδon on anum fæſtene beſæt. ꝥ hi ſiδδon hi ſýlfe ſume ofſloȝon. ſume miδ attꞃe acꝩealδon :· Æfteꞃ þam mænize þeoδa ꝩunnon ꝩiδ Ꝁȝuſtuſ. æȝδeꞃ ȝe Illiꞃice. ȝe Pannonii. ȝe δeꞃmenne. ȝe maniȝe oδꞃe δeoδa :· Ꝁȝuſtuſeſ latteoꝩaſ maneȝa micle ȝefeoht ꝩiδ him δuꞃhtuȝon. buton Ꝁȝuſtuſe ſýlfum. æꞃ hi ofeꞃcuman mihtan :· Æfteꞃ þam Ꝁȝuſtuſ ſenδe Quintiliuſ þone conſul on Leꞃmanie miδ δꞃim leȝian. ac heoꞃa ꝩeaꞃδ ælc ofſlaȝen. buton þam conſule anum :· Foꞃ þæꞃe δæδe ꝩeaꞃδ Ꝁȝuſtuſ ſꝩa ſaꞃiȝ. ꝥ he oft unꝩitenδe ſloh miδ hiſ heafδe on þone ꝩah. þonne he on hiſ ſetle ſæt. ⁊ þone conſul he het ofſlean :· Æfteꞃ þam Leꞃmanie ȝeſohton Ꝁȝuſtuſ unȝenýδδe him to fꞃiδe. ⁊ he him foꞃȝeaf þone niδ. þe he to him ꝩiſte[1] :·

Æfteꞃ þam þeoſ ꝩoꞃulδ eall ȝeceaſ Ꝁȝuſtuſeſ fꞃiδ ⁊ hiſ ſibbe. ⁊ eallum mannum nanuht ſꝩa ȝoδ ne þuhte. ſꝩa ꝥ hi to hiſ hýlδon becoman. ⁊ ꝥ hi hiſ unδeꞃþeoꝩaſ ꝩuꞃδon :· Ne foꞃδon ꝥ æniȝum folce hiſ aȝenum æ ȝelicoδe to healδenne. buton on þa ꝩiſan þe him Ꝁȝuſtuſ bebeaδ :· Ða ꝩuꞃδon Ianeſ δuꞃu eft betýneδ. ⁊ hiſ loca ꞃuſtiȝe. ſꝩa hi næfꞃe æꞃ næꞃon :· On þam ilcan ȝeaꞃe þe þiſ eall ȝeꝩeaꞃδ. ꝥ ꝩæſ on þam tꝩam ⁊ feoꝩeꞃtiȝþan ꝩintꞃe Ꝁȝuſtuſeſ ꞃice. þa ꝩeaꞃδ ſe ȝeboꞃen. ſeþe þa ſibbe bꞃohte ealꞃe ꝩoꞃulδe. ꝥ iſ uꞃe δꞃihten hælenδ Eꞃiſt :· Nu ic hæbbe ȝeſæδ. cꝩæδ Oꞃoſiuſ. fꞃam fꞃýmδe δiſſeſ miδδanȝeaꞃδeſ. hu eall mancýn onȝealδ þæſ æꞃeſtan manneſ ſýnna miδ miclum teonum. nu ic ꝩýlle eac foꞃδ-ȝeſecȝan. hꝩýlc miltſunȝ ⁊ hꝩylc ȝeþꝩæꞃneſſ ſiδδon ꝩæſ. ſiδδon ſe cꞃiſtenδom ꝩæſ, ȝelicoſt þam þe manna heoꞃtan aꝩenδe. foꞃþon þe þa æꞃꞃan þinȝ aȝolδene ꝩæꞃon :·

Þeꞃ enδaδ ſeo v. boc. ⁊ onȝinδ ſeo vi.

not he commanded all to be slain. Of these, when they were gathered, there were six thousand. That betokened, that it is commanded to us all to go from this world to the country of our Father, that is, to the heavenly kingdom; and whosoever will not, shall be cast out and slain.

XV.

After Rome had been built seven hundred and thirty-six years, there were some Spanish nations adversaries of Augustus. He then undid again the doors of Janus, and led an army against them, and put them to flight, and afterwards besieged them in a fortress; so that they afterwards some slew themselves, and some perished by poison. After that many nations warred against Augustus, Illyrians, Pannonians, Sarmatians, and many other nations. The generals of Augustus fought many great battles against them, without Augustus himself, before they could overcome them. After that, Augustus sent Quinctilius, the consul, to Germany, with three legions; but of them every one was slain, except the consul alone. For that deed Augustus was so sorrowful, that he often unwittingly struck with his head on the wall, when he sat on his seat: and he commanded the consul to be slain. After that, the Germans sued Augustus voluntarily for peace, and he forgave them the enmity they had shown him.

After that, this world all chose Augustus's peace and his friendship, and to all men nothing seemed so good as to come to his homage and become his subjects. Nor, indeed, to any nation did it seem agreeable to hold its own law, except in such wise as Augustus commanded it. Then were the doors of Janus again closed, and his locks rusty, as they had never been before. In the same year that all this came to pass, which was in the forty-second year of Augustus's reign, was born he who brought peace to all the world, that is, our Lord Saviour Christ. I have now said, says Orosius, from the beginning of this world, how all mankind paid for the first man's sins with great tribulations: I will now also go on to relate what mercy and what concord were afterwards, after Christianity was; most like as if the hearts of men had been changed, because those former sins had been paid for.

Here ends the fifth book and begins the sixth.

BOOK VI.

I.

NU ic ꝑille. cꝑæð Oꝛoꝛiuꝛ. on ꝼoꝛeꝑeaꝛdꝛe þiꝛꝛe vi. bec ȝeꝛeccean. ꝥ hit þeah Lodeꝛ bebod ꝑæꝛ. þeah hit ꝛtꝛanȝ-ꝑæꝛe. hu emlice þa ꝼeoꝑeꝛ anꝑealdaꝛ þaꝛa ꝼeoꝑeꝛ heaꝼod-ꝛica þiꝛꝛeꝛ, middanȝeaꝛdeꝛ ȝeꝛtodon. Ðæt æꝛeꝛte ꝑæꝛ on Aꝛꝛiꝛium. on þam eaꝛtemæꝛtan anꝑealde. on Babýlonia þæꝛe býꝛiȝ. ꝛeo ȝeꝛtod tuꝑa ꝛeoꝼon hund ꝑintꝛa on hiꝛe anꝑealde. æꝛ heo ȝeꝼeolle. ꝼꝛam Ninuꝛe. heoꝛa æꝛeꝛtan cýninȝe. oð Saꝛðanapolum. heoꝛa nehꝛtan. ꝥ iꝛ iiii. hund ꝑintꝛa ⁊ an M̄. þa Liꝛuꝛ benam Babýlonia hiꝛe anꝑealdeꝛ. þa onȝan æꝛeꝛt Romana ꝑeaxan :· Eac on þam daȝum ꝑæꝛ ꝥ noꝛðemeꝛte micliende on Macedoniam. þæt ȝeꝛtod lýtle þonne vii. hund ꝑintꝛa ꝼꝛam héoꝛa æꝛeꝛtan cýninȝe. Laꝛane. oð Peꝛꝛeuꝛ. heoꝛa æꝼtemeꝛtan :· Sꝑa eac on Aꝼꝼꝛicam. on ðam ꝛuðemeꝛtan. Laꝛtaina ꝛeo buꝛh heo ȝeꝼeoll eac binnan vii. hund ꝑintꝛa. ⁊ ýmbe lýtelne ꝼýꝛꝛt þæꝛ þe heo æꝛeꝛt Diðo ꝛe ꝑiꝼman ȝetimbꝛede. oð hi eꝼt Scipio toꝑeaꝛꝑ. ꝛe conꝛul :· Sꝑa eac Romana. ꝛe iꝛ mæꝛt ⁊ ꝑeꝛtemeꝛt. ýmbe vii. hund ꝑintꝛa ⁊ ýmb lýtelne eacan. com mýcel ꝼýꝛcýn ⁊ mýcel bꝛýne on Romebuꝛh. ꝥ þæꝛ binnan ꝼoꝛbaꝛn xv. tunaꝛ. ꝛꝑa nan man nýꝛte hꝑanon ꝥ ꝼýꝛ com. ⁊ þæꝛ ꝼoꝛꝑeaꝛð mæꝛt eall ꝥ þæꝛ binnan ꝑæꝛ. ꝥ þæꝛ uneaðe æniȝ ȝꝛoht ꝛtaðoleꝛ oðꝛtod :· Mid þam bꝛýne heo ꝑæꝛ ꝛꝑa ꝛꝑiðe ꝼoꝛhýned. þæt heo næꝼꝛe ꝛiððon ꝛꝑilc eꝼt næꝛ. æꝛ hi Aȝuꝛtuꝛ eꝼt ꝛꝑa micle bet ȝetimbꝛede þonne heo æꝼꝛe æꝛ ꝑæꝛe. þý ȝeaꝛe þe Lꝛiꝛt ȝeboꝛen ꝑæꝛ. ꝛꝑa ꝥ ꝛume men cꝑædan ꝥ heo ꝑæꝛe mid ȝim-ꝛtanum ȝeꝼꝛæteꝑod. þone ꝼultum ⁊ ꝥ ꝑeoꝛc Aȝuꝛtuꝛ ȝebohte mid ꝼela M̄. talentana :· Hit ꝑæꝛ eac ꝛꝑeotole ȝeꝛýne ꝥ hit ꝑæꝛ Lodeꝛ ꝛtihtunȝ ýmbe þaꝛa ꝛica anꝑealdaꝛ. þaþa Abꝛahame ꝑæꝛ ȝehaten Lꝛiꝛteꝛ cýme. on þam tꝑam ⁊ on ꝼeoꝑeꝛtiȝeþan ꝑintꝛa þæꝛ þe Ninuꝛ ꝛicꝛode on Babýlonia :·

Sꝑa eac eꝼt on þam ꝛiðemeꝛtan anꝑealde. ⁊ on þam ꝑeꝛtemeꝛtan. ꝥ iꝛ Rome. ꝑeaꝛð ꝛe ilca ȝeboꝛen. þe æꝛ Abꝛahame ȝehaten ꝑæꝛ. on þam tꝑam ⁊ ꝼeoꝑeꝛtiȝeþan ȝeaꝛe ꝑæꝛ þe Aȝuꝛtuꝛ ꝛicꝛode. ꝥ ꝑæꝛ ꝛiððon Romebuꝛh ȝetimbꝛed ꝑæꝛ vii.

BOOK VI.

I.

I WILL now, says Orosius, in the beginning of this sixth book, relate, that it was, nevertheless, God's commandment, although it were rigorous, how equally the four powers of the four chief empires of this world existed. The first was in Assyria, in the eastmost empire, in the city of Babylon; it existed twice seven hundred years in its power, before it fell, from Ninus, their first king, to Sardanapalus, their last, that is a thousand and four hundred years, when Cyrus deprived Babylon of its power. Then first began the Roman [power] to increase. Also in those days was the northmost increasing in Macedonia, which existed little [less] than seven hundred years, from their first king, Caraunus, to Perseus, their last. So also in Africa, in the southmost, the city of Carthage fell also within seven hundred years and a little space, from the time that the woman Dido first built it, until Scipio, the consul, afterwards destroyed it. So also the Roman, which is the greatest and westmost, about seven hundred years and a little more [when there] came a great sort of fire, and a great conflagration on the city of Rome, which burned in it fifteen quarters, and no man knew whence the fire came, and there perished almost all that was therein, so that hardly any particle of foundation remained. By that conflagration it was so greatly ruined, that it never after was such again, until Augustus had again built it so much better than it had ever been before, in the year that Christ was born; so that some men said, that it was adorned with gems. That aid and that work Augustus bought with many thousand talents. It was also manifestly seen, that it was God's dispensation, with regard to the sway of those empires, when Christ's advent was promised to Abraham, in the forty and second year from the time that Ninus reigned in Babylonia.

So again likewise, in the latest empire and the westmost, that is, the Roman, the same was born who had before been promised to Abraham, in the two and fortieth year of the reign of Augustus, that was after Rome had been built seven

hunð pintna ⁊ tra ⁊ fiftig: Siððon gefton Romeburh tfelf pintep. mið miclum pelum. þa hpile þe Agurtus eaðmetto pið Lob geheolð. þe he ongunnen hæfde. þæt pæf þæt he fleah ⁊ forbeab þ hine man gob hete. fra nan cyning nolde þe æp him pæf. ac polðon þ man to him tobæde ⁊ him offrede: Ac þæf on þam tfelftan geare. Laiuf hif geneta fop of Egyptum on Syrie. hit hæfde Agurtus him to anpealde gefealð. þa nolde he him gebiddan to þam ælmihtigum Lode. þa he to Dieru-falem com. þa hit man Agurde fæde. þa henede he þa ofep-metto. ⁊ nanuht ne leahtnade: Rade þæf Romane ongulðon þæf porðef mið fra miclum hungre. þæt Agurtus adnaf of Romebyrig healfe þe þæp binnan pæpan: Ða peapð eft Ianef buru undon. forþon þe þa lattеoraf pæpon Agurture of manegum landum ungenade. þeah þæp nan gefeoht ðurhuhtogen ne purde:

II.

Æftep þam þe Romeburh getimbred pæf vii. hunð pintrum ⁊ Lxvii. fenig Tiberiuf to rice fe ceraf æftep Agurture: Þe pæf Romanum fra forgyfen ⁊ fra milde. fra him nan anpealda næf æp þam. oð Pilatuf him onbeab fnam Dieruralem ymbe Cnirtef tacnunga. ⁊ ymbe hif manrtrunga. ⁊ eac þ hine mænige fop gob hæfdon: Ac þa he hit fæde þam fenatum. þa purðon hi ealle pið hine frydde pið-ppeapde. forþon þe hit man ne fæde æfter. fra hit mið him gepuna pæf. þæt hi hit riðdon mihton eallum Romanum cyðan. ⁊ cpæðon þ hi hine fop gob habban noldon: Ða peapð Tiberiuf Romanum fra fliað ⁊ fra heapð. fra he him æp pæf milde ⁊ lefe. þ he forneah nænne þæpa fenatufra ne let cucune. ne þapa tra ⁊ trentigra manna þe he him to fultume hæfde acopen. þ hi hif næð-þeahtenaf pæpon. þa man het patriciof. ealle þa he het offlean. buton tpam. ge hif agene tpegen funa: Þu Lob þa þa mærtan ofermetto geppæc on þam folce. ⁊ hu fride hi hif ongulðon fnam heopa agenum cafere. þeah hit eallum þam folcum on oðrum landum fra fride geppecen ne purde fra hit oft æp pæf. On þam xii. geare Tiberiuref nicef peapð eft Lobef fiacu Romanum. þa hi æt heopa theatrum pæpon mið

hundred and fifty-two years. Rome afterwards stood twelve years in great prosperity, while Augustus observed humility towards God, as he had begun; that was, that he shunned and forbade that any one should call him a god, as no king would that was before him, but would that people should worship them and make offerings to them. But in the twelfth year after, Caius, his nephew, went from Egypt to Syria (Augustus had given it him to govern), and would not worship the Almighty God, when he came to Jerusalem. When this was told to Augustus, he praised, and in no way blamed, his arrogance. Soon after this, the Romans paid for this word with so great a famine, that Augustus drove from Rome half of those that were within it. Then again was the door of Janus undone, because the generals in many lands were at variance with Augustus, although no battle was fought.

II.

After Rome had been built seven hundred and sixty-seven years, Tiberius, the emperor, succeeded to the empire after Augustus. He was so indulgent and so mild to the Romans, as no monarch had ever been to them before, until Pilate announced to him from Jerusalem concerning Christ's miracles, and concerning his sufferings, and also that many held him for a god. But when he told that to the senate, they were all very adverse to him, because it had not been told them before, as was the custom with them, that they might afterwards make it known to all the Romans; and said that they would not have him for a god. Thereupon Tiberius was so wroth with the Romans, and so severe as he before had been mild and gentle to them, so that he hardly left one of the senate alive, nor of the twenty-two men whom he had chosen to aid him, that they might be his counsellors, who were called patricians. All these he ordered to be slain, except two, yea, even his own two sons. How God then their excessive pride avenged on that people, and how dearly they paid for it from their own emperor! although on all the people in other countries it was not so severely avenged as it had often been before. In the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius, God's vengeance was again on the Romans, while they were at their theatre with their plays, when it all fell

heopa plezon. þa hit eall toſeoll. ⁊ heopa oſſloh xx. M.⁝. Fýnðizne þnace hi ſopþupþon þa. cpæð Oporiuſ. þa þe heopa ſýnna ſceolðon hnýþnian ⁊ bæðbote ðon. ſpiðop þonne heopa plezan bezan. ſpa heopa zepuna pæſ æp þam cpiſtenðome⁝. On þam eahtateoðan zeape hiſ piceſ. þa Cpiſt pæſ onhangen. peaþð mycel ðeoſtenný ofep ealne miðdanzeapð. ⁊ ſpa mycel eopðbeofunz. þ cluðaſ ſeollan of muntum. ⁊ þæt þæpa punðpa mæſt pæſ. þa ſe mona full pæſ. ⁊ þæpe ſunnan ſýnneſt. þ heo þa aþýſtnaðe⁝. Æftep þam Romane acpealðon Tiberiuſ miþ attne. he hæfðe pice xxiii. pintna⁝.

III.

Æftep þam þe Romeburh zetimbpeð pæſ vii. hund pintpum ⁊ Lxxxx. peaþð Laiuſ Lalizula cafepe iii. zeap⁝. Þe pæſ ſpiðe zeſýlleð miþ unðeapum. ⁊ miþ ſipen-luſtum. ⁊ eall he pæſ ſpýlce Romana þa pýnðe pæpon. ſopþon þe hi Cpiſtef beboð hýſpton ⁊ hit ſopſapan⁝. Ac he hit on him ſpa ſpiðe pnæc. ⁊ hi him ſpa laðe pæpon. þæt he oft piſcte. þ ealle Romane hæfðon ænne ſpeopon. þ he hine naðoft ſopceopſon mihte. ⁊ miþ unzemete mænenðe pæſ. þ þæp þa næſ ſpilc ſacú ſpilc þæp oft æp pæſ. ⁊ he ſýlſ ſop oft on oðne land. ⁊ polde zepinn ſinðan. ac he ne mihte buton ſibbe⁝. Unzelice pæpon þa tiða. cpæð Oporiuſ. ſiððon Cpiſt zeboſen pæſ. ſiððon man ne mihte unſibbe ſinðon. ⁊ æp þam man ne mihte miþ nanum ðingum ſopbuzon⁝. On þam ðazum com eac Coðeſ pnacu ofep Iudeum. þ hi æzðep hæfðon unzeppæpneſſe ze betpeonum him ſýlfum. ze to eallum folcum. ſpa-þeah heo pæſ ſpiðoft on Alexanðpia þæpe býſiz. ⁊ hi Laiuſ het ut-aðpifan⁝. Ða penðon hý Filonem. heopa pone zelæpeðeſtan man. to pon þ he him ſceolde Laiuſef miltſe zeæpenðian. ac he ſop þæpe zepilnunze ſpýðe býſmopaðe. ⁊ bebeaþ þ hi man on ælce healfe hýnðe þæp man ponne mihte. ⁊ bebeaþ þ man afýlðe ðiofolzýlða þa cýnicean æt Dieruſalem. þ man hiſ aȝen ðiofolzýlð þæp to-miðdeſ afette. þ pæſ hiſ aȝen anlicneſ. ⁊ Pilatuſ he hæfðe on þneatunza. oð he hine ſýlfne offtanz. he zebemðe upne ðnihten to ðeaðe⁝. Raðe

down and slew twenty thousand of them. By a worthy vengeance they then perished, says Orosius, when they should have repented of their sins and done penance, rather than attend their plays, as was their wont before Christianity. In the eighteenth year of his reign, when Christ was crucified, there was a great darkness over all the earth, and so great an earthquake, that huge stones fell from the mountains; and what was the greatest of those wonders, when the moon was at full and farthest from the sun, that it was then eclipsed. After that the Romans killed Tiberius by poison. He had the empire twenty-three years.

III.

After Rome had been built seven hundred and ninety years, Caius Caligula became emperor for four years. He was wholly filled with vices and with sinful lusts, and was altogether such as the Romans were then worthy of; because they had derided the commands of Christ and despised them. But he so severely avenged it on them, and they were so hateful to him, that he often wished that all the Romans had one neck, that he might the most speedily sever it; and most vehemently complained, that there was not then such strife as there had often been formerly; and he himself often went into other countries, and desired to find war, but he could find only peace. Unlike were the times, says Orosius, after Christ was born, when men could find no war; and before that men could by no means avoid it. In those days, God's vengeance came also over the Jews, so that they had dissension both among themselves, and with all nations; though it was the greatest in the city of Alexandria, and Caius commanded them to be driven out. They thereupon sent Philo, their most learned man, for the purpose of asking Caius's clemency for them; but he, for that desire, sorely insulted them, and commanded that they should be treated with contumely on every side where it was possible; and commanded that the temples at Jerusalem should be filled with idols and that his own idol should be there set in the midst, which was his own image. And Pilate he threatened until he stabbed himself: he had doomed our

þæs Romane ofslogon Laius slæpende:. Ða funde man on his maðm-hus tpa cýsta. þa pæron attres fulle. ⁊ on oðre þæs an geþrit. þær þæron on aþritene ealra þara ricestra manna namon. þe he acþellan þohte. ꝥ he hi þe læs forgeate:. Ða geat man ꝥ attor ut on þone sæ. ⁊ raðe þæs þær com up mýcel þæl deadra fisca:. Ægðer þæs sþiðe gesýne Lodes þracu. ꝥ he ꝥ folc costian let. ge eft his miltsunge. þa he hi fordon ne let. sþa hit Laius geþoht hæfde:.

IV.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred þæs vii. hund þintra ⁊ xcv. þa feng Tiberius Claudius to Romana anþealde:. On þam ærestan geare his rices Petrus se apostolus com to Rome. ⁊ þær þurdon ærest cristene men ðurh his lare:. Ða þoldon Romane ofslean Claudius. for Laiuses þingum his mæges. þæs ærran caseres. ⁊ ealle þa þe þære mægðe þære. ac mid þon þe hi þæs cristendomes onfengon. hi þæron sþa geþþære ⁊ sþa gesibsume. ꝥ hi ealle forgeafon þam casere. þa fæhþe þe his mæg hæfde þið hi geþorht. ⁊ he forgeaf him eallum þa unriht ⁊ ꝥ facen. ꝥ hi him don þohton:. On þære tide geþeard eac oðer tacen on Romana anþealde. siððon him se cristendom to com. ꝥ þæs ꝥ Dalmatie þoldon gesýllan Scribanianuse þam latteoþe heora cýnerice. ⁊ siððon þið Romane þinnan. ac þa hi gesomnad þæron. ⁊ hine to cýninge don þoldon. þa ne mihtan hi þa guðfanan up-ahebban. sþa heora ðeaþ þæs þonne hý anþealdas setton. ac þurdon him sýlfum þiðerþearde ꝥ hi hit æfre ongunnon. ⁊ Scribanianus ofslogon:. Ætsace nu. cþæð Orosius. seþe þýlle. oððe seþe durre. ꝥ ꝥ angin nære gestilled for þæs cristendomes Lodes. ⁊ gesecge hþar æniz geþinn ær þam cristendome sþa gehþurfe. gif hit ongunnen þære:. Oðer þundor geþeard eac. þý feorþan geare Claudiuses rices. ꝥ he sýlf for æfter geþinne. ⁊ nan findan ne mihte:. On ðam geare þæs mýcel hungor on Siria. ⁊ on Palestina. buton ꝥ Elena. Adiabena

Lord to death. Soon after, the Romans slew Caius sleeping. In his treasury were then found two chests that were full of poison; and in one was a writing, in which were written the names of all the most powerful men, whom he had intended to kill, that he might the less forget them. Thereupon they shed the poison out into the sea, and immediately after, there came up a large havock of dead fishes. [Here] were manifestly seen both God's vengeance, in letting the people be tempted, and again of his mercy, when he would not suffer them to perish, as Caius had intended.

IV.

After Rome had been built seven hundred and ninety-five years, Tiberius Claudius succeeded to the dominion of the Romans. In the first year of his reign, the apostle Peter came to Rome, and there were first Christian men [at Rome], through his teaching. Then would the Romans slay Claudius, on account of his kinsman, Caius, the former emperor, and all who were of that family. But after they had received Christianity, they were so gentle and so pacific, that they all forgave the emperor the injury that his kinsman had wrought against them; and he forgave all of them the injustice and the guile that they had intended to perpetrate against him. At that time, there was also another sign in the Roman dominion, after Christianity had come to them: that was, that the Dalmatians would give their kingdom to the general Scribonianus, and afterwards make war against the Romans. But when they were assembled, and would make him king, they were unable to raise the ensigns, as was their custom when they established governments; but were angry with themselves that they had ever undertaken it, and slew Scribonianus. Let him deny, says Orosius, who will or who dares, that that attempt was quelled through the God of Christendom; and let him say where any war, before Christianity, was so averted, if it had been begun. Another wonder also befel in the fourth year of Claudius's reign, that he himself went in search of war, and could find none. In that year there was a great famine in Syria and in Palestine, excepting that Helena, queen of the Adiabeni, gave corn enough to the

cpen. realde þam munucum copn genoh. þe pæpon æt Hieru-salem. popþon þe heo þa pæp nipilice cpiptен: On þam piptan geare Claudiuper piceſ. peapð oðýpeð an igland betuh Thenam. ⁊ Thenapiam. peopon mila bpað ⁊ pif mila lang: On þam peopoþan geare hiſ piceſ peapð ſpa mycel ungeþpæpneſ on Hieruſalem. betuh þam þe cpiptene næpan. þ̄ þæp pæpon xxx. M̄. opflagen. ⁊ æt þam geate optpeðen. ſpa nan man nýrte hpanon peo ppohte com: On þam nigepon geare hiſ piceſ peapð mycel hungop on Rome. ⁊ Claudiuſ het ut-abpipan ealle þa Iudeaſ þe þæp-binnan pæpon: Æpteſ þam Romana pitton Claudiuſe þone hungop. þe him getencge pæſ. ⁊ he peapð him ſpa gnam. þ̄ he het opflean þæpa fenatopum xxxv. ⁊ þapa oðpa ðpeo hunð. þe þæp ýldeſte pæpon. æpteſ þam Romane hine acpealdon mið attre:

V.

Æpteſ þam þe Romeburh getimbpeð pæſ viii. hund pintſa ⁊ ix. ſenſ Nepo to Romana anpealde. ⁊ hine hæfde xiii. geap. ⁊ he hæfde ſýx ma unþeapa þonne hiſ eam hæfde æp. Laiuſ. to-eacon þam mænigfealdum birmpum þe he ðonde pæſ: Þe het æt rumon cýrre onbæpnan Romebýpig. ⁊ bebeað hiſ agenum mannum. þ̄ hi rimble gegpipon þæſ licgenðan feoſ. ſpa hi mæſte mihtan. ⁊ to him bpohton. þonne hiz man ut-oðbpuðe. ⁊ gefton him ſýlf on þam hýhſtan toppe þe þæp-binnan pæſ. ⁊ onzan pýpcean fceop-leoð be þam bnýne. ſe pæſ vi. ðagaſ býrnenðe ⁊ vii. nihte: Æc he ppæc hiſ un-gepealdeſ. æpeſt on þæpe býpig heopa miſðæða. þæt hi Petpuſ ⁊ Pauluſ gemaptpeðan. ⁊ riðon on him ſýlfum. þa he hine opftanz: Þe pæſ manna æpeſt ehtenð cpiſtenpa manna: Æpteſ hiſ ſýlle peapð þapa caſapa mæzð oðfeallen:

VI.

Æpteſ þam þe Romeburh getimbpeð pæſ viii. hund pintſum ⁊ xxiv. ſenſ Calſa to Romana anpealde: Ðæſ on ðam vii. monðe hine opfloh Othon an man. ⁊ him to þam anpealde ſenſ: Sona ſpa Romane æpeſt cpiſtenpa manna ehton. ſpa Nepo onſtealde. ſpa punðon ealle þa folc heopa piðepþinnan.

monks that were at Jerusalem, because she was newly a Christian. In the fifth year of Claudius's reign, an island appeared between Thera and Therasia, seven miles broad and five miles long. In the seventh year of his reign, there was so great a dissension at Jerusalem, between those who were not Christians, that thirty thousand were there slain, and trodden down at the gate, and no one knew whence the dispute came. In the ninth year of his reign, there was a great famine in Rome, and Claudius commanded all the Jews that were therein to be driven out. After that, the Romans accused Claudius of the famine that was so grievous to them, and he was so incensed against them, that he commanded thirty-five of the senators to be slain, and three hundred of the others, who were the chief; after which the Romans killed him with poison.

V.

After Rome had been built eight hundred and nine years, Nero succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it fourteen years. And he had yet more vices than his uncle Caius had formerly had, in addition to the manifold scandals that he perpetrated. At one time he ordered the city of Rome to be burnt, and commanded his own men always to seize of the treasure as much as they could, and bring it to him, when it was snatched out; and himself stood on the highest tower that was therein, and began making poems on the conflagration, that was burning for six days and seven nights. But he avenged involuntarily, first on the city their misdeeds in having martyred Peter and Paul, and next on himself, when he stabbed himself. He was the first man that persecuted Christian men. After his fall the race of the Cæsars became extinct.

VI.

After Rome had been built eight hundred and twenty-four years, Galba succeeded to the dominion of the Romans. In the seventh month after, a man, named Otho, slew him, and succeeded to the empire. As soon as the Romans first persecuted Christian men, as Nero had instituted, all the nations

þe be eaſtan Siria þæron. ȝe eac hi ſýlfe him betþeonum hæfdon unȝeræðneſſe :. Uitelliuſ. Lermania cýninȝ. ȝefeaht þriþa þið Othon. ⁊ hine offloh on þam ðriddan monðe þæſ þe hi þinnan onȝunnon :.

VII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ȝetimbred þæſ Dccc. þintra ⁊ xxv. fenȝ Ueſpaſianuſ to Romana anþealde :. Ða þeard eft ſib ofer ealne Romana anþeald. ⁊ he bead Tituſe. hiſ ſuna. þæt he toþearp ꝥ tempel on Hieruſalem. ⁊ ealle þa burh. forðon þe Lod nolde ꝥ hi þone criſtendome lencȝ mýrdon. ⁊ forbead ꝥ man naðer eft ne timbrede. ⁊ he fordýde þara Iudea endlufon ſiðon hund M̄. ſume he offloh. ſume on oðer land ȝeſealde. ſume he mid hunȝre acþealde :. Æfter þam man dýde him tþam þone triumphan. Ueſpaſiane ⁊ Tituſe :. Seo anſýn þeard mýcel þundor Romanum. forþon þe hi ær ne ȝeſaþan tþeȝen men ætſomne þæron ſittan :. Hi betyndon Ianeſ duru :. Æfter þam Ueſpaſianuſ ȝefor on utſihte on þam ix. ȝeare hiſ riceſ. on anum tune buton Rome :.

VIII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ȝetimbred þæſ viii. hund þintra ⁊ xxix. fenȝ Tituſ to Romana anþealde. ⁊ hine hæfde tþa ȝear :. He þæſ ſþa ȝodeſ þillan. ꝥ he ſæde ꝥ he forlure þone dæȝ þe he naht on to ȝode ne ȝedýde :. He ȝefor eac on þam ilcan tune þe hiſ fæder dýde. ⁊ on þære ilcan adle :.

IX.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ȝetimbred þæſ viii. hund þintra ⁊ xxx. fenȝ Domitianuſ to Romana anþealde. Tituſeſ broðor. ⁊ hit hæfde xv. ȝear :. He þeard eft ehtend criſtenra manna. ⁊ þæſ on ſþa micle ofermetto aſtiȝen. ꝥ he bead ꝥ man on ȝelice to him onbuȝon ſceolde ſþa to ȝode :. And he bebead ꝥ man Iohanneſ þone apoſtol ȝebrohte on Thomone þam iȝlande on þræcſiðe fram oðrum criſtenum mannum :. And bebead ꝥ man acþealde eal Dauideſ cýn. to þon ȝif Criſt

that were to the east of Syria became their adversaries; yea, even among themselves they had dissension. Vitellius, king of the Germans, fought thrice against Otho, and slew him in the third month after they had begun to make war.

VII.

After Rome had been built eight hundred and twenty-five years, Vespasian succeeded to the dominion of the Romans. Then there was peace again over all the Roman empire; and he commanded Titus, his son, to destroy the temple at Jerusalem, and all the towns; because God would not that they should longer obstruct Christianity, and forbade that either should be again built; and he ruined of the Jews eleven times a hundred thousand: some he slew, sold some into other lands, some he killed by hunger. After that the triumph was made for them two, Vespasian and Titus. The sight was a great wonder to the Romans, because they had never before seen two men together sitting therein. They closed the doors of Janus. After that Vespasian died of diarrhœa, in the ninth year of his reign, in a villa outside of Rome.

VIII.

After Rome had been built eight hundred and twenty-nine years, Titus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it two years. He was so desirous of good, that he said that he lost the day on which he had done nothing good. He died also in the same villa in which his father died, and of the same disease.

IX.

After Rome had been built eight hundred and thirty years, Domitian, the brother of Titus, succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it fifteen years. He was again a persecutor of Christian men, and had risen to such great arrogance, that he commanded that men should bow to him like as they would to a god. And he commanded John, the apostle, to be conveyed in exile from other Christian men to the island of Thomone. And commanded all of David's kin to be slain,

þa ġiᵹ ᵹeboren næne. þ he ríððon na ᵹeboren ne puþe. forþon pitezan ræson. þ he of ðam cynne cuman sceolde: Æfter þam beboðe he peaɼð ýlf unfýɼðlice ofslaᵹen:

X.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ᵹetimbred wæs Dccc. wintra ⁊ xlvi. þa fenᵹ Nenna to Romana anpealde. ⁊ forþam þe he ealð wæs he ᵹeceas him to fultume Traianus þone man: Ða ᵹesæcon hi him betweonum þ hi woldon topenðon ealle þa ᵹesetnesse ⁊ ealle þa ᵹeboðu. þe Domitianus hæfde æn ᵹesett. forþon þe he him wæs æn bam lað. ⁊ heton eft Iohannes ᵹebrinᵹan æt his mýnstre on Ephesum. fram þam þonulð-ýsmðum þe he hsile on wæs: Ða ᵹesoh Nenna. ⁊

Traianus hæfde þone anpealð xix. ᵹear ærest him. ⁊ he unðenðeoðde Romanum ealle þa folc þe him nihce ᵹesmicen hæfdon. ⁊ bebeað his ealdormannum þ hi pæton cristenra manna ehtenð: Ða fæde him hiora an. Plinius wæs haten. þ he woh buðe. ⁊ miclum on þam fýnᵹoðe. he hit þa hræðlice eft forbeað: On þære tide pæton Iudei on miclum ᵹeflite ⁊ on micelre unrihhe wið þa landleoðe. þæs þæs hi þonne pæton. oð heora fela þurenða forþurðon on æᵹðre hand: On þære tide Traianus ᵹeton on utrihte on Seleucia þære býriᵹ:

XI.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ᵹetimbred wæs Dccc. wintra ⁊ Lxvii. fenᵹ Adrianus to Romana anpealde. Traianuses ᵹeneua. ⁊ hine hæfde xxi. winter: And naðe wæs he him cristene bec cuðe pæton ðurh ænne þapa apostola ᵹeonᵹhena. Quadratus wæs haten. he forbeað ofer ealne his anpealð. þ man nanum cristenum men ne abulᵹe. ⁊ ᵹif æniᵹ cristen aᵹýlte. þ se þonne pære beforan him. ⁊ him þonne bembe sýlf swa him rihte duhte: Þe peaɼð þa Romanum swa leof ⁊ swa peoɼð. þ hi hine nanuht ne heton buton fæðen. ⁊ him to peoɼðscipe hi heton his wif Lasenn: And he het ofslean ealle þa Iudeiscan

with the object that, if Christ were not yet born, he might not afterwards be born; because prophets had said, that he was to come of that kin. After that command, he was himself ignominiously slain.

X.

After Rome had been built eight hundred and forty-six years, Nerva succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and because he was old, he chose to aid him the man Trajan. Then they spoke together that they would abrogate all the laws and all the decrees that Domitian had previously enacted; because he had before been hateful to them both; and they commanded John to be brought back to his minster at Ephesus, from the worldly miseries in which he a while had been. Nerva then died, and

Trajan had the dominion nineteen years after him, and he reduced under subjection to the Romans all those nations that had newly fallen off from them; and commanded his prefects to be persecutors of Christian men. Thereupon one of them, named Plinius, said to him that he commanded wrong, and therein greatly sinned. He then quickly countermanded it. At that time, the Jews were [engaged] in great dissensions and great hostility towards the inhabitants, where they then were, until many thousands of them perished on both sides. At that time, Trajan died of diarrhœa in the city of Seleucia.

XI.

After Rome had been built eight hundred and sixty-seven years, Hadrian, Trajan's nephew, succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it twenty-one years. And as soon as the Christian books became known to him, through one of the disciples of the apostles, named Quadratus, he forbade, over all his dominion, any one to vex any Christian man; and [ordered] if any Christian offended, that he should be [brought] before him, and he himself would then adjudge to him what to him might appear right. He was by the Romans so beloved and so honoured, that they called him nothing but *Father*, and in honour of him, they called his wife *Augusta*. And he commanded to be slain all the Jewish

men. þe þæron on Palestina. ꝥ man het Iudea land. forþon þe hi cristene men þinedon :· And he bebead ꝥ man timbrede on þære stoþe Hierusalem þa burh. ⁊ þæt hi mon siððan hette be naman Eliam :·

XII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred þæs Dccc. þintra ⁊ Lxxxviii. fenz Pompeius to Romana anþealde. þe man oðre naman het Pius. ⁊ him sealde Iustinus se philosophus ane cristene boc. for heora freondscipe :· Siððon he þa geleornod hæfde. he þearð cristenum mannum sþa leof ⁊ sþiðe hold. oð his lifes ende :·

XIII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred þæs Dcccc. ⁊ xi. þintra. fenz Marcus Antoninus to Romana anþealde· mid his breðer Aureliuse :· Hi þæron þa ærestan men þe Romana anþeald on tþa todældon. ⁊ hi hine hæfdon xiiii. gear. ⁊ hi bebudon ꝥ man ælcne cristene man ofsloge :· Æfter þam hi hæfdon mycel geþin þið Parthe. ⁊ him siððon becom on sþa mycel hungor. forþon þe hi hæfdon aþest ealle Cappadociam. ⁊ Armeniam. ⁊ ealle Siriam :· Æfter þam hi genamon frið þið Parthe. ⁊ him siððon becom on sþa mycel hungor ⁊ micel man-cþealm. ꝥ heora feaþa to lafe þurdon :· Æfter þam hi becoman on ꝥ Denisce geþin. mid eallum Cermanum :· Ða on ðam dæge þe hi feohtan sceoldon. him com an sþa mycel hæte. ⁊ sþa mycel þurst. ꝥ hi him heora feores ne þendon :· Ða bædan hi þa cristenan men. ꝥ hi heora on sume þisan gehulpon. ⁊ ongeatan ꝥ hit þæs Godes þracu :· Ða abædan hi æt þam ælmihtigum Gode. ꝥ hit sþa sþiðe rinde. ꝥ hi hæfdon þæter genoh on-ufon þære dune. ⁊ ꝥ þær sþa micel ðunor com. þæt he offloh feala M̄. manna gemang þam gefeohte :· Ða æfter þam Romana ealle þurdon cristenum mannum sþa holde. ꝥ hi on manegum templum aþritan ꝥ ælc cristen man hæfde frið ⁊ sibbe. ⁊ eac ꝥ ælc þæra moste cristendome onfon seþe þolde :· And Antoninus forgeaf eall ꝥ gafol ꝥ man to Rome sýllan sceolde. ⁊ het forbærnan ꝥ geþrit þe hit on aþriten þæs hþæt man on geare gýldan sceolde. ⁊ þæs on þam æftran geare he gefor :·

men that were in Palestine, which is called the land of Judea because they had tortured Christian men. And he commanded that they should build on the site of the city of Jerusalem, and that it should afterwards be called Ælia.

XII.

After Rome had been built eight hundred and eighty-eight years, Antoninus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, who, by another name, was called Pius. And Justin, the philosopher, gave him a Christian book, in token of their friendship. After he had learned it, he became dear to Christian men and very kind [to them] till his life's end.

XIII.

After Rome had been built nine hundred and eleven years, Marcus Antoninus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, with his brother, Aurelius. They were the first men that divided the Roman empire into two, and they had it fourteen years; and they commanded that every Christian man should be slain. After that, they had a great war with the Parthians, and afterwards there came upon them a great famine, because they had laid waste all Cappadocia, and Armenia, and all Syria. After that they made peace with the Parthians, and afterwards there came upon them so great a famine and so great a mortality, that few of them were left. After that the Danish war, with all the Germans, came upon them. Then, on the day that they were to fight, there came upon them so great a heat, and so great a thirst, that they despaired of their lives. Thereupon they prayed the Christian men in some wise to help them, and ascertained it was God's vengeance. They then obtained from Almighty God that it rained so abundantly that they had rain enough upon the down; and that so great thunder came, that it slew many thousand men during the fight. Then after that, all the Romans became so friendly to the Christian men, that in many temples they wrote, that every Christian man should have peace and protection; and also, that every one of them might receive Christianity that would. And Antoninus forgave all the taxes that were to be paid to Rome, and commanded the decree to be burnt in which it was written what should be paid yearly; and in the following year he died.

XIV.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs Dcccc. wintra ⁊ xxx. fenz Lucius Antoninus to rice. ⁊ hit hæfde xiii. gear :· Þe wæs swiðe ýfel man ealra þeawa. buton þæt he wæs cene. ⁊ oft feaht anwig. ⁊ feala þara senatorum he het offlean. þe þær betste wæran :· Æfter þam an ðunor tosloh heora Lapitolium. þe heora godas inne wæron. ⁊ heora deofulgýld. ⁊ heora bibliopeca weard forbærned fram þam ligette. ⁊ ealle heora ealdan bec forburnan þærinne :· Ðær wæs an swa micel dem geburnen swa on Alexandria wæs. þære býrig. on heora bibliopecan. þær forburnon feower hund M̄. boca :·

XV.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs Dcccc. wintra ⁊ xliii. fenz Seuerus to Romana anwealde. ⁊ hine hæfde xvii. gear :· Þe besæt Pescennius on anum fæstenne. oð he him on hand eode. ⁊ he hine siððon het offlean. forþon he wolde ricsian on Sirie ⁊ on Egýpte :· Æfter þam he offloh Albinus þone man on Lallium. forþon þe he eac wolde on hine winnan :· Siððon he for on Brýtannie. ⁊ þær oft gefeaht wið Peohtas ⁊ wið Sceottas. ær he Brýttas mihte wið hi bewerian. ⁊ het ænne weall þwýres ofer eall þ̄ land asettan fram sæ oð fæ. ⁊ raðe þæs he gefor on Eoferwic ceastre :·

XVI.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs Dcccc. wintra ⁊ lxii. fenz his sunu to rice Antoninus. ⁊ hit hæfde vii. gear :· Þe hæfde twa gesweostor him to wifum :· Þe hæfde folc gegaderad. ⁊ wolde þinnan wið Parthe. ac he weard offlagen on þam færelde fram his agenum mannum :·

XIV

After Rome had been built nine hundred and thirty years, Lucius Antoninus succeeded to the empire, and had it thirteen years. He was a very evil man in all his morals, except that he was brave, and often fought in single combat. And he commanded many of those senators to be slain, who were the best. After that, a thunderbolt struck down their Capitol, in which their gods were, and their idols; and their library was burnt by the lightning, and all their ancient books were burnt therein. There was as great a damage by the conflagration as was in the city of Alexandria, in their library, where four hundred thousand books were burnt.

XV.

After Rome had been built nine hundred and forty-three years, Severus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it seventeen years. He besieged Pescennius in a fortress, until he surrendered to him, and he afterwards commanded him to be slain, because he would reign in Syria and in Egypt. After that, he slew the man Albinus in Gaul, because he also would war against him. He afterwards went to Britain and there often fought against the Picts and Scots, before he could protect the Britons against them; and commanded a wall to be constructed across over all that land, from sea to sea; and shortly after, he died in the city of York.

XVI.

After Rome had been built nine hundred and sixty-two years, his son, Antoninus, succeeded to the empire, and had it seven years. He had two sisters for wives. He had gathered an army, and would war against the Parthians, but he was slain on his march by his own men.

XVII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs Dcccc. wintra ⁊ lxx. fenz Marcus Aurelius to Romana anwealde. ⁊ hine hæfde feower gear. hine offlogon eac his agene men. ⁊ his modor mid :.

XVIII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs Dcccc. wintra ⁊ lxxiiii. fenz Aurelianus Alexander to Romana anwealde. ⁊ hine hæfde xvi. gear. ⁊ Mammea. his seo gode modor. sende æfter Origenese þam gelæredestan mæsse-preoste. ⁊ heo weard siddon cristen fram him. ⁊ wel gelæred. ⁊ gedyde þ hire sunu wæs cristenum mannum swyde hold :· Þe gefor mid fyrde on Perse. ⁊ offloh Persan heora cyning :· Æfter þam he forlet his lif on Magentstan þære byrig :·

XIX.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs Dcccc. wintra ⁊ Lxxxvi. fenz Maximinus to Romana anwealde :· Þe bebead eft þ man cristene men brocude. ⁊ þ man þa godan Mammeam gemartrode. ⁊ ealle þa preostas þe hire folgedon. buton Origenes. he oðfleah on Egypte. ⁊ Maximinus offloh his agene ealdorman. on þam ðriddan geare his rices. on Aquilegia þære byrig :·

XX.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs Dcccc. wintra ⁊ xc. fenz Lordianus to rice. ⁊ hit hæfde vi. gear :· Þe offloh þa twegen gebroðro. þe ær Maximinus offlogon. ⁊ he sylf rade þæs gefor :·

XXI.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs Dcccc. wintra ⁊ xcvii. fenz Philippus to Romana anwealde. ⁊ hine hæfde vii. gear :· Þe weard digellice cristen. forþon he eawunga ne dorste :· On þam iii. geare his rices hit gewearð. swa hit

XVII.

After Rome had been built nine hundred and seventy years, Marcus Aurelius succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it four years. His own men slew him also, and his mother with [him].

XVIII.

After Rome had been built nine hundred and seventy-four years, Aurelius Alexander succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it sixteen years. And Mammæa, his good mother, sent after Origen, that most learned mass-priest, and she afterwards became a Christian through him, and well instructed, and caused her son to be very kind to Christian men. He went with an army against the Persians, and slew Xerxes, their king. After that, he expired in the city of Mentz.

XIX.

After Rome had been built nine hundred and eighty-six years, Maximinus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans. He commanded that Christian men should be again persecuted; and that the good Mammæa should be martyred, and all the priests that followed her, except Origen, he fled into Egypt. And Maximinus was slain by his own prefect, in the third year of his reign, in the city of Aquileia.

XX.

After Rome had been built nine hundred and ninety years, Gordian succeeded to the empire, and had it six years. He slew the two brothers, who had before slain Maximinus, and he himself died shortly after.

XXI.

After Rome had been built nine hundred and ninety-seven years, Philip succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it seven years. He was secretly a Christian, because openly he durst not [be one]. In the third year of his reign,

Lob gerıhtabe. þ pær ymb an ðurenb pintpa þær þe Romebuph getimbpeb pær. þ ægðer ge heopa carepe peapð cpiſten. ge eac þ hi þa miclan ſeopime ðizeðon Lpiſtef ðancef. æt þæſ carepef palentpan. þe hi æn ælce zeape ðizeðon æt heopa ðeopolzýlðum. þ pær ðeopla ðancef. ðæt ealle Romana polðan ymb xii. monað bpinzan tozæðepe þone ſelefcan ðæl heopa zoða zezeapoð to heopa zeblote. ⁊ heopa riððon ſeala pucena ætzæðepe bpucan:· Æfter þam Deciuſ. an pice man. berpac þone carepe. ⁊ ſenz him riððon to þam anpealðe:·

XXII.

Æfter þam þe Romebuph getimbpeð pæſ M. pintpa ⁊ iiii. ſenz Deciuſ to Romana anpealðe. ⁊ hine hæfðe iii. zeaſ. ⁊ ſona zeðýðe ſpeotol tacn þ he Philippuſ æn berýpeðe. miþ þam þ he het cpiſtenpa manna ehtan. ⁊ manize zeðýðe to halzum marterýrum. ⁊ zeſette hiſ ſunu to þam anpealðe to him. ⁊ paðe þæſ hi punðon bezen ætſomne offlazen:·

XXIII.

Æfter þam þe Romebuph getimbpeð pæſ M. pintpa ⁊ viii. ſenz Lalluſ Oftilianuſ to pice. ⁊ hit hæfðe tpa zeaſ:· Ða peapð eft Lobef ſpacu on Rome. ſpa lanze ſpa ſeo ehtnef pæſ þæpa cpiſtenpa manna. ſpa lanze him unzemætlic man-cpealm zecenze: þ nan huſ næſ binnan þæpe býrız. þ hit næfðe þæpe ſpace anzolben:· Æfter þam Emilianuſ offloh Lalluſ. ⁊ hæfðe him þone anpealð:· Ðæſ eac on þam ðniððon monðe hine man offloh:·

XXIV.

Æfter þam þe Romebuph getimbpeð pæſ M. pintpa ⁊ x. þa zefettan Romana tpezen cafepaſ:· Oðep pæſ miþ Emilitum þam folce. Ualepianuſ pæſ haten. oðep pæſ binnan Rome býrız. Lallienuſ pæſ haten:· Ða ſceolðon on rimbel beon pinnende þæp hit þonne þeapf pæſ:· Ða bebuðon hi bezen cpiſtenpa manna ehtnýſſe. ac hpæðlice on hi bezen becom

it happened as God had ordained it, that was about a thousand years from the time when Rome was built, that both their emperor was a Christian, and also that they celebrated, in honour of Christ, at the emperor's palace, the great feast, which they had previously celebrated every year at their heathen festivities. It was in honour of devils, that all the Romans would, every twelfth month, bring together the choicest part of their goods [provisions] prepared for their sacrifice, and enjoy them together for many weeks after. After that Decius, a powerful man, circumvented the emperor, and afterwards succeeded to the dominion.

XXII.

After Rome had been built a thousand and four years, Decius succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it three years, and soon gave a manifest token that he had before been a traitor to Philip, when he commanded Christian men to be persecuted, and many made holy martyrs; and established his own son in power with him; and shortly after, they were both slain together.

XXIII.

After Rome had been built a thousand and eight years, Gallus Hostilianus succeeded to the empire, and had it two years. Then was again God's vengeance on Rome: as long as the persecution of Christian men was, so long did a wide-spreading mortality weigh on them, so that there was no house within the city that had not paid the penalty. After that Æmilianus slew Gallus, and had the power to himself. In the third month after, he also was slain.

XXIV.

After Rome had been built a thousand and ten years, the Romans established two emperors; the one was with the nation of the Rhætians, who was called Valerian, the other was within the city of Rome, who was called Gallienus. These were to be ever warring where it was necessary. Then both commanded a persecution of Christian men, but God's

Loðer þrácu:. Ualerianur for miþ fýnðe ongean Saphan. Perra cýninge. ⁊ þær gefanzen pær. ⁊ riððon he pær Sapan þam cýninge to þam zefette. oð hiy liffer ende. þ he rceolde rra oft rcupian. rra he to hiy hoyre polde. ⁊ he ponne fe cýninz hæfde hiy hpic him to hlýpon:. Ðam oðrum Lalhanure pæpon manize folc onpinnende. þ he hiy pice miþ micelre unpeorð-neffe ⁊ miþ micelre uneaðnýffe zehæfde:. Æfterr Leapmanie. þe be Donua pæpon. forheprzeþon Italiam oð Refennan þa burh. ⁊ Spæfar forheprzoþon ealle Lalliam. ⁊ Lotan ofeprheprzoþan ealle Lpecon lanð. ⁊ þa lærran Ariam. ⁊ Sepmenne zenýðþon ealle Datie fram Romana anpealde. ⁊ Þunaf forheprzoþon Pannoniam. ⁊ Paptþe forheprzoþon Meropotamiam ⁊ ealle Sipie:. To-eacon þam Romane hæfþon zepinn betpuh him fýlfum:. Æfter þam Lallienur peapð offlazen on Mediolane ðære býriz. fram hiy azenum mannum:.

XXV.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh zetimbred pær M. pintra ⁊ xxv. fenz Llaudiur to Romana anpealde:. Ðý ilcan zeare he ofeppan Lotan. ⁊ hi aðrar ut of Lpeacum. ⁊ him Romana zeðýðon anne zýlðenne rcýlð. þære ðæðe to peorðmýnte. ⁊ ane zýlðenne anlicnýffe. ⁊ henzon hi up on heora Lapitolium:. Ðær on þam æfterran zeare he zefor. ⁊ hiy brofor Quintillur fenz to þam anpealde. ⁊ þær on þam xvii. ðæze he peapð offlazen:.

XXVI.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh zetimbred pær M. pintra ⁊ xxvii. fenz Aurelianur to Romana anpealde. ⁊ hine hæfde v. zeap ⁊ vi. monað. ⁊ aðrar Lotan be norðan Domua. ⁊ þanon for on Sipie. ⁊ hi zenýðde eft to Romana anpealde. ⁊ riððon he for on Lallie. ⁊ offloh Tetricum þone man. forþý þe he hi him teah to anpealde:. Æfter þam he bebeab cpiftenra manna ehtnýffe. ⁊ naðe þær peapð offlazen:.

vengeance came speedily on them both. Valerian went with an army against Sapor, king of Persia, and was there taken prisoner; and afterwards he was, till his life's end, appointed for King Sapor, that he should stoop as often as he [Sapor] would mount his horse, and he, the king, then had his back to leap on. On the other, Gallienus, many nations made war, so that he held his sway with great unworthiness and great difficulty. First, the Germans, that were on the Danube, ravaged Italy, as far as the city of Ravenna, and the Suevi ravaged all Gaul, and the Goths overran all the land of Greece, and the Lesser Asia, and the Sarmatians forced all Dacia from the Roman dominion, and the Huns ravaged Pannonia, and the Parthians ravaged Mesopotamia and all Syria. In addition to which, the Romans had wars among themselves. After that, Gallienus was slain in the city of Milan by his own men.

XXV.

After Rome had been built a thousand and twenty-five years, Claudius succeeded to the dominion of the Romans. In the same year he overcame the Goths, and drove them out of Greece. And the Romans made him a golden shield, in honour of the deed, and a golden statue, and hung them up in their Capitol. In the year after he died, and Quintillus, his brother, succeeded to the empire, and on the seventeenth day after he was slain.

XXVI.

After Rome had been built a thousand and twenty-seven years, Aurelian succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it five years and six months, and drove the Goths to the north of the Danube, and thence proceeded to Syria, and again reduced them to subjection to the Romans; and afterwards he proceeded to Gaul, and slew the man Tetricus, because he had drawn them under his power. After that he commanded a persecution of Christian men, and was soon afterwards slain.

XXVII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs M̄. wintra ⁊ xxxii. fenz Tacitus to Romana anwealde. ⁊ þæs on ðam vi. monðe he weard offlagen on Ponto lande :. Æfter þam Florianus fenz to þam anwealde. ⁊ wæs offlagen þæs on þam þriddan monðe. on Tharsa þam lande :.

XXVIII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs M̄. wintra ⁊ xxxiii. fenz Probus to Romana anwealde. ⁊ hine hæfde vi. gear ⁊ iv. monðas. ⁊ he adýde Hunas of Gallium. ⁊ he offloh Saturninum. þe æfter anwealde wan :. Æfter þam he offloh Proculus ⁊ Bonosus. þa gýrndon eac æfter þam anwealde :. Æfter þam he weard sýlf offlagen on Sýrmie þære dune :.

XXIX.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs M̄. wintra ⁊ xxxix. fenz Larus to Romana anwealde. ⁊ hine hæfde twa gear. ⁊ gefeaht twýwa wið Parthe. ⁊ geeode heora burga twa. þa wæron on Tigris staþe þære ea :. Raðe þæs hine offloh an ðunor. ⁊ his sunu Numerianus fenz to ðam anwealde. ⁊ raðe þæs hine offloh his agen sweor :.

XXX.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs M̄. wintra ⁊ xli. fenz Diocletianus to Romana anwealde. ⁊ hine hæfde xx. wintra :. He gesette under him gingran casere. Maximus wæs haten. ⁊ hine sende on Gallie. forþon þe hi niwlice hæfdon gewinn up-ahafen. ac he hi eaðelice ofercom :. On þære tide wæron Diocletiane ðrý cýningas on winnende. Carausius on Bretlande. Achileus on Egýpta lande. ⁊ Narseus of Persum :. Ða gesette he iii. caseras under him, an wæs Maximianus. oðer Constantinus. ðriddе Galerius :. Maximianus he sende

XXVII.

After Rome had been built a thousand and thirty-two years, Tacitus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and in the sixth month after, he was slain in the land of Pontus. After that, Florianus succeeded to the dominion, and was slain the third month after, in the land of Tarsus.

XXVIII.

After Rome had been built a thousand and thirty-three years, Probus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it six years and four months; and he expelled the Huns from Gaul, and he slew Saturninus, who was striving after dominion. After that he slew Proculus and Bonosus, who were also yearning after dominion. After that he was himself slain in the mountain of Sirmium.

XXIX.

After Rome had been built a thousand and thirty-nine years, Carus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it two years, and fought twice against the Parthians, and took two of their cities, that were on the banks of the river Tigris. Soon afterwards he was slain by thunder, and his son, Numerian, succeeded to the dominion, and was soon after slain by his own father-in-law.

XXX.

After Rome had been built a thousand and forty-one years, Diocletian succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it twenty years. He set a younger emperor under him, named Maximian, and sent him to Gaul; because they had newly raised up a war; but he easily overcame them. At that time there were three kings making war on Diocletian: Carausius in Britain, Achilleus in Egypt, and Narses from Persia. Thereupon he appointed three Cæsars under him: one was Maximian, the second Constantius, the third

on Affrice. ⁊ he oferþan heora þiðerþinnan :. Constantinus he sende on Gallie. ⁊ he oferþan Alamanie ꝥ folc. ⁊ siððan he geeode Brettaniam ꝥ igland. ⁊ he sylf Diocletianus for on Egypte. ⁊ besæt Achileus þone cyning viii. monðas. on Alexandria þære bÿrig. oð hine þa burh-leode him ageafon. ⁊ siððon oferhergode ealle Egypte :. Galerius he sende on Perse. ⁊ gefeaht tþeoþa þið Narseus þone cyning. ꝥ heora naðor næfde sige :. Æt heora ðriddan gefeohte Galerius þearð geflymed. ⁊ mid micelre fÿrhtnesse com to Diocletiane. ac he his afeng mid micelre unþÿrðnesse. ⁊ hine het ÿrnan on his agenum purpuran feala mila beforan his rad-þæne :. Æfter þam þe his mod þæs mid þam bismre ahþet. he for eft on Perse. ⁊ hi geflÿmde. ⁊ Narseus gefeng. ⁊ his þif. ⁊ his bearn. þa onfeng Diocletianus Galeriuse þeorðfullice :. Diocletianus ⁊ Maximianus bebudon ehtnÿsse cristenra manna. Diocletianus eastene. ⁊ Maximianus þestene. ⁊ for þam gebode þurdon feala martÿras on x. þintrum fÿrste :. Ða geþearð hi him betþeonum ꝥ hi þoldan þa anþealdas forlætan. ⁊ þa purpuran alecgan þe hi þeredan. ⁊ þoldon heora dagas on seftnesse geendian. ⁊ ꝥ sþa gelæstan :. Diocletianus gesæt on Nicomedia þære bÿrig. ⁊ Maximianus gesæt on Mediolane þære bÿrig. ⁊ letan þa anþealdas to Galeriuse ⁊ to Constantinuse. ⁊ hi hine todældon siððon on tþa :. Galerius Illirice ⁊ begeondon þam þone east ende. ⁊ þone mæstan dæl ðisses middangearðes. ⁊ Constantinus nam ealle Italie. ⁊ Affricam. ⁊ Ispanie. ⁊ Gallie. ⁊ Brÿttanie. ac he þæs hþon gÿrnende þissa þorulð-ðinga ⁊ micelra anþealda. ⁊ forþam he forlet his agenum þillan Italiam ⁊ Affricam to Galeriuse :. Ða gesette Galerius tþegen cÿningas under him. oðer þæs haten Seuerus. þam he gesealde Italiam ⁊ Affricam. ⁊ Maximinus he gesette on þa eastland :. On þam dagum com Constantinus. se mildheortesta man. ⁊ for on Brÿttanie. ⁊ þær gefor. ⁊ gesealde his suna ꝥ rice. Constantinuse. þone he hæfde be Elenan his þife :. Ða þolde Maxentius. Maximianus sunu. habban þone anþeald on Italiam :.

Ða sende Galerius him ongean Seuerus mid fÿrde. þe him se anþeald ær gesealð þæs. ⁊ he þær besþicen þearð fram his agenum mannum. ⁊ offlagen neah Rafenna þære bÿrig :. Ða

Galerius. Maximian he sent to Africa, and he overcame their adversaries. Constantius he sent to Gaul, and he overcame the nation of the Alamanni, and afterwards he conquered the island of Britain. And he himself, Diocletian, went to Egypt, and besieged the king Achilleus eight months, in the city of Alexandria, until the inhabitants delivered him up, and afterwards ravaged all Egypt. Galerius he sent to Persia, who fought twice against Narses, the king, so that neither of them had victory. In the third battle, Galerius was put to flight, and in great fear came to Diocletian; but he received him with great indignity, and commanded him to run in his own purple many miles before his chariot. After his courage had been whetted by that disgrace, he proceeded again to Persia, and put them to flight, and took Narses prisoner, and his wives and children: thereupon Diocletian received Galerius honourably. Diocletian and Maximian ordered a persecution of Christian men, Diocletian in the east, and Maximian in the west; and, in consequence of that decree, there were many martyrs for a space of ten years. Then they agreed between themselves that they would abandon their powers, and lay aside the purple that they wore, and would end their days in tranquillity; and they did so. Diocletian settled in the city of Nicomedia, and Maximian settled in the city of Milan, and [they] left their power to Galerius and to Constantius; and they afterwards divided it in two. Galerius [had] Illyricum, and beyond that the east end, and the greater part of this earth. And Constantius took all Italy, and Africa, and Spain, and Gaul, and Britain; but he was little desirous of these worldly things and of great powers, and, therefore, he resigned, of his own will, Italy and Africa to Galerius. Galerius, thereupon, appointed two kings under him, one was named Severus, to whom he gave Italy and Africa; and Maximinus he placed in the east lands. In those days came Constantius, the most kind-hearted man, and proceeded to Britain, and there departed [this life], and gave the empire to his son, Constantine, whom he had by Helena his wife. Maxentius, then, the son of Maximianus, would have the power in Italy.

Thereupon Galerius sent Severus against him with an army, to whom the government had already been given, and he was there betrayed by his own men, and slain near the

Maximianus ȝeahsoðe ꝥ his sunu fenȝ to þam anþealðe. he þa hræðlice forlet þa burh. þe he on ȝeseten þæs. ⁊ þohte his sunu to bespicanne. ⁊ siððon fon to ðam anþealðe. ac þa hit se sunu afunðe. þa aðræfðe he þone fæðer. ⁊ he fleah on Gallie. ⁊ þolðe Constantinus bespican. his aþum. ⁊ habban him ꝥ rice. ac hit onfunðe his ðohtor. ⁊ hit Constantinuse ȝesæðe. ⁊ he hine ȝeflýmðe siððon on Massiliam. ⁊ he þær ofslaȝen þearð :· Ða ȝesealðe Galerius Liciniuse Italiam ⁊ Affricam. ⁊ he het ealle þa cristenan. þe þær betste þæron. ȝebringan on elðeoðe :· Æfter þam he þearð on micelre untrumnesse. ⁊ him to ȝehet maniȝe læceas. ⁊ hýra nan him ne mihte beon on nanum ȝoðe. ac him sæðe hýra an. ꝥ hit þære Goðes þracu :· Ða het he ꝥ man þa cristenan men eft ȝebrohte on hýra earðe. ælcne þær he ær þæs. sþa-þeah he ȝefor on þære mettrýmnesse. ⁊ Licinius fenȝ to þam anþealðe :· Æfter þam þearð ȝeþin betþuh Constantinuse ⁊ Maxentiuse. ⁊ raðe þæs Constantinus ofsloh Maxentius binnan Rome. æt þære brýcȝ þe man Muluius hæt :· On þam ðaȝum Maximinus bebeað cristenra manna ehtnýsse. ⁊ raðe þæs ȝefor on Tharsa þære býriȝ :· On þam ðaȝum Licinius bebeað ꝥ nan cristen man ne come on his hireðe. ne on his færelðe. ⁊ raðe þæs þearð ȝeþin betþeoh him ⁊ betþeoh Constantinuse. ⁊ oftræðlice ȝefeoht. oð Constantinus ȝefenȝ Licinius. ⁊ hine siððon het beheafðian. ⁊ siððon fenȝ to eallum Romana anþealðe :· On þam ðaȝum Arrius se mæsse-þreost þearð on ȝeðþolan ýmbe þone rihtan ȝeleafon. ýmbe þone teonan þæs ȝeȝaðeroð þreo hundreð bisceopa ⁊ ehtatýne. hine to oferflitenne ⁊ to amansumianne :· On þam ðaȝum Constantinus ofsloh Crispum his sunu. ⁊ Licinium his sþeostor-sunu. ꝥ nan man nýste hþæt se ȝýlt þæs buton him anum :· Æfter þam he underþeoðde him sýlfum maniȝe þeoða. þe ær þæran Romane unȝeþýlde. ⁊ het atimbrian ane burh on Grecum. ⁊ het hi be him hatan Constantinopolim :· Þe het ærest manna ꝥ man cýricean timbreðe. ⁊ ꝥ man beluce ælc ðeofulȝýlð-hus :· Þe ȝefor ýmb an ⁊ ðrittiȝ þintra þæs þe he rice hæfðe. on anum tune neah Nicomeðia þære býriȝ :·

city of Ravenna. When Maximian was informed that his son had succeeded to the government, he speedily left the city in which he was seated, and thought to circumvent his son, and afterwards succeed to the government; but when his son found that, he drove away his father, and he fled into Gaul, and would circumvent Constantine, his son-in-law, and have the empire to himself; but his daughter discovered it, and told it to Constantine, and he afterwards drove him to Marseilles, and he was there slain. Then Galerius gave Italy and Africa to Licinius, and he commanded all the Christians, who were there the best, to be sent into exile. After that he fell into a great sickness, and ordered to him many physicians; and none of them could be of any good to him; but one of them said to him that it was God's vengeance. Thereupon he commanded that the Christian men should be brought again to their own country, each to where he had been before. Nevertheless, he died of that sickness, and Licinius succeeded to the dominion. After that, there was war between Constantine and Maxentius; and shortly after, Constantine slew Maxentius within Rome, at the bridge called the Milvian. In those days Maximinus commanded a persecution of Christian men, and shortly after died in the city of Tarsus. In those days Licinius commanded that no Christian man should come into his family nor in his retinue; and shortly after, there was war between him and Constantine, and frequent battles, until Constantine took Licinius prisoner, and afterwards ordered him to be beheaded, and then succeeded to the whole Roman empire. In those days, Arius, the mass-priest, fell into error concerning the right belief. In consequence of that crime, there were assembled three hundred and eighteen bishops, to confute and excommunicate him. In those days Constantine slew his son, Crispus, and Licinius, his sister's son, so that no one knew what their sin was, save him alone. After that he subjected to himself many nations, that before were unsubdued by the Romans; and commanded a city to be built in Greece, and commanded it to be named from himself, Constantinople. He first of men commanded churches to be built, and that every heathen temple should be closed. He died thirty-one years after he had the empire, in a villa near the city of Nicomedia.

XXXI.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ȝetimbred wæs M̄. wintra ⁊ xci. fenȝ Constantius to þam anwealde mid his twam broðrum. Constantine ⁊ Constante. ⁊ he Constantius hæfde xxiii. wintra :· Hi wurdon ealle þa ȝebroðru on þam Arianiscan ȝedwolan :· Constantinus ⁊ Constans wunnon him betweonum. oð Constantinus weard offlaȝen :· Æfter þam Maȝnentius offloh Constans. ⁊ fenȝ him to þam rice. þæt wæs Galliam ⁊ Italiam :· On þam daȝum Illirice ȝesettan Ueteromonem þone man to hýra anwealde. to þon ꝥ hi siððon mihton winnan wið Maȝnentiuse. ⁊ hi hine nýddon to leornunȝa. þeah he ȝewintrad wære. ac Constantius hine benæmde æȝðer ȝe þæs anwealdes. ȝe þære purpuran þe he werede. ȝe þære scole þe he on leornode :· Æfter þam he ȝefeaht wið Maȝnentiuse. ⁊ hine ȝeflýmde. ⁊ bedraf into Lucthina þære býriȝ. ⁊ he hine sýlfne siððon offticode :· Æfter þam Constantius ȝesette Iulianus to casere under him. se wæs ær to diacone ȝehalȝod. ⁊ sende hine on Gallie mid fýrde. ⁊ he hrædlice oferwan ealle þa þe on Gallie wunnon. ⁊ wæs æfter ðære dæde swa up-ahafen. ꝥ he wolde ealne Romana anwealð him ȝeaȝnian. ⁊ mid fýrde wæs farende þær Constantius wæs mid oðere fýrde wið Parthe :· Ða he ꝥ ȝeahsode. ⁊ him onȝean-weard wæs. þa ȝefor he on þam færelde :·

And Iulianus fenȝ to þam anwealde. ⁊ hine hæfde an ȝear ⁊ eahta monðas :· Ða wæs he sona ȝeornfull ꝥ he wolde diȝolice þone cristendom onwendan. ⁊ forbead openlice ꝥ man nane fæste-boc ne leornode. ⁊ sæde eac ꝥ nan cristen man ne moste habban nænne his under-folȝoða. ⁊ hi mid þam þohte beswican :· Ac ealle hi wæron þæs wordes. swa we hit eft-secȝan ȝehýrdon. cwæð Orosius. ꝥ him leofre wæs se cristendom to beȝanne. þonne his scira to hæbbenne :· Æfter þam he ȝeȝaderode fýrde. ⁊ wolde faran on Perse. ⁊ bebead þonne he eft wære eastene hamweard. ꝥ man hæfde amfiteatrum ȝeworht æt Hierusalem. ꝥ he mihte Godes þeowas on don. ꝥ hi deor þærinne abitan :· Ac God ȝewræc on þam færelde swiðe ȝedafenlice on þam arleasan men his arleasa ȝeþoht. mid þam ꝥ hine ȝemitte an man. þa he for fram Ctesiphonte þære býriȝ. ȝelicost þam þe he flýma wære. ⁊

XXXI.

After Rome had been built a thousand and ninety-one years, Constantius succeeded to the empire, with his two brothers, Constantine and Constans, and he, Constantius, had it twenty-three years. All the brothers were of the Arian heresy. Constantine and Constans made war on each other, until Constantine was slain. After that, Magnentius slew Constans, and succeeded to the empire, that is, of Gaul and Italy. In those days the Illyrians set up the man Vetranio to govern them, that they might make war on Magnentius; and they forced him to learning, although he was full of years. But Constantius deprived him of the power, and of the purple that he wore, and of the school in which he learned. After that he [Constantius] fought against Magnentius, and put him to flight, and drove him into the city of Lyons; and he [Magnentius] afterwards stabbed himself. After that, Constantius appointed Julian to be Cæsar under him, who had before been consecrated a deacon, and sent him into Gaul with an army; and he speedily overcame all those who were making war on Gaul; and was, after that deed, so uplifted, that he would appropriate to himself all the Roman power, and went with an army to where Constantius was with another army against the Parthians. When he [Constantius] was informed of that, and was proceeding against him, he died on the march.

And Julian succeeded to the dominion, and had it one year and eight months. Then was he soon desirous of secretly subverting Christianity, and openly forbade any man to learn the fast-book; and said also, that no Christian man should have any of his under-offices, and thereby thought to overreach them. But they were all of the resolution, as we have heard it repeated, says Orosius, that they would rather cultivate Christianity than have his provinces. After that he gathered an army, and would proceed to Persia, and commanded, that when from the east he was again on his way homewards, an amphitheatre should be built at Jerusalem, that he might put into it God's servants, that wild beasts might devour them therein. But in that expedition God very fittingly avenged on that base man his base intention, when a man met him, as he came from the city of Ctesiphon, exactly as though he were a

him ſæde. ꝥ he hine mihte læden ðuruh ꝥ veſten. ꝥ he on Perſe on unzearuve become :. Ac þa he hine to-middeſ þæſ veſteneſ hæfde zelædd. þa zeſvac he him. ꝥ nan man nýſte þæſ færeldeſ hvar he com. ac foran hvearfiende zeond ꝥ veſten. ꝥ he nýſte hvar he ut ſceolde. oð þæſ folceſ væſ fela forvorden. æzðer ze for þurſte ze eac for hunzre :. Ða com him onzean an uncuð man. ⁊ offloh Iulianuſ :.

XXXII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh zetimbred væſ M̄. vintra ⁊ an hund ⁊ xvii. fenz Iouinianuſ to Romana anvealde :. Þine man zeceaſ on ðam veſtenne. þý ilcan dæze þe man Iulianuſ offtanz :. Þe zeſealde Perſum Niſſibi þa burh. ⁊ healfe Meſopotamiam ꝥ land. við þam ꝥ hi moſtan of þam lande buton laðe :. On ðam viii. monðe þæſ þe he to ðam anvealde fenz. he volde faran on Illirice. þa væſ he ſume niht, on anum niv-cilctan huſe. þa het he betan þærinne micel fýr. forþon hit væſ ceald veder. þa onzan ſe cealc mid unzemete ſtincan. þa vearð Iouinianuſ mid þam bræþe offmorod :.

XXXIII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh zetimbred væſ M̄. vintra ⁊ an hund ⁊ xviii. fenz Ualentinianuſ to Romana anvealde. ⁊ hine hæfde xi. zear. he væſ ærþam Iulianuſeſ cempena ealdorman :. Þe him bebead ꝥ he forlete þone hiſ criſtendom. oððe hiſ folzoð. þa væſ him leofre ꝥ he forlete hiſ folzoð. þonne þone criſtendom :. Ac him zefýlſte Lod eft to maran are: þa he þa læſſan for hiſ luſe forlet. ꝥ he þæſ ilcan riceſ ahte zevealde. þe hiſ viðervinna ær ahte :. Raðe þæſ he zeſealde Ualente. hiſ brieðer. healf hiſ rice. ⁊ he het offlean Percopiuſ þe þa ricſian volde. ⁊ manize oðre mid him :. Ualenſ væſ zelæred fram anum Arrianiſco biſceope. Eudoxuſ væſ haten. ac he hit hæl ſviðe fæſte við hiſ brioðor. forþon he viſte. ꝥ he hit on him vrecan volde. zif he onfunde ꝥ he

fugitive, and said to him, that he could lead him through the waste, so that he might come on the Persians unawares. But when he had led him to the middle of the waste, he deceived him, so that no man knew where he was on his way; but they went wandering about the waste, so that he knew not where they should come out; until many of the army perished, both from thirst and also from hunger. Then there met them an unknown man, and slew Julian.

XXXII.

After Rome had been built a thousand and one hundred and seventeen years, Jovian succeeded to the dominion of the Romans. He was chosen in the waste on the same day that Julian was slain. He gave the city of Nisibis to the Persians, and half the land of Mesopotamia, on condition that they might depart from the country without molestation. In the eighth month after he had succeeded to the empire, he would proceed to Illyricum: there he was one night in a newly-cemented house, when he ordered a large fire to be made in it, because it was cold weather. Then the chalk began to stink immoderately, when Jovian was smothered by the vapour.

XXXIII.

After Rome had been built a thousand and one hundred and eighteen years, Valentinian succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it eleven years. He had previously been a tribune of Julian's soldiers. He [Julian] commanded him to renounce his Christianity or his service, and he preferred to renounce his service than his Christianity. But God aided him after to greater honour, when he had renounced the less for love of Him, so that he gained possession of the same empire that his adversary had previously possessed. Shortly after, he gave to Valens, his brother, half his empire; and he commanded Procopius to be slain, who would rule there, and many others with him. Valens had been instructed by an Arian bishop, named Eudoxius; but he concealed it very strictly from his brother; because he knew that he would avenge it on him, if he found out that he was of another be-

on oðrum ȝeleafon þære. on oðrum he ſýlf þæſ. forþon he þiſte hu fæſtmoð he þæſ ær on hiſ ȝeleafon. þa he læſſan anþeald hæfde :· On þam ilcan ȝeare Loðenric. Lotena cýninȝ. ȝeðýðe feala martýra on hiſ þeoðe criſtenra manna :· On þam ðaȝum Ualentinianuſ ȝenýðde eft þa Seaxan to hýra aȝenum lande. þa hi þoldon þinnan þið Romana. þa þæron earðfæſte neah þam ȝarſecȝe :· And Burȝendum he ȝeſtýrðe eac. ꝥ hi on Lallie ne þunnon :· Mid þam þe him þæſ ſþiðoſt ȝeſtyred. ꝥ him man ȝehet fulluht :· On þam xi. ȝeare hiſ rices Serrmenne herȝoðon on Pannoniam. þa he þýðerþearð þæſ mid fýrðe. þa ȝefor he on blodrýne :·

XXXIV.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh ȝetimbred þæſ M̄. þintra ⁊ c. ⁊ xxix. fenȝ Ualenſ. Ualentinianuſeſ broðor. to Romana anþealde. ⁊ Lratianuſ. Ualentinianuſeſ ſunu. fenȝ to Italia anþealde. ⁊ to Lallia. ⁊ to Iſpania under Ualenſe :· Þe þa Ualenſ oðýþde openlice ꝥ he ær ðiȝelice ȝehýð hæfde. ſþa ꝥ he bebeað ꝥ munucaſ. þe þorulðlice þinȝ forȝan ſceoldan. ⁊ þæpna ȝefeoht. ꝥ hi þæpna namon. ⁊ mid þam fuhton. ⁊ ýfel ðýðon mid oðrum mannum. ⁊ ſende on Eȝýpte ⁊ het toþýrpan ealle þa munuc-lif þe hiſ broðor ær ȝeſtáþelode. ⁊ ſume þa munucaſ he het ofſlean. ſume on elþeode forðrifon :· On þam ðaȝum Firmuſ þæſ haten ſum man on Affricum. ſe þæſ þær þilniende þæſ anþealdeſ :· Ða ſende Ualenſ þýðer Theoðoſiuſ hiſ ealdorman mid fýrðe. þæſ ȝoðan Theoðoſiuſeſ fæðer. þe eft þæſ caſere :· On þam færeldе Firmuſ þæſ ȝefanȝen ⁊ forð-ȝelæðeð to ſleanne. þa bæð he ſýlf þæt hine man ær ȝefulloðe. ⁊ þa he ȝefulloð þæſ. he þæſ ðurruh þæſ mæſſe-preoſteſ lare. þe hine fulloðe. on ſþa fullan ȝeleafon heofon-riceſ. ꝥ he cþæð to þam folce. Doð nu ſþa ȝe þillan. ⁊ him ſýlf leat forð. ꝥ him man aſloh ꝥ heafoð of. ⁊ þearð Lriſteſ martir :· On þam ðaȝum Lratianuſ ȝefeaht on Lallium þið Alamanne þam folce. ⁊ hýra fela M̄. ofſloh :· On þam ðriddan ȝeare hiſ riceſ. þa he ꝥ mæſte þoh ðýðe þið þa Loðeſ þeoþaſ. þa aðrifon hine Lotan ut of hýra earðe. ⁊ hi

lief than that of which he himself was; because he knew how steadfast he had previously been in his faith, when he had less power. In the same year, Athanaric, king of the Goths, made many martyrs of Christian men among his people. In those days, Valentinian forced the Saxons back into their own land, when they would war against the Romans. They were inhabiting near the ocean. The Burgundians also he prevented from warring against the Gauls. What chiefly restrained them was, that they were promised baptism. In the eleventh year of his reign, the Sarmatians ravaged Pannonia. When he was [marching] thitherward with an army, he died of an effusion of blood.

XXXIV.

After Rome had been built a thousand and one hundred and twenty-nine years, Valens, the brother of Valentinian, succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and Gratian, the son of Valentinian, succeeded to the dominion in Italy, in Gaul, and in Spain, under Valens. He then, Valens, showed openly what he had before secretly hidden, so that he commanded that monks, who should renounce worldly things and strife of weapons, should take arms and fight with them, and do evil with other men. And he sent to Egypt, and commanded all the monasteries to be destroyed that his brother had before founded. And some of the monks he commanded to be slain, some driven into exile. In those days there was a man in Africa, named Firmus, who was there desirous of dominion. Thereupon Valens sent thither his count, Theodosius, with an army, the father of the good Theodosius, who afterwards was emperor. In that expedition, Firmus was taken, and led forth to be slain, when he himself prayed that he might first be baptized. When he had been baptized, he was, through the instruction of the mass-priest, who had baptized him, in such full belief of the kingdom of heaven, that he said to the people: "Do now as ye will," and bowed forward to them, so that his head was struck off: and he was Christ's martyr. In those days Gratian fought in Gaul against the Alamannic nation, and slew many thousands of them. In the third year of his reign, when he was doing the greatest wrong to God's servants, the Goths

ꝼoꞃon ꞅiddon oꝼeꞃ Donua þa ea on Ualenꞅeꞅ ꞃice. ⁊ ꝑilnoðan to him. ꝥ hi moꞅtan on hiꞅ ꞃice mið ꝼꞃiðe ꝫeꞅittan :. Ða oꝼeꞃhoꝫoðe he ꝥ he him aðeꞃ ðýðe. oððe ꝑýꞃnðe. oððe tiþoðe. ac hi let ꞅittan þæꞃ þæꞃ hi ꝑolðon :. Ac hiꞅ ꝫeꞃeꝼan ⁊ hiꞅ ealðoꞃmen nýððan hi æꝼteꞃ ꝫaꝼule. ⁊ micel ꝫeꝼlit hæꝼðon ýmb ꝥ. oð þa Lotan hi mið ꝫeꝼeohte ꝫeꝼlýmðon :. Ða Ualenꞅ ꝥ ꝫeahꞅoðe on Antiochia þæꞃe býꞃiꝫ. þa ꝑeaꞃð he ꞅꝑiðe ꞅaꞃiꝫ. ⁊ ꝫeþohte hiꞅ miꞅðæða. hu hi hine bæðan ꞃihteꞅ ꝫeleaꝼan ⁊ ꝼullꝑihteꞅ bæðeꞅ. ⁊ he him ꞅenðe Aꞃꞃieniꞅce biꞅceoꞃaꞅ to laꞃeoꝑum ⁊ ꝫeðꝑolmen. ꞅꝑa he ꞅýlꝼ ꝑæꞅ. ⁊ hꝑæt he hæꝼðe Loðeꞅ þeoꝑum on oꝼtꞅiðaꞅ to laðe ꝫeðon :. Þet þeah ꞅenðan æꝼteꞃ. þæꞃ he ænne libbenðene ꝑiꞅte. þeah he ꝥ late ðýðe. ⁊ him ꞅiððon het ꝫeaꞃian :. On þam ꝼeoꞃðan ꝫeaꞃe hiꞅ ꞃiceꞅ he ꝼeaht ꝑið Lotan. ⁊ ꝫeꝼlýmeð ꝑeaꞃð. ⁊ beðꞃiꝼen on ænne tun. ⁊ ꝑeaꞃð on anum huꞅe ꝼoꞃbæꞃneð :. Ðæꞃ ꝑæꞅ ꞅꝑiðe ꞃiht ðom ꝫeenðoð. ꝥ hi þone ꝑoꞃulðlice ꝼoꞃbæꞃnðon. þe hi þohte bæꞃnan on ecnýꞅꞅe :.

XXXV.

Æꝼteꞃ þam he Romebuꞃh ꝫetimbꞃeð ꝑæꞅ M̄. ꝑintꞃa ⁊ c. ⁊ xxxiii. ꝼenꝫ Lꞃatianuꞅ to Romana anꝑealðe. ⁊ hine hæꝼðe vi. ꝫeaꞃ. ⁊ ꝫeꞅette Theoðoꞅiuꞅ him to ꝼultume. ꝼoꞃþon him ꝫeþuhte ꝥ þa þeoða þe hýꞃa ꝫeꝑinnan ꝑæꞃon. ꝑæꞃon to ꞅꝑiðe ꝫeꞅtꞃanꝫoðe. ꝥ hi man lenꝫ ne mihte mið ꝫeꝼeohtum oꝼeꞃꞅꝑiðan :. Ac Theoðoꞅiuꞅ ꝫenam ꝼꞃið ꝑið hi. ⁊ on þæꞃe ꞅibbe he læððe Athanaꞃicuꞅ hiꞃa cýninꝫ mið him to Lonꞅtantinopolim þæꞃe býꞃiꝫ. ⁊ þæꞃ ꞃaðe þæꞅ hiꞅ liꝼ ꝫeenðoðe :. Raðe þæꞅ þe Lotan onꝫeatan hu ꝫoð Theoðoꞅiuꞅ ꝑæꞅ. æꝫðeꞃ ꝫe hi. ꝫe ealle þeoða þe on Sciððium ꝑæꞃon. ꝫecuꞃon hiꞅ ꝼꞃið :. On þam ðaꝫum ꝫecuꞃon Bꞃýttannie Maximianuꞅ him to caꞅeꞃe. oꝼeꞃ hiꞅ ꝑillan. ꞅe ꝑæꞃe ꝑýꞃðe ealꞃa Romana anꝑealða. ꝼoꞃ hiꞅ mæniꝫꝼealðum ðuꝫuðum. buton ꝥ he þa ꝑið hiꞅ hlaꝼoꞃð ꝑann ꝼoꞃ oðꞃa manna laꞃe. ⁊ ꞃaðe þæꞅ he ꝼoꞃ on Lallie. ⁊ Lꞃatianuꞅ oꝼꞅloh. ⁊ Ualentinianuꞅ hiꞅ bꞃoðoꞃ he aðꞃaꝼ ut oꝼ Italiam. ꝥ he oðꝼleah to Theoðoꞅiuꞅe :.

drove him out of their country; and they afterwards passed over the river Danube into Valens' realm, and desired of him that they might settle in his realm in peace. Thereupon he disdained to do the one or the other, either to refuse or permit, but let them settle where they would. But his prefects and officials sued them for tribute, and they had great contention on that account, until the Goths, in a battle, put them to flight. When Valens was informed of that in the city of Antioch, he was very sorry, and thought of his misdeeds, how they had prayed him for right belief and the bath of baptism, and he had sent them Arian bishops and heretics (as he himself was) as teachers, and what he, on frequent occasions, had done to the injury of God's servants. Then, wherever he knew one to be living, he commanded him to be sent for; although he did it late, and afterwards commanded him to be honoured. In the fourth year of his reign, he fought against the Goths, and was put to flight, and driven into a village, and was burnt in a house. There was a righteous doom completed, when they burnt him in worldly fashion, who thought to burn them eternally.

XXXV.

After Rome had been built a thousand and one hundred and thirty-three years, Gratian succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it six years, and appointed Theodosius to aid him; because it seemed to him that the nations that were their adversaries, were grown too strong to be longer overcome by wars. But Theodosius made peace with them, and, during that peace, he led Athanaric, their king, with him to the city of Constantinople, and shortly after he [Athanaric] there ended his life. As soon as the Goths knew how good Theodosius was, both they and all the nations that were in Scythia, chose peace with him. In those days, the Britons chose Maximus for their emperor, against his will, who was worthy of the rule of all the Romans, for his manifold virtues, excepting that he warred against his lord, at the instigation of other men: and shortly after, he proceeded to Gaul, and slew Gratian, and drove his brother, Valentinian, out of Italy, so that he fled to Theodosius.

XXXVI.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs M̄. wintra ⁊ C. ⁊ xxxviii. fenz Theodosius to Romana anwealde. ⁊ hine hæfde xi. gear. he hæfde vi. gearum ær anwealb ofer þa east-dælas :. Þe þa Theodosius wæs ðencende hu he Lratianus his hlaford gewrecan mihte. ⁊ eac his broðor on þam anwealde gebringan. ⁊ fyrde gelædde on Italia. þær Maximus mid fyrde abad æt Aquilegia þære byrig. ⁊ his ealdormen Andragaðie hæfde beboden þa clusan to healdenne :. Ac se ealdorman hi betæhte liþrum mannum to healdenne. ⁊ þohte him sylf on scipum to farenne east-ymbutan. ⁊ þonne bestelan on Theodosius hindan :. Ac mid þam þe he fram þære clusan afaren wæs wið þara scipa. þa com Theodosius þærto. ⁊ funde þæræt feawa manna. þa wæron ýfele ⁊ earge. ⁊ he hi raðe awez aþýwde. ⁊ þa clusan tobræc. ⁊ siððon for ofer ða muntas. oð he com to Aquilegia. ⁊ Maximus ofsloh :. Ða ꝥ se ealdorman gehýrde. þa adrencte he hine sylfne :. Þu ýðelice Lod geendode ꝥ mycle gewin. mid hýra twegra fylle. þe Maximus ⁊ his ealdorman hæfdon up-ahafen mid manegum ðeodum :.

Æfter þam fenz eft Ualentinianus to his rice. ⁊ þæs ýmb twa gear. þe he on Lallium com. hine offmorode Arbogæstes his ealdorman. ⁊ hine siððon mid rapum be þam sweoran up-ahenz. gelicost þam þe he hine sylfne unwitende hæfde awirged. ⁊ gesette Eugenius to þæs ricesnaman. ꝥ he casere wære. ⁊ fenz him sylf to þam anwealde. forþam he ne mihte sylf habban þæs anwealdes naman. forþý he næs Romanisc. ac lærde þone oðerne ꝥ he deofulgýld georne beeode :. Ða gelædde eft Theodosius fyrde wið him twam. to þære ilcan clusan þe he ær hæfde wið Maximus :. Ða sende Theodosius Lotena fultum beforan him. ꝥ hi þa clusan tobræcon. ac hi wurdon uton-ýmbfaren of þam muntum. ⁊ ealle offlagen. þæt wæron x. M̄. :. Ða for Theodosius þýderwearð. ⁊ wiste ꝥ hine man wolde mid þam ilcan wrence beþridian :. Ða hi togæderewearð foran. þa þohtan Eugenius ⁊ Arbogæstes. ꝥ hi sceoldan ærest of þam muntum hi gebigean mid heora flana gesceotum. ac ælc com oþer þara. oððe on hi sylfe oððe on þa eorðan. ⁊ Theodosius hæfde þone wind mid him. ꝥ his fultum mihte

XXXVI.

After Rome had been built a thousand and one hundred and thirty-eight years, Theodosius succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, and had it eleven years. He had six years before had the dominion of the east parts. He then, Theodosius, was thinking how he could avenge his lord, Gratian, and also bring his brother to power; and led an army to Italy, where Maximus was staying with an army, at the city of Aquileia, and had commanded his general, Andragathius, to hold the pass. But the general committed the holding of it to inert men, and resolved with himself to go east-about with ships, and steal on Theodosius's rear. But when he had marched from the pass towards the ships, Theodosius came thereto, and found thereat few men, who were bad and slothful, and he speedily routed them and forced the pass, and then marched over the mountains, until he came to Aquileia, and slew Maximus. When the general heard that, he drowned himself. How easily God ended that great war, by the fall of them both, which Maximus and his general had raised up with many nations!

After that, Valentinian again succeeded to his empire, and two years after, when he came into Gaul, Arbogastes, his officer, smothered him, and afterwards hung him up by the neck with ropes, as if he had voluntarily strangled himself; and placed Eugenius to be emperor with the name of the sovereignty, and he himself succeeded to the power, because he could not himself have the name of the [supreme] power, in consequence of not being a Roman; but taught the other to be a zealous worshiper of idols. Thereupon Theodosius led an army against them both, to the same pass that he had formerly gained against Maximus. Theodosius then sent a force of Goths before him to take the pass, but they were surrounded from the mountains and all slain: they were ten thousand. Thereupon Theodosius marched thitherward, and knew that they would circumvent him by the same artifice. When they were in face of each other, Eugenius and Arbogastes thought they could drive them from the mountains with the shootings of their arrows; but every one came either on themselves or on the earth; and Theodosius had the wind

mæſtne ælcne heoꝛa ꝼlana on heoꝛa ꝼeondum aꝼæſtnian :. Ðæꝛ ꝼeaꝛð Euȝeniuſ oꝼſlaȝen. ⁊ Aꝛboȝæſteſ oꝼſtanȝ hine ſýlꝼne :. Æꝼteꝛ þam Theodoſiuſ ꝼoꝛ on Italie. ⁊ þa he com to Mæȝelanȝe þæꝛe býꝛiȝ. þa ȝeendode he hiſ liꝼ. ⁊ betæhte hiſ tꝼam ſunum þone anꝼealð :.

XXXVII.

Æꝼteꝛ þam þe Romebuꝛh ȝetimbꝛeð ꝼæſ M̄. ꝼintꝛa ⁊ c. ⁊ xlix. ꝼenȝ Aꝛchadiuſ to anꝼealde to ðam eaſt-dæle. ⁊ hine hæꝼde xii. ȝeaꝛ. ⁊ Honoꝛiuſ to þam ꝼeſt-dæle. ⁊ nu ȝit hæꝼð. cꝼæð Oꝛoſiuſ :.

And ꝼoꝛþam þe hi ȝeonȝe ꝼæꝛon. he hi betæhte hiſ tꝼam ealdoꝛmannum to beꝼitanne. Aꝛchadiuſ ꝼæſ betæht Ruꝼinuſe. ⁊ Honoꝛiuſ ꝼæſ betæht Stilecan :. Ac hi ȝecýðdon ꝛaðe þæſ hꝼilce hlaꝼoꝛð-hýldo hi þohton to cýþanne on heoꝛa ealð hlaꝼoꝛdeſ beaꝛnum. ȝiꝼ hi hit þuꝛhteon mihton :. Ruꝼinuſ ꝼolde habban him ſýlꝼ þone anꝼealð þæꝛ eaſt. ⁊ Stileca ꝼolde ſýllan hiſ ſuna þiſne heꝛ ꝼeſt :. And ꝼoꝛ þam ꝼeondſcipe he ꝼoꝛlet Lotan on Italie. mid heoꝛa tꝼam cýninȝum. Alꝛican ⁊ Ræðȝotan. ⁊ þohte ſiððon ꝥ ꝼolc oꝼeꝛꝼunden ꝼæꝛe. ꝥ hi ſiððon ꝼoldon eall ꝥ he ꝼolde. ⁊ ꝼende eac ꝥ he þam Lotan þæſ ȝeꝼinneſ mihte ꝛaðe ȝeſtýꝛan. ꝼoꝛþam he oꝼ heoꝛa lande ȝeboꝛen ꝼæſ :. Raðe þæſ Alaꝛica ꝼeaꝛð cꝛiſten. ⁊ Ræðȝota hæðen þuꝛhꝼunode. ⁊ dæȝhꝼamlice ꝼæſ blotende deoꝼulȝýldum mid manſlihtum. ⁊ ſimle him ꝼæſ leoꝼoſt. ꝥ þa ꝼæꝛon Romaniſce :.

Nu ȝit eoꝼ Romane mæȝ ȝeſcamian. cꝼæð. Oꝛoſiuſ. ꝥ ȝe ſꝼa heanlic ȝeþoht ſceoldon on eoꝼ ȝeniman. ꝼoꝛ aneſ manneſ eȝe. ⁊ ꝼoꝛ aneſ manneſ ȝeblote. þe ȝe ſæðan ꝥ þa hæðenan tida ꝼæꝛon beteꝛan þonne þa cꝛiſtenan. ⁊ eac ꝥ eoꝼ ſýlꝼum ꝼæꝛe beteꝛe ꝥ ȝe eoꝼeꝛne cꝛiſtendom ꝼoꝛleton. ⁊ to þam hæðeniſcean þeaꝼum ꝼenȝan. þe eoꝼꝛe ýldꝛan æꝛ beeodon :. Le maȝon eac ȝeðencean hu hean he eꝼt ꝼeaꝛð hiſ ȝeblota ⁊ hiſ deoꝼulȝýlda. þe he on lýꝼde. þaþa ȝe hine ȝebundenne hæꝼdan ⁊ hine ſiððon atuȝon ſꝼa ſꝼa ȝe ꝼoldon. ⁊ ealne hiſ ꝼultum. þæt ꝼæſ. ſꝼa ſꝼa ȝe ſýlꝼe ſæðon. tꝼa hundꝛeð þuſend. ſꝼa eoꝼeꝛ nan ne ꝼeaꝛð ȝeꝼundoð :.

with him, so that his force could fasten almost every one of their arrows on their enemies. There was Eugenius slain, and Arbogastes stabbed himself. After that, Theodosius proceeded to Italy, and when he came to the city of Milan, he ended his life, and committed the power to his two sons.

XXXVII.

After Rome had been built a thousand and one hundred and forty-nine years, Arcadius succeeded to the dominion of the east part, and had it twelve years; and Honorius to the west part, and yet has it, says Orosius.

And because they were young, he [Theodosius] committed them to the guardianship of his two officers: Arcadius was committed to Rufinus, and Honorius was committed to Stilicho. But they soon after made manifest what lordly homage they intended to pay to the children of their old master, if they could accomplish it. Rufinus would have for himself the dominion of the east, and Stilicho would give his son that of the west. And in consequence of this enmity, he let the Goths remain in Italy, with their two kings, Alaric and Rhadagaisus, thinking that after the people were overcome, they would all that he would; and imagined also that he might speedily check the Goths in their war, because he was born of their country. Shortly after, Alaric became a Christian, but Rhadagaisus continued a heathen, and daily sacrificed to idols with man-slayings, and it was always most desirable to him that they were Romans.

Now may ye Romans be ashamed, says Orosius, that ye should have harboured so disgraceful a thought, from fear of one man, and from one man's sacrifices, as to say that the heathen times were better than the Christian; and also that for yourselves it were better to renounce your Christianity, and adopt the heathen practices that your forefathers formerly cultivated. Ye may also bear in mind how humble he was afterwards with his sacrifices and his idols, among which he had lived, when ye had him bound, and then treated him as ye liked, and all his force, which was, as ye yourselves said, two hundred thousand, so that not one of you was wounded.

XXXVIII.

Æfter þam þe Romeburh getimbred wæs M̄. wintra ⁊ c. ⁊ Lxiiii. Lod gedyde his miltsunge on Romanum. þaþa he heora misdæda wrecan let. ꝥ hit þeah dyde Alrica. se cristenesta cyning ⁊ se mildesta. ⁊ he mid swa lytlum niðe abræc Romeburh. ꝥ he bebeað ꝥ man nanne man ne sloge. ⁊ eac ꝥ man nanuht ne wanode ne ne ȳfelode. þæs þe on þam cyricum wære. ⁊ sona þæs. on ðam ðriddan dæge. hi geforan ut of þære byrig heora agenum willan. swa þær ne weard nan hus heora willan forbærned :·

Ðær genam Hettulf. Alrican mæg. Honoriuses sweostor þæs cyninges. ⁊ siððon wið hine geþingode. ⁊ hi him to wife genam :· Siþþon sætan þa Lotan þær on lande. sume be þæs casenes willan. sume his unwillan. sume hi foran on Ispanie. ⁊ þær gesætan. sume on Affrice :·

Her endað seo vi. boc :·

XXXVIII.

After Rome had been built a thousand and one hundred and sixty-four years, God bestowed his mercy on the Romans, when he let their misdeeds be punished, and yet Alaric did it, the most Christian and most clement king; and he with so little enmity took Rome, that he commanded that no one should be slain, and also that nothing should be impaired or damaged that was in the churches. And immediately after, on the third day, they marched out of the city of their own accord, so that there was not a house wilfully burnt.

There Ataulf, the kinsman of Alaric, took the sister of the king Honorius, and afterwards made a treaty with him, and took her to wife. Afterwards the Goths settled in the land there, some with the emperor's will, some against his will; some went to Spain, and there settled, some to Africa.

Here ends the sixth book.

CONTENTS OF OROSIUS

LIB. I.

PAGE

I. URE ýlðran ealne ðýsne ýmbhþýrft on ðreo toðældon 238

II. Þu Ninus Assýria kýningc ongan manna ærest ric-
sian on ðýsum miððang. ⁊ hu Sameramis his cþen
feng to þæm rice æfter him. mið mýcelre fæstnesse
⁊ þrænnesse 262

III. Þu þæt heofonlice fýr forbærnðe þæt land. on þæm
þæron þa tþa býrig on getimbreð. Sodome ⁊ Go-
morre 264

IV. Þu Telesci ⁊ Liarfaði. þa leoðe. him betþeonum
þunnan 266

V. Þu Ioseph se rihtþisa mon ahreðde Egýpta folc
æt þæm seofon gearon miclan hungre mið his

BOOK I.

I. Our forefathers divided all this world into three . 239

II. How Ninus, king of Assyria, began first of men to rule in this world; and how Semiramis, his queen, succeeded to the kingdom after him, with great firmness and lewdness (Oros. lib. i. cap. 4) . 263

III. How heavenly fire burnt the land, on which were built the two cities, Sodom and Gomorrah (Oros. i. 5) 265

IV. How the nations of the Telchines and Carpathii made war with each other (Oros. i. 7) . . . 267

V. How the upright man Joseph saved the Egyptian people, in the seven years of great famine, by his

PAGE

ꝑiſdome. ⁊ hu hi ſiddan þone ꝑiſtan dæl ealꝛa hiꝛa ꝑæſtma hýꝛa kýninge to gaſole geſýllad æſteꝛ hiſ geſetneſſe 266

VI. Þu on Achiae ꝑeaꝛð micel ꝑlod on Ambictioniſ dagum þæſ cýningeſ 268

VII. Þu Moýſeſ lædde Iſꝛahela ꝑolc ꝑꝛom Ægýptum oꝑeꝛ done Readan ſæ 270

VIII. Þu on Egýptum ꝑuꝛdon on anꝛe niht L. manna oꝑſlagen ꝑꝛam heoꝛa agnum ſunum. ⁊ hu Boſiꝛidiſ ſe cýning het don to geblote ealle ða cuman ðe hine geſohton. ⁊ ýmb manegꝛa oðꝛa ꝑolca geꝑin . 272

IX. Þu Lꝛetenſe ⁊ Atheniense. Lꝛeca leode. him betꝑeonum ꝑunnon 276

X. Þu Veſogeſ Egýpta kýning ꝑolde him to geteon done ſuð dæl. þæt [iſ] Aſia. ge þone noꝛð dæl. þæt ſind Sciððie. ⁊ hu tꝑegen æþelingaſ ꝑuꝛdon aꝑlýmde oꝑ Sciðþium. ⁊ ýmbe ða ꝑiꝑ þe man het Amazonaſ. ⁊ ýmbe þa Lotan þe him ꝑoꝛe ondꝛedon ge Piꝛꝛuſ ſe ꝛeþa Lꝛeca kýning. ge ſe Mæꝛa Alexandeꝛ. ge Iuliuſ ſe Laſeꝛe 276

XI. Þu Elena þæſ cýningeſ ꝑiꝑ ꝑeaꝛð genumen on Læcedemonium þæꝛe býꝛig. ⁊ hu Eneaſ ſe cýning ꝑoꝛ mid ꝑýꝛde on Italie 282

I. Þu Saꝛdanapoluſ ꝑæſ ſe ſiðmeſta kýning in Aſſýꝛia. ⁊ hu hine beſꝑac Aꝛbatuſ hiſ ealdoꝛman. ⁊ hu þa ꝑiꝑmen biſmꝛedon hieꝛa ꝑeꝛaſ þa hie ꝑleon ꝑoldon. ⁊ hu ſe aꝛ-geoteꝛe geꝑoꝛhte aneſ ꝑeaꝛꝛeſ anlicneſſe þæm æþelinge 282

XIII. Þu Pelopenſium ⁊ Atheniencium þa ꝑolc him betꝑeonum ꝑunnon 286

XIV. Þu Læcedemonie ⁊ Meſſiane him betꝑeonum ꝑunnon ꝑoꝛ hieꝛa mægdena oꝑꝑꝛunga 288

LIB. II.

I. Þu Oꝛoſiuſ ſæde þæt uꝛe Dꝛihten done æꝛeſtan man ſꝑiðe ꝛihtne ⁊ ſꝑiðe godne geſceop. ⁊ ýmb þa ꝑeoꝑeꝛ anꝑaldaſ þiſſeſ middang 290

PAGE
wisdom; and how they afterwards, after his institution, give to their king, as tribute, the fifth part of all their fruits (Oros. i. 8) 267
VI. How in Achaia there was a great flood, in the days of Amphictyon the king (Oros. i. 9) . . . 269
VII. How Moses led the people of Israel from Egypt over the Red Sea (Oros. i. 10) 271
VIII. How in Egypt, in one night, fifty men were slain by their own sons; and how Busiris the king commanded all the strangers who visited him to be sacrificed; and concerning the wars of many other nations (Oros. i. 11) 273
IX. How the Cretans and Athenians, Greek nations, made war between them (Oros. i. 13) . . . 277
X. How Vesoges, king of Egypt, would acquire for himself both the south part, that [is] Asia, and the north part, that is, Scythia; and how two princes were expelled from Scythia; and concerning the women who were called Amazons; and concerning the Goths, of whom stood in dread Pyrrhus, the fierce Grecian king, and the Great Alexander, and Julius the Cæsar (Oros. i. 14) 277
XI. How Helen, the king's wife, was taken from the city of Lacedæmon; and how Eneas, the king, went with an army to Italy (Oros. i. 17) . . . 283
XII. How Sardanapalus was the last king of Assyria, and how Arbaces, his viceroy, deceived him; and how the women reproached their husbands, when they would flee; and how the brassfounder wrought a bull's likeness for the prince (Oros. i. 19) . . 283
XIII. How the Peloponesian and Athenian nations warred with each other (Oros. i. 21) . . . 287
XIV. How the Lacedæmonians and Messenians warred with each other, on account of the maidens' sacrifices (Oros. i. 21) 289

BOOK II.

I. How Orosius said that our Lord created the first man very just and very good; and of the four powers of this world (Oros. ii. 1) 291

PAGE

II. Þu Remuſ ⁊ Romuluſ þa ȝebrioþra Romana burh ȝetimbreðon on Italium 294

III. Þu Romuluſ ⁊ Brutuſ mið hwelcum mane hi ȝehalȝoðan Roma. 298

IV. Þu Romane ⁊ Sabine him betweonum wunnon. ⁊ hu Lýruſ weard oſſlaȝen on Sciððium 300

V. Þu Lambýreſ ſe cýninȝ ſorſeah þa Eȝýptiſcan ðeoſolȝýlð. ⁊ ýmbe Dariuſeſ ȝewin. ⁊ Xerxiſ. ⁊ Leoniðan . 306

VI. Þu Romanum weard an wundor oðewed ſwelce ſe heoſon burne 314

VII. Þu Sicilia leoðe wæron him betweonum winnende . 318

VIII. Þu Romane beſæton Ueiorum þa burh týn winter. ⁊ hu Lallie or Senno abræcon Romeburh . 318

LIB. III.

I. Þu ſio biſmerlice ſib ⁊ ſacenlice wearþ betweonum Læceðemonium ⁊ Perſum 322

II. Þu on Achiæ weard eorðbeoſunȝ 328

III. Þu ſe micla man-cwealm weard on Rome on twegra conſula dæȝe. ⁊ hu Marcuſ Lurtiuſ beſceat on ða ȝýniendan eorðan 328

IV. Þu Lallie oſerherȝoðon Romana land oð þreo mila to þære býriȝ 330

V. Þu Lartaine ærendracan comon to Rome. ⁊ him ſrið ȝebuðon 332

VI. Þu Romane ⁊ Latine wunnon him betweonum. ⁊ hu an nunne weard cuco bebýrȝeð 334

VII. Þu Alexander ſe kýninȝ wan wið Romanum. þæſ maran Alexandreſ eam. ⁊ hu Philippuſ þæſ maran Alexandreſ ſæðer ſenȝ to Mæceðonie rice. ⁊ he him ȝeceaſ Bizantium þa burh 336

VIII. Þu Laudeneſ Furculuſ ſio ſtow weard ſwiðe wiðmære ſor Romana biſmere 346

PAGE

II. How the brothers, Remus and Romulus, built the city of Rome in Italy (Oros. ii. 4) 295
III. How Romulus and Brutus, with what crime they hallowed Rome (Oros. ii. 5) 299
IV. How the Romans and Sabines warred with each other; and how Cyrus was slain in Syria (Oros. ii. 5—7) 301
V. How Cambyses the king despised the Egyptian idols; and of Darius's war, and of Xerxes and Leonidas (Oros. ii. 8—12) 307
VI. How a prodigy appeared to the Romans, as if the heavens were burning (Oros. ii. 12) 315
VII. How the Sicilian people warred with each other (Oros. ii. 15—18) 319
VIII. How the Romans besieged the city of the Veii for ten years; and how the Gauls of Sena took Rome (Oros. ii. 19) 319

BOOK III.

I. How the disgraceful and insidious peace was between the Lacedæmonians and Persians (Oros. iii. 1, 2) . 323
II. How there was an earthquake in Achaia (Oros. iii. 3) 329
III. How there was a great mortality at Rome in the days of the two consuls, and how Marcus Curtius precipitated himself into the yawning earth (Oros. iii. 4) 329
IV. How the Gauls ravaged the lands of the Romans to within three miles of the city (Oros. iii. 6) . 331
V. How Carthaginian messengers came to Rome, and proposed peace to them (Oros. iii. 7, 8) . . 333
VI. How the Romans and Latins warred with each other; and how a nun (vestal) was buried alive (Oros. iii. 9, 10) 335
VII. How Alexander the king, uncle of Alexander the Great, warred against the Romans; and how Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, succeeded to the kingdom of Macedon, and chose for himself the city of Byzantium (Oros. iii. 11—14) 339
VIII. How the place Caudinæ Furculæ was greatly famed for the disgrace of the Romans (Oros. iii. 15) 347

PAGE

IX. Þu ſe Mæra Alexanðer ſenz to Mæceðonia rice. ⁊ hu he het ſumne biſceop ſecȝan on hiſ ȝeþill hþa hiſ ſæðer þære. ⁊ hu he Darium þone kýninȝ oferþan. ⁊ hu he ſýlf þearð mið attre acþealð 350

X. Þu unðer tþam conſulum þolðon ſeoþer þa ſtrenȝeſtan þeoða Romane oferþinnan. ⁊ hu ſe micla man-cþealm ȝeþearð on Rome. ⁊ hu hi him heton ȝeſeccan to Eſcolapiuſ þone ſcinlacan mið þære ſcinlacan næððran 362

XI. Þu unðer tþam conſulum þurðon Somnite ⁊ Lallie of Senno þære býriȝ Romanum þiðerþinnan. ⁊ hu Alexanðreſ heretoȝan hýra liſ on unſibbe ȝeenðeðon æfter Alexanðreſ ðeaðe 366

LIB. IV.

I. Þu Tarentine ȝeſaþon Romana ſcipo on ðam ſæ ýrnan. þa hi pleȝeðon on hýra theatrum . . 378

II. Þu þa maneȝan ýflan þunðor þurðon on Rome. . 384

III. Þu man ȝeſeah rinan meolc of heoſonum. ⁊ þeallan bloð of eorðan 386

IV. Þu on Romane becom mýcel man-cþealm. ⁊ hu Laperone ſio nunne þearð ahanȝen. ⁊ hu þa burhleoðe on Lartaina bliotan men hira ȝoðum . . . 388

V. Þu Himelco. Lartaina cýninȝ. for mið fýrðe on Sicilie. ⁊ hu Hanna an man þæſ anþalðeſ ȝýrnenðe. ⁊ hu Lartaine hierðon ꝥ ſe Mæra Alexanðer hæfðe abroken Tirum þa burh 390

VI. Þu Sicilia folc ⁊ Pena þunnon him betþeonum. ⁊ hu Romane beſæton Hannibalan Pena kýninȝ. ⁊ hu Lalatinuſ ſe conſul for mið fýrðe to Lamerinan. Sicilia býriȝ. ⁊ hu Punice ȝeſetton eft þone ealðan Hannibalan þæt he mið ſcýpum þið Romane þunne. ⁊ hu Romane foron on Affrice mið þrim hund ſcýpa ⁊ mið þritiȝan. ⁊ hu Reȝuluſ ſe conſul offloh þa un-

PAGE

IX. How Alexander the Great succeeded to the kingdom of Macedon, and how he commanded a priest to say, according to his will, who his father was, and how he overcame Darius the king, and how he himself was killed by poison (Oros. iii. 16—19) . 351

X. How under the two consuls, four most powerful nations would overcome the Romans; and how the great mortality was in Rome; and how they ordered the image of Æsculapius to be fetched to them, with the idol serpent (Oros. iii. 21, 22) . . . 363

XI. How under the two consuls, the Samnites and Gauls of Sena were adversaries of the city of Rome; and how Alexander's generals ended their lives in strife after Alexander's death (Oros. iii. 22, 23) . . 367

BOOK IV.

I. How the Tarentines saw Roman ships running on the sea, while they were playing in their theatre (Oros. iv. 1—3) 379

II. How there were many evil prodigies in Rome (Oros. iv. 4) 385

III. How it was seen to rain milk from heaven, and blood to bubble from the earth (Oros. iv. 5) . . 387

IV. How a great mortality came on Rome; and how Capparonia the nun (vestal) was hanged; and how the inhabitants of Carthage sacrificed men to their gods (Oros. iv. 5, 6) 389

V. How Himilcar, king of Carthage, went with an army to Sicily; and how a man [named] Hanno was desirous of power; and how the Carthaginians heard that Alexander the Great had taken Tyre (Oros. iv. 6) 391

VI. How the people of Sicily and the Carthaginians warred with each other; and how the Romans besieged Annibal, the Carthaginian king; and how the consul Calatinus went with an army to Camerina, a city of Sicily; and how the Carthaginians again appointed the elder Annibal to war against the Romans with ships; and how the Romans went to Africa with three hundred and thirty ships; and

PAGE

ȝemetlican næddran. ⁊ hu Reȝulus ȝefeaht wið þrý Pena cýninȝas on anum ȝefeohte. ⁊ hu Emilius se consul for on Affrican mid þrim hund scýpa. ⁊ hu Lotta se consul oferherȝode Sicilie. Þu tweȝen consulas foron on Affrice mid þrim hund scipa. ond hu on þreora consula dæȝe com Hasterbal se niwa kýninȝ to Libeum þam iȝlande. ⁊ hu Claudius se consul for eft on Punice. ⁊ hu Laius se consul for on Affrice. ⁊ on þam sæ forweard. ⁊ hu Lutatia se consul for on Affrice mid þrim hund scipa . . 394

VII. Þu se unȝemetlica fýr-brýne weard on Rome. ⁊ hu Gallie wurdon Romanum wiðerwearde. ⁊ hu Sardinie wunnon on Romanum swa hi Pene ȝelærdon. ⁊ hu Orosius sæde ꝥ he wære cumen to þam ȝodan tidum þe Romane eft foreȝulpon. ⁊ hu Gallie wunnon on Romane. ⁊ Pene on oðre healfe. ⁊ hu tweȝen cónsulas fuhton on Gallium. ⁊ hu mæniȝ wundor wæron ȝeseȝen. ⁊ hu Claudius se consul ofsloh Gallia xxx. M̄. 404

VIII. Þu Hannibal Pena cýninȝ besæt Saȝuntum. Ispania burh. ⁊ hu Hannibal Pena cýninȝ abræc ofer Pirenei þa beorȝas. ⁊ hu Scipio se consul ȝefeaht on Ispanium. ⁊ hu manie wundor ȝewurdon on ðære tide 408

IX. Þu Hannibal beswac tweȝen consulas on hira ȝefeohte. ⁊ hu Romane him ȝesetton tictator ⁊ Scipian to consule. ⁊ hu Romane sendon Lucius þone consul on Gallie mid þrim leȝion 412

X. Þu Marcellus se consul for mid sciphere on Sicilie. ⁊ hu Hannibal ȝefeaht wið Marcellus þone consul þrý daȝas. ⁊ hu Hannibal bestæl on Marcellus þone consul ⁊ hine ofsloh. ⁊ hu Hasterbal. Hannibales broðor. for of Ispanium on Italie. ⁊ hu Lartainum weard frið alýfed fram Scipiam þam consule . . 416

XI. Þu Romana æftere ȝewin weard ȝeendod. ⁊ hu Sem-

PAGE

how Regulus, the consul, slew the huge serpent; and how Regulus fought against three Punic kings in one battle; and how Æmilius, the consul, went to Africa with three hundred ships; and how Cotta, the consul, ravaged Sicily; how the two consuls went to Africa with three hundred ships; and how in the days of the three consuls, Asdrubal, the new king, came to the island of Lilybæum; and how Claudius, the consul, went again to Carthage; and how Caius, the consul, went to Africa, and perished at sea; and how Lutatius, the consul, went to Africa with three hundred ships (Oros. iv. 7—11) . 395

VII. How an immense conflagration happened at Rome; and how the Gauls were hostile to the Romans; and how the Sardinians warred against the Romans, as the Carthaginians had instructed them; and how Orosius said that he was come to the good times of which the Romans boasted; and how the Gauls warred on the Romans, and the Carthaginians on another side; and how the two consuls fought in Gaul; and how many prodigies were seen; and how Claudius, the consul, slew thirty thousand Gauls (Oros. iv. 11—13) 405

VIII. How Annibal, king of the Carthaginians, besieged Saguntum, a city of Spain; and how Annibal, king of the Carthaginians, forced a way over the Pyrenæan mountains; and how the consul Scipio fought in Spain; and how there were many prodigies at that time (Oros. iv. 14—16) . . 409

IX. How Annibal overreached the two consuls in their war; and how the Romans appointed a dictator, and Scipio for consul; and how the Romans sent Lucius, the consul, to Gaul with three legions (Oros. iv. 16) 413

X. How Marcellus, the consul, went with a fleet to Sicily; and how Annibal fought against the consul Marcellus for three days; and how Annibal stole on the consul Marcellus and slew him; and how Asdrubal, Annibal's brother, marched from Spain to Italy; and how peace was granted to Carthage by Scipio, the consul (Oros. iv. 17—19) . . 417

XI. How the second war of the Romans was ended;

PAGE

ꝑꝓonıuꝛ ꝛe conꝛul ꝑeaꝛð oꝼꝼlazen on Iꝛꝑanıa. ⁊ hu Philippuꝛ Mæceꝺonıa cỳnınz oꝼꝼloh Romana æꝑenꝺꝑacan. ⁊ hu ꝑæt Mæceꝺonıꝛce zeꝑın zeꝑeaꝛð. ⁊ hu Emılıuꝛ ꝛe conꝛul oꝑeꝑꝑan Peꝑꝛuꝛ ꝑone cỳnınz. . 424

XII. Þu Romanum ꝑeaꝛð ꝛe mæꝛꝛta eze ꝼꝑam Sceltıꝑeꝑum Iꝛꝑanıa ꝑolce. 430

XIII. Þu ꝑæt ꝑꝓıꝺꝺe zeꝑın ꝑeaꝛð zeenꝺoꝺ Romana ⁊ Lapꝛaına kỳnınzeꝛ 432

LIB. V.

I. Þu Oꝛoꝛıuꝛ ꝛꝓꝛæc ỳmb Romana zỳlp. hu hı maneza ꝑolc oꝑeꝑꝑunnan. ⁊ hu hı maneza kỳnınzaꝛ beꝑoꝛan hıoꝑa tꝛıumꝑhan ꝑıð Romeꝑeꝑ bꝛıꝛon . . . 434

II. Þu on anum zeaꝛe ꝑuꝑꝺon ꝑa tꝛa bỳꝛız toꝑoꝑꝑene. Lapꝛaına ⁊ Loꝑınthum. ⁊ hu Feꝑıaꝛuꝛ ꝛe hỳꝑꝺe onzan ꝑıcꝑıan on Iꝛꝑanıum. ⁊ hu Llauꝺıuꝛ ꝛe conꝛul zeꝼlỳmꝺe Lallıe. ⁊ hu Mancınuꝛ ꝛe conꝛul zenam ꝼꝑıꝺ ꝑıð Iꝛꝑanıe. ⁊ hu Bꝛuꝺuꝛ ꝛe conꝛul oꝼꝼloh Iꝛꝑanıa ꝛỳxtız M. manna. ⁊ hu an cılꝺ ꝑeaꝛð zeboꝑen on Rome 436

III. Þu Romane ꝛenꝺon Scıꝑıan on Iꝛꝑanıa mıꝺ ꝼỳꝑꝺe ⁊ hu Lnaccuꝛ ꝛe conꝛul ꝑan ꝑıð ꝑa oðꝛe conꝛulaꝛ. oð hı hıne oꝼꝼlozan. ⁊ hu ꝑa ꝑeoꝑaꝛ ꝑunnon ꝑỳð ꝑa hlaꝼoꝑꝺaꝛ 440

IV. Þu Lucınıuꝛ ꝛe conꝛul. ꝛeꝑe eac ꝑæꝛ Romana ỳlꝺeꝛta bıꝛceoꝑ. ꝼoꝛ mıꝺ ꝼỳꝑꝺe onzean Apıꝛtonıcuꝛe ꝑam kỳnınze. ⁊ hu Antıochuꝛ. Aꝛıa cỳnınz. ꝑılnoꝺe Paꝛtha anꝑalꝺeꝛ. ⁊ hu Scıꝑıa. ꝛe beꝛꝛta Romana ꝑezn. mænꝺe hıꝛ eaꝛꝼeꝑu to Romana ꝑỳtum. ⁊ hu Etna ꝑỳꝛ up-aꝛleoꝑ 444

V. Þu Romana heton eꝛt zetımbꝑıan Lapꝛaına. ⁊ hu ꝛe conꝛul Metelluꝛ oꝑeꝑꝑann ꝑa ꝑıcınzaꝛ . . . 446

VI. Þu Fauıuꝛ ꝛe conꝛul oꝑeꝑcom Beꝛꝑıtuꝛan Lallıa cỳnınz 446

PAGE

and how the consul Sempronius was slain in Spain; and how Philip, king of Macedon, slew the Roman envoys; and how the Macedonian war took place; and how Æmilius, the consul, overcame Perseus, the king (Oros. iv. 20) 425

XII. How the Romans were in the greatest fear from the Celtiberians, a Spanish people (Oros. iv. 21) . 431

XIII. How the third war was ended of the Romans and the king of Carthage (Oros. iv. 22, 23) . . . 433

BOOK V.

I. How Orosius spoke of the Romans' vaunt of how many nations they had overcome, and how many kings they drove before their triumph towards Rome (Oros. v. 1) 435

II. How in one year the two cities, Carthage and Corinth, were destroyed; and how Viriathus, the shepherd, began to rule in Spain; and how Claudius, the consul, put the Gauls to flight; and how Mancinus, the consul, made peace with Spain; and how Brutus, the consul, slew sixty thousand men in Spain; and how a child was born at Rome (Oros. v. 3—7) 437

III. How the Romans sent Scipio to Spain with an army; and how Gracchus, the consul, warred against the other consuls, until they slew him; and how the serfs warred against the lords (Oros. v. 7—9) 441

IV. How Licinius the consul, who was also chief priest of the Romans, went with an army against Aristonicus the king; and how Antiochus, king of Asia, craved the dominion of Parthia; and how Scipio, the best officer of the Romans, bewailed his hardships to the Roman senators; and how fire flowed up from Etna (Oros. v. 10, 11) . . . 445

V. How the Romans commanded Carthage to be rebuilt; and how the consul Metellus overcame the pirates (Oros. v. 12, 13) 447

VI. How Fabius, the consul, overcame Bituitus, king of the Gauls (Oros. v. 14) 447

PAGE

VII. Þu Romane ꝑunnon ꝑið Leoꝑýꝑðan Numeðia cýning 448

VIII. Þu Romane ȝeꝼuhton ꝑið Limbꝑoꝼ. ⁊ ꝑið Teutonaꝼ. anð ꝑið Ambꝑonaꝼ 450

IX. Þu Romane aȝunnan unꝼibbe him betꝑeonan upahebban. on þam ꝼiꝼtan ȝeaꝑe þe Maꝑiuꝼ ꝑæꝼ conꝼul 452

X. Þu oꝼeꝑ ealle Italie ꝑeaꝑð unȝeꝼeꝑlic unꝼib on þam ꝼýxtan ȝeaꝑe þe Iuliuꝼ ꝼe Laꝼeꝑe ꝑæꝼ conꝼul . . 452

XI. Þu Romane ꝼenðon Sillan þone conꝼul onȝean Metꝑiðateꝼ Paꝑtha cýning 454

XII. Þu Romane ꝼealðon Iuliuꝼe þam conꝼule ꝼýꝼan leȝion. ⁊ hu Iuliuꝼ beꝼæt Toꝑcꝑatuꝼ Pompeiuꝼ latteoꝑ on anum ꝼæꝼtene. ⁊ hu Iuliuꝼ ȝeꝼeaht ꝑið Phtolomeuꝼ þꝑiꝑa 458

XIII. Þu Octavianuꝼ ꝼenȝ to Romana anꝑalðe hýꝑa unꝑillum 462

XIV. Þu Octavianuꝼ ꝼe Laꝼeꝑe betýnðe Ianeꝼ ðuꝑu . 466

XV. Þu ꝼume Iꝼꝑanie leoðe ꝑæꝑon Aȝuꝼtuꝼe ꝑiðeꝑꝑinnan 468

LIB. VI.

I. Þu Oꝑoꝼiuꝼ ꝑæꝼ ꝼꝑꝑecenðe ýmbe þa ꝼeoꝑeꝑ anꝑalðaꝼ þaꝑa ꝼeoꝑeꝑ heaꝼoð-ꝑica þiꝼꝼeꝼ miððanȝeaꝑðeꝼ . 470

II. Þu Tibeꝑiuꝼ ꝼenȝ to Romana anꝑealðe. ꝼe caꝼeꝑe æꝼteꝑ Aȝuꝼtuꝼ 472

III. Þu Laiuꝼ ꝑeaꝑð caꝼeꝑe ꝼeoꝑeꝑ ȝeaꝑ . . . 474

IV. Þu Tibeꝑiuꝼ Llauðiuꝼ ꝼenȝ to Romana anꝑalðe . 476

V. Þu Neꝑo ꝼenȝ to Romana anꝑalðe 478

VI. Þu Lalꝼa ꝼenȝ to Romana anꝑalðe. ꝼe caꝼeꝑe . . 478

VII. Þu Feꝼꝑaꝼianuꝼ ꝼenȝ to Romana anꝑalðe . . 480

PAGE
VII. How the Romans warred against Jugurtha, king of Numidia (Oros. v. 15) 449
VIII. How the Romans fought against the Cimbri, and against the Teutones, and against the Ambrones (Oros. v. 16) 451
IX. How the Romans began to raise up dissension among themselves, in the fifth year that Marius was consul (Oros. v. 17) 453
X. How over all Italy there was an unnatural war in the sixth year that Julius Cæsar was consul (Oros. v. 18) 453
XI. How the Romans sent the consul Sylla against Mithridates, king of the Parthians (Oros. v. 19, 20; vi. 4, 6) 455
XII. How the Romans gave Julius, the consul, seven legions; and how Julius besieged Torquatus, Pompey's general, in a fortress; and how Julius fought thrice against Ptolemy (Oros. vi. 7, 9, 16, 17) 459
XIII. How Octavianus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans without their consent (Oros. vi. 18, 19) 463
XIV. How Octavianus Cæsar closed the door of Janus (Oros. vi. 20) 467
XV. How some Spanish nations were adversaries to Augustus (Oros. vi. 21, 22) 469

BOOK VI.

I. How Orosius was speaking about the four powers of the four chief empires of this world (Oros. vi. 1; vii. 3) 471
II. How Tiberius succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, the emperor after Augustus (Oros. vii. 4) 473
III. How Caius was emperor four years (Oros. vii. 5) . 475
IV. How Tiberius Claudius succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 6) 477
V. How Nero succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 7) 479
VI. How the Emperor Galba succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 8) 479
VII. How Vespasian succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 9) 481

PAGE

VIII. Þu Titus fenz to Romana anþalde . 480

IX. Þu Domitianus. Tituses broðor. fenz to Romana anþalde 480

X. Þu Nerua fenz to Romana anþalde . . . 482

XI. Þu Adrianus fenz to Romana anþalde . . . 482

XII. Þu Pompeius fenz to Romana anþalde . . . 484

XIII. Þu Marcus Antonius fenz to Romana anþalde mid Aurelius his breðer 484

XIV. Þu Lucius fenz to Romana anþalde . . . 486

XV. Þu Seuerus fenz to Romana anþalde . . . 486

XVI. Þu his sunu fenz to rice Antonius . . . 486

XVII. Þu Marcus fenz to Romana anþalde . . . 488

XVIII. Þu Aurelius fenz to Romana anþalde . . 488

XIX. Þu Maximus fenz to Romana anþalde . . 488

XX. Þu Lordianus fenz to Romana anþalde . . 488

XXI. Þu Philippus fenz to Romana rice . . . 488

XXII. Þu Decius fenz to Romana rice . . . 490

XXIII. Þu Lallus fenz to Romana rice . . . 490

XXIV. Þu Romane zesetton tþezen caseras . . 490

XXV. Þu Llaudius fenz to Romana rice . . . 492

XXVI. Þu Aurelius fenz to Romana rice . . 492

XXVII. Þu Tacitus fenz to Romana rice . . . 494

XXVIII. Þu Probus fenz to Romana rice . . . 494

PAGE
VIII. How Titus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 9) 481
IX. How Domitian, Titus' brother, succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 10) . . 481
X. How Nerva succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 11) 483
XI. How Hadrian succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 13) 483
XII. How Pompeius [Antoninus] succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 14) . . . 485
XIII. How Marcus Antoninus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans, with his brother Aurelius (Oros. vii. 15) 485
XIV. How Lucius succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 16) 487
XV. How Severus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 17) 487
XVI. How his son, Antoninus, succeeded to the empire (Oros. vii. 18) 487
XVII. How Marcus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 18) 489
XVIII. How Aurelius succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 18) 489
XIX. How Maximinus succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 19) 489
XX. How Gordian succeeded to the dominion of the Romans (Oros. vii. 19) 489
XXI. How Philip succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 20) 489
XXII. How Decius succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 21) 491
XXIII. How Gallus succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 21) 491
XXIV. How the Romans appointed two emperors (Oros. vii. 22) 491
XXV. How Claudius succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 23) 493
XXVI. How Aurelius succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 23) 493
XXVII. How Tacitus succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 24) 495
XXVIII. How Probus succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 24) 495

PAGE
XXIX. Þu Laꞃuſ ꝼenʒ to Romana ꞃice . . . 494
XXX. Þu Dioclетianuſ ꝼenʒ to Romana ꞃice . . 494
XXXI. Þu Lonſtantinuſ ꝼenʒ to Romana ꞃice mið hiſ tꝼam bꞃoðꞃum 500
XXXII. Þu Iuuianuſ ꝼenʒ to Romana ꞃice . . 502
XXXIII. Þu Ualentinianuſ ꝼenʒ to Romana ꞃice . 502
XXXIV. Þu Ualenſ ꝼenʒ to Romana ꞃice . . . 504
XXXV. Þu Lꞃatianuſ ꝼenʒ to Romana ꞃice. ⁊ hu Bꞃitannie namon Maximum heom to kaſeꞃe oꝼeꞃ hiſ ꝼillan 506
XXXVI. Þu Ðeoðoſiuſ ꝼenʒ to Romana anꝼalðe. ⁊ hu Ualentinianuſ ꝼenʒ eſt to ꞃice 508
XXXVII. Þu Aꞃchaðiuſ ꝼenʒ to Romana ꞃice. ⁊ Þonoꞃiuſ to þæm Ꝼeſt-ꞃice 510
XXXVIII. Þu Loð ʒeðýðe Romanum hiſ miltſunʒe . 512

XXIX. How Carus succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 24) 495
XXX. How Diocletian succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 25) 495
XXXI. How Constantine succeeded to the Roman empire with his two brothers (Oros. vii. 26) . . 501
XXXII. How Jovian succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 31) 503
XXXIII. How Valentinian succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii. 32) 503
XXXIV. How Valens succeeded to the Roman empire (Oros. vii 33) 505
XXXV. How Gratian succeeded to the Roman empire; and how the Britons nominated Maximus for their emperor, against his will (Oros. vii. 34) . . 507
XXXVI. How Theodosius succeeded to the dominion of the Romans; and how Valentinian again succeeded to the empire (Oros. vii. 35) . . . 509
XXXVII. How Arcadius succeeded to the Roman empire, and Honorius to the Western empire (Oros. vii. 36, 37) 511
XXXVIII. How God showed his mercy to the Romans (Oros. vii. 39, 40) 512

NOTES.

PAGE

239 *note* [1]. King Ælfred's account not being very clear, I have thought it desirable to give the Latin original, both in this and all similar cases: I quote from the edition of Orosius by Havercamp, printed at Leyden in 1767, 4to.

P. 10. Majores nostri orbem totius terræ, Oceani limbo circumseptum, triquadrum statuere: ejusque tres partes, Asiam, Europam et Africam vocaverunt: quamvis aliqui duas, hoc est, Asiam, ac deinde Africam in Europam accipiendam putarint. Asia tribus partibus Oceano circumcincta, per totam transversi plagam orientis extenditur. Hæc occasum versus, a dextra sui, sub axe septentrionis incipientem contingit Europam: a sinistra autem Africam dimittit: sub Ægypto vero et Syria mare nostrum, quod Magnum generaliter dicimus, habet

— *note* [2]. Alexander's temples. The original (p. 11) has (Tanais fluvius) præteriens aras ac terminos Alexandri, etc.

240 *note* [1]. beoꞃhꞇe. No doubt intended as a derivative from beoꞃh, mountain. The Latin (p. 14) has: situ terrarum montoso et aspero

PAGE

256 *notes* [1] and [2]. In both places the text seems defective

258 *note* [1]. All this of Equitania, Vascan and Burgende seems an addition by Ælfred

— *note* [2]. ȝaꞃena. My interpretation of ȝaꞃa or ȝaꞃe is conjectural

260 *note* [1]. ꞅæ-beoꞃh is apparently an error for ꞅæ-buꞃh. The passage should probably stand thus: ꞩio ꞅæ-buꞃh þæꞃ. In the following line the letters have fallen out of their right order. Read: mẏcle buꞃh

264 *note* [1]. ꝥ unðeꞃienðe ꞅolc Æꞇhiopiam: a translation of ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας. Il. A. 422

266 *note* [1]. þæꞃe, apparently an error for þæꞇ

— *note* [2]. Trogus Pompeius, of whose work the epitome by Justin is all that is extant

279 *note* [1]. Such is Ælfred's rendering of Amazones

280 *note* [1]. An infinitive is to be understood here: healðan? A similar ellipsis frequently occurs

— *note* [2]. An interpolation, and a very corrupt one, from the Lauderdale transcript. It is not in the Cotton MS. I have endeavoured, though very unsatisfactorily, to render it less unintelligible than it appears in Barrington's edition

PAGE

280 *note* [3]. ꝼohꝛe for the pl. ꝼohꝛon. A similar inaccuracy frequently occurs

280} *note* [1]. dulmuns. The Latin
281} has longæ naves The A. S. word is probably a corruption of the O. Norse dromundr

284 *note* [1]. ac seems redundant

— *note* [2]. ꝼẏꝼꝼluꝝe; undoubtedly an error for ꝼoꝼꝼluꝝe

288 *note* [1]. Here again an infinitive is to be understood

290 *note* [1]. maꝼe or a comparative of like meaning seems wanting here. Qu. ꝼihꝛhcꝼan?

299 *note* [1]. This ellipsis of *next* or *after* is not unfrequent: other instances will occur

300 *note* [1]. Before þonne the word maꝼan, or one of similar import, seems wanting. Tıcꝛaꝛoꝼeꝼ should, no doubt, be Tıcꝛaꝛoꝼ

302 *note* [1]. Ða conꝼulaꝼ . . . . ꝝẏꝛ habbað. This passage seems very corrupt, though the sense is clear enough.

306 *note* [1]. hunð is omitted by the scribe. Orosius has ducenta millia

— *note* [2]. Attyro, regi Scytharum, hac vel maxime causa bellum intulit, quod filiæ ejus petitas sibi nuptias non obtinuisset. Oros. p. 107.

318 *note* [1]. Tunc etiam Atlante civitas, Locris adhærens, terræ contigua, repentino maris inpetu abscissa, atque in insulam desolata est. Ib. p. 139. Ælfred calls it a town in Africa, being apparently misled by the name of Atlante.

323 *note* [1]. Readers will perhaps be glad to see the original of the passage thus rendered: Fatendum est, in hac clade præsenti plus Deum sævisse, homines minus, cum peragendo ipse, quod illi non im-

PAGE

323 plevissent, cur eos miserit, demonstravit: quippe cum supra humanas vires esset, *incendere æneas trabes*, et subruere magnarum moles structurarum . . . . Oros. p. 142

332 *note* [1]. This passage is evidently incomplete

334 *note* [1]. It was not the consul Decius Mus, but Manlius Torquatus, who put his son to death

336 *note* [1]. þuꝼh ænne þeoꝼne man ꝝeẏꝼꝼeð ꝼeaꝼð. The crime was revealed by a female: quadam ancilla. Oros. p. 166

340 *note* [1]. oꝼ seems redundant

344 *note* [1]. The nom. hi seems wanting here

350 *note* [1]. ꝼceolðon: evidently an error for ꝼealðon

360} *note* [1]. ehꝛa hunð M., an error
361} for eahꝛaꝛıꝝ M. eighty, octoginta millibus. Oros. p. 191

368 *note* [1]. On comparing this list with the Latin (Oros. p. 201), it will be seen that Ælfred has made sad work with the names of persons and places

380 *note* [1]. ꝼꝼoleꝛaꝼıı. hoc est, qui in Urbe semper sufficiendæ prolis causa vacabant. Oros. p. 214

— *note* [2]. According to Ennius, the answer was:

Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse

384 *note* [1]. This passage is very inaccurately rendered from the Latin:—Itaque primo concursu, cum *Pyrrhi milites* Romanorum inpressione *trepidarent*, et circumspectantes *fugam* bello cedere *molirentur*, Pyrrhus elephantos ex subsidiis jussit induci. Oros. p. 219

386 *note* [1]. The manumitted slaves are meant by these ceoꝼlaꝼ, though the text is very badly

PAGE
386 rendered; the Latin has: Tunc etiam Vulsinienses..... luxuria pene perierunt. Nam cum licentia in consuetudinem prorogata, servos suos passim liberos facerent, conviviis adjegerent, conjugiis honestarent, libertini in partem potestatis recepti, plenitudinem per scelus usurpare meditati sunt; et liberati servitutis jugo, ambitu dominationis arserunt, etc. Oros. p. 222

404 *note* [1]. Here and in many other places Ælfred has made three consuls out of two. Read Titus Manlius Torquatus and Caius Atilius Bulbus

410 *note* [1]. Read Publius Cornelius Scipio and Titus Sempronius Longus

412 *note* [1]. Read Lucius Æmilius Paullus and Caius Terentius Varro

— *note* [2]. MSS. M. and L. read: þæpe þe beæpuan

414 *note* [1]. xvii. pintpe. A mistake, for he raised recruits from that age: Quis, delectu habito ab annis decem et septem. Oros. p. 257

424 *note* [1]. Read Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and Publ. Ælius Pætus

426 *note* [1]. Read Lucius Furius the prætor

— *note* [2]. Read Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato

428 *note* [1]. Read Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labio

— *note* [2]. Read Lepiðuf ȝ Ꝺuciuf þæpon conpulaf

430 *note* [1]. Read Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Aulus Postumius Albinus

— *note* [2]. This was Scipio Nasica

432 *note* [1]. Read Lucius Censorinus and Marcus Manilius

PAGE
432 *note* [2]. The Latin of this curious version is: Arx, cui Byrsæ nomen erat, paulo amplius quam duo millia passuum tenebat

434 *note* [1]. The following is the original of this obscure passage: Quod cum ita sit, cur Christianis temporibus inputant hebetationem ac rubiginem suam, qua foris crassi, intus exesi sunt? qui porro ante sexcentos fere annos, sicut sui prudentes timentesque prædixerant, cotem illam magnam splendoris et acuminis sui Carthaginem perdiderunt. Itaque finem voluminí faciam, ne forsitan collidendo vehementius, discussa ad tempus rubigine, ubi necessarium acumen elicere non possum, supervacuam asperitatem inveniam: quamquam obviantem asperitatem nequaquam expavescerem, si interioris spem acuminis invenirem. Oros. p. 282

436 *note* [1]. Should apparently be heopa peope

— *note* [2]. Read Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Mummius

438 *note* [1]. A curious misconception of the original: Fecit facinus etiam ultimis barbaris Scythiæ, non dicam Romanæ, fidei et moderationi, exsecrabile. Oros. p. 294

440 *note* [1]. Read Sextus Fulvius Flaccus and Quintus Calpurnius Piso

444 *note* [1]. Another singular misconception of the original—the substitution of the cardinal numbers for the ordinal: therefore, for *one*, *two*, *three*, etc., read the *first*, *second*, etc. The names of the kings, too, are oddly blended with those of countries

PAGE

446 *note* [1]. æpeɾtɾeɾ. A mistake of Ælfred or probably of an ignorant scribe for Opeɾtɾeɾ. Read, therefore: Ðaþa Emiliuɾ ⁊ Opeɾtɾeɾ þæpon conɾulaɾ

— *note* [2]. Read Quintus Cæcilius Metellus and Titus Quinctius Flamininus

450 *note* [1]. Read Caius Manlius consul and Quintus Cæpio proconsul

451 *note* [1]. The forty thousand were quadraginta millia calonum atque lixarum. Oros. p. 327

452 *note* [1]. Eaðe þe.....to-cuman. This passage is by no means clear. For hiɾ we should apparently read iɾ, and for the last hi, him; or, if to-cuman governs an accusative, read: þe hine (þone ðpincan) to-cuman. ȝelanȝ is used in a sense unknown to me

PAGE

464 *note* [1]. The MSS. erroneously have Octavianuɾeɾ

465 *note* [1]. The Saxon has: so that they were *not* ten feet, etc.

466 *note* [1]. wɾɾilluɾ. Ælfred mistakes the Psylli, a people of Libya, who were skilled in the art of sucking poison from wounds, for the name of a serpent applied for that purpose. Frustra Cæsare etiam Psyllos admovente, qui venena serpentum e vulneribus hominum haustu revocare atque exsugere solent. Oros. p. 439

— *note* [2]. Ða, apparently an error for Ðæt.

468 *note* [1]. þiɾte — an error for þiɾton, singular for plural, of frequent occurrence in Orosius.

BOMBAY BRANCH. JACKSON MEMORIAL COLLECTION. ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ANGLO-SAXON ALPHABET.

A	a	
B	b	
C	c	
D	ð	
E	e	
F	f	f
G	ȝ	g
H	h	
I	ı	
K	k	
L	l	
M	m	
N	n	
O	o	
P	p	
R	ꝛ	r
S	ſ	s
T	t	
U	u	
Ƿ	ƿ	w
X	x	
Y	ẏ	
Z	z	
Ð ð	ð þ	dh, th, as in *though* and *thing*; though generally used indiscriminately.
Æ	æ	

Contractions.

⁊		and
ꝥ	þæt	that
þ̄n	þonne	then / than
þ̄	þam	them.

Note.—C was probably in ancient times always sounded as K, the latter very rarely appearing in early manuscripts. Ci and Ce afterwards became the English che and chi, as ceap, *cheap;* ceorl, *churl;* cirice, *church* (old English chirche); cicen, *chicken*, dimin. of coc, *cock*, with the change of vowel (Ger. umlaut).

OUTLINE OF ANGLO-SAXON GRAMMAR.

NOUNS.

There are three genders, neuter, masculine, and feminine, as, *neut.* ꝑıꝼ, *wife, woman,* cılδ, *child; masc.* mona, *moon,* δæl, part; *fem.* ꞅunne, *sun,* boc, *book.*

Declension.

SIMPLE ORDER.

Neut. eaʒe, *eye.* Masc. ꞅꞇeoꝓꝓa, *star.* Fem. ꞇunʒe, *tongue.*

Singular.

Nom.	eaʒ-e	ꞅꞇeoꝓꝓ-a	ꞇunʒ-e
Gen.	eaʒ-an	ꞅꞇeoꝓꝓ-an	ꞇunʒ-an
Abl. and Dat.	eaʒ-an	ꞅꞇeoꝓꝓ-an	ꞇunʒ-an
Acc.	eaʒ-e	ꞅꞇeoꝓꝓ-an	ꞇunʒ-an

Plural.

Nom. and Acc.	eaʒ-an	ꞅꞇeoꝓꝓ-an	ꞇunʒ-an
Gen.	eaʒ-ena	ꞅꞇeoꝓꝓ-ena	ꞇunʒ-ena
Abl. and Dat.	eaʒ-um	ꞅꞇeoꝓꝓ-um	ꞇunʒ-um

COMPLEX ORDER.

Neut. leaꝼ, *leaf.* Masc. δæʒ, *day.* Fem. ꞅꞇeꝼn, *voice.*

Singular.

Nom.	leaꝼ	δæʒ	ꞅꞇeꝼn (ꞅꞇeꝼen)
Gen.	leaꝼ-eꞅ	δæʒ-eꞅ	ꞅꞇeꝼn-e
Abl. and Dat.	leaꝼ-e	δæʒ-e	ꞅꞇeꝼn-e
Acc.	leaꝼ	δæʒ	ꞅꞇeꝼn-e

Plural.

Nom.	leaf	dag-as	stefn-a
Gen.	leaf-a	dag-a	stefn-a (-ena)
Abl. and Dat.	leaf-um	dag-um	stefn-um

Neut. treop, *tree;* rice, *realm.* Masc. broþor, *brother;* man, *man.* Fem. boc, *book;* burh, *town.*

Singular.

Nom. & Ac.	treop	ric-e	broþor	man	boc	burh
Gen.	treop-or	ric-es	broþor	mann-es	bec	burg-e
Abl. & Dat.	treop-e	ric-e	bre̊þer	men	bec	byrig

Plural.

Nom. & Ac.	treop-u	ric-u	broþr-u	men	bec	byrig
Gen.	treop-a	ric-a	broþr-a	mann-a	boc-a	burg-a
Abl. & Dat.	treop-um	ric-um	broþr-um	mann-um	boc-um	burg-um

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives, as in German, have a definite and an indefinite inflection. The former is used when the adjective is preceded by the definite article, by any other demonstrative, or by a possessive pronoun; the latter in all other cases.

Definite Declension.

þæt goþe, *the good.*

Singular.

	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	þæt goð-e	se goð-a	seo goð-e
Acc.	þæt goð-e	þone goð-an	þa goð-an
Gen.	þæs goð-an		þære goð-an
Dat.	þam goð-an		þære goð-an
Abl.	þy goð-an		þy goð-an

Plural.

Nom and Acc.	þa goð-an
Gen.	þara goð-ena
Abl. and Dat.	þam goð-um

} For all genders.

Indefinite Declension.

ʒoδ, *good.*

Singular.

	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	ʒoδ	ʒoδ	ʒoδ
Gen.	ʒoδeſ	ʒoδeſ	ʒoδɲe
Dat.	ʒoδum	ʒoδum	ʒoδɲe
Acc.	ʒoδ	ʒoδne	ʒoδe
Abl.	ʒoδe	ʒoδe	ʒoδɲe

Plural.

Nom. and Acc.	ʒoδe
Gen. . . .	ʒoδɲa
Abl. and Dat.	ʒoδum

Comparison.

The Comparative and Superlative Degrees are regularly formed by adding oɲ and oſt to the indefinite form, as leoꝼ, leoꝼ-oɲ, leoꝼ-oſt, *dear, dearer, dearest*; æ usually becomes a, as ſmæl, ſmal-oɲ, ſmal-oſt, *small, narrow*, etc. This ending is, however, only adverbial. As an adjective, the Comparative is formed in ɲe ɲa ɲe, whether used definitely or indefinitely, as (þæt) leoꝼ-ɲe, (ſe) leoꝼ-ɲa, (ſeo) leoꝼ-ɲe, *the dearer*. The Superlative has both the definite and indefinite inflections, the former in -oſt or -eſt (also the adverbial form), the latter in -oſte, -oſta, -oſte, or -eſte, etc., as leoꝼ-oſt, *dearest*, þæt leoꝼ-oſte, etc., *the dearest.*

EXAMPLE.

Adjective.

Posit.	Comp.	Superl.
heaɲδ, hard þæt heaɲδe, the hard	(þæt) heaɲδ-ɲe, the harder	heaɲδ-oſt, hardest þæt heaɲδ-oſte, the hardest

Adverb.

heaɲδ-e, hardly	heaɲδ-oɲ, hardlier	heaɲδ-oſt, hardliest

Irregular Comparison.

Posit.	Comp.	Superl.
lanz, *long*	lenzra (lenz)	lenzeſt
ſtranz, *strong*	ſtrenzre (ſtranz-or)	ſtrenzeſt
hnæð (hnaðe), *quick*	hnæðre (hnaðor)	hnaðoſt
eald, *old*	ýldre	ýldeſt
neah, *nigh*	nearre (near, nýr)	nýhſt, nehſt, next
heah, *high*	hýrre	hýhſt, hehſt
eað, *easy*	eaðre (eðre, eð)	eaðoſt
feor, *far*	fýrre (fýr)	fýrreſt
zeonz, *young*	zýnzre	zýnzeſt
ſceort, *short*	ſcýrtre	ſcýrteſt
(forð)	furðre (furðor), further	
ſoft, *soft*	ſeftre (ſeft)	ſefteſt
ær, *ere, before*	ærre (æror)	æreſt
zod (wel), *good, well*	betere (bet)	betteſt, betſt
yfel, *evil*	firre (firr)	firreſt, firſt
micel, *great*	mare (ma)	mæſt
lytel (lyt), *little*	læſſe (læſ)	læſt
forme (fore), *former, fore*		fyrmeſt, fyrſt
læt (late), *late, slow*	lætre (lator)	latoſt, lætemeſt
rið, *late, since*	riðre (riðor)	riðoſt, riðemeſt
ufeparð (uf), *upward, above*	ufere (ufor)	yfemeſt
(æftan), *after*	æftre	æftemeſt
utepeard (ut), *outward, out*	utre (utor)	ytemeſt
mid (middepeard), *mid*		midmeſt

PRONOUNS.

I. Personal.

The Personal Pronouns are ic, *I;* þu, *thou;* hit, he, heo, *it, he, she.* The first two are the only Anglo-Saxon words having the dual number.

Singular.

Nom.	ic		þu	
Gen.	min		þin	
Acc.	me		þe	
Abl. and Dat.	me		þe	
	Dual.	Plur.	Dual.	Plur.
Nom.	wit	we	ġit	ġe
Gen.	uncer	ure	incer	eower
Acc.	unc	us	inc	eow
Abl. and Dat.	unc	us	inc	eow

Singular.

	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	hit	he	heo
Gen.	his	his	hire
Acc.	hit	hine	hi
Abl. and Dat.	him	him	hire

Plural.

Nom and Acc.	hi, hý
Gen.	hira, hýra, heora
Abl. and Dat.	him, heom

II. Possessive.

The Possessive Pronouns are formed from the genitives of the first and second person, as min, *mine, my;* þin, *thine, thy;* uncer, ure, *our;* incer, eower, *your*. These are declined as indefinite adjectives. The genitive of the third person is used unchanged, as his, *its, his;* hira, *their*. To determine more precisely the idea of *reflection*, the genitive of sylf, *self*, or the word agen, *own*, must be added, which is regularly declined as an adjective, but used only indefinitely.

III. Demonstrative.

The Demonstrative Pronouns are þæt, se, seo, *that*, also the relative *which, who, that*, and the article *the;* and þis, þes, þeos, *this*.

	Singular.			*Singular.*		
	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.			
Nom.	þæt	ſe	ſeo	þiſ	þeſ	þeoſ
Gen.	þæſ	þæſ	þære	þiſeſ	þiſeſ	þiſſe
Dat.	þam, þæm	þam, þæm	þære	þiſum	þiſum	þiſſe
Acc.	þæt	þone	þa	þiſ	þiſne	þaſ
Abl.	þý	þý	þý	þiſe	þiſe	þiſſe
	Plural.			*Plural.*		
Nom. and Acc.			þa			þaſ
Gen.			þaþa, þæþa			þiſſa
Abl. and Dat.			þam			þiſum

IV. Interrogative.

The Interrogatives are hþæt? hpa? *what? who?* hpylc? *which?* hþæþeꝛ? *whether? which?*

	Neut.	Mas. and Fem.
Nom.	hþæt	hpa
Gen.	hþæſ	hþæſ
Dat.	hpam, hpæm	hpam, hpæm
Acc.	hþæt	hpone, hpæne
Abl.	hpý	hpý

V. Indefinite.

The Indefinite Pronouns are ſpa hpæt (ſpa), *whatsoever;* ſpa hpa (ſpa), *whosoever;* ſpa hpylc (ſpa), *whichsoever;* æghpæt (gehpæt), æghpylc, etc., *whatsoever*, etc.; ælc, *each, every one;* eal, *all;* æniġ, *any;* nænıġ, *not any, none;* anlipiġ (ænlipiġ), *single, alone;* manıġ (mænıġ), *many;* ġenoh, *enough;* an, *one;* ſum, *some, a, a certain;* placed after a cardinal number in the genitive, it implies one more, as ſiftýna ſum, *one of sixteen;* ſela, *much, many;* ſeapa (ſea), *few;* man (like Ger. man, Fr. on), *one, they, people;* apihc (apuhc), aphc, ahc, *aught, anything;* naphc (nahc), *naught, nothing;* oþeꝛ, *other, second;* apþeꝛ, aþeꝛ, *one of two, either;* napþeꝛ (naþoꝛ), *neither;* æghþeꝛ, *either.*

NUMBERS.

Cardinal.		Ordinal.
an	one	þ ſoꝛme, ſe ſoꝛma, ſeo ſoꝛme, first
tpa	two	þ, ſe, ſeo oþeꝛ, second, etc.
þꝛeo, þꝛý	three	þ þꝛýðde, ſe þꝛýðda, ſeo þꝛýðde

Cardinal.		Ordinal.
ƿeoƿeƞ	four	ƿeoƞƿe, ƿeoƞƿa, ƿeoƞƿe
ƒiƒ	five	ƒiƒte, -a, -e
ƒix, ƒẏx	six	ƒixte, -a, -e
ƿeoƿon	seven	ƿeoƿoƿe, -a, -e
eahta	eight	eahtoƿe
niȝon	nine	niȝoƿe
tẏn	ten	teoƿe
enƀluƿon	eleven	enƀlẏƿte
tƿelƒ	twelve	tƿelƒte
ƿƞeottẏne	thirteen	ƿƞẏttteoƿe
ƿeoƿeƞtẏne	fourteen	ƿeoƿeƞteoƿe
ƒiftẏne	fifteen	ƒifteoƿe
ƒixtẏne	sixteen	ƒixteoƿe
ƿeoƿontẏne	seventeen	ƿeoƿonteoƿe
eahtatẏne	eighteen	eahtateoƿe
niȝontẏne	nineteen	niȝonteoƿe
tƿentiȝ	twenty	tƿentuȝoƿe
ƿƞẏttiȝ	thirty	ƿƞẏttiȝoƿe
ƿeoƿeƞtiȝ	forty	ƿeoƿeƞtiȝoƿe
ƒiftiȝ	fifty	ƒiftiȝoƿe
ƒixtiȝ	sixty	ƒixtiȝoƿe
hunƀ-ƿeoƿontiȝ	seventy	hunƀ-ƿeoƿontiȝoƿe
hunƀ-eahtatiȝ	eighty	hunƀ-eahtatiȝoƿe
hunƀ-niȝontiȝ	ninety	hunƀ-niȝontiȝoƿe
hunƀ, hunƀƿeƀ / hunƀ-teontiȝ	hundred	hunƀ-teontiȝóƿe
hunƀ-enƀluƿontiȝ	hundred and ten	hunƀ-enƀluƿontiȝoƿe
hunƀ-tƿelftiȝ	hundred and twenty	hunƀ-tƿelftiȝoƿe
ƿuſenƀ	thousand	

An follows the indef. decl. of adjectives, and in the accus. sing. masc. often forms ænne for anne; used definitely: ane, ana, ane, and standing after its noun, etc., it signifies *alone*. Tƿa and ƿƞeo are thus declined:

	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom. and Acc.	tƿa (tu)	tƿeȝen	tƿa	ƿƞeo	ƿƞẏ	ƿƞeo
Gen.	tƿeȝƿa (tƿeȝa)			ƿƞeoƿa		
Abl. and Dat.	tƿam (tƿæm)			ƿƞẏm		

Ba, bezen, ba, *both*, follows tpa; prefixed to tpa it forms batpa (butu), *both*, which is indeclinable. The numbers from seofon to tpelf inclusive, when used absolutely, have a nominative in -e, as ealle seofone, *all the seven*; tpelf has also tpelfa and tpelfum; fif and fix are found with a gen. in -a, as an þiffa fifa. Tpentig and the others in -tig, form a gen. in -tigpa, abl. and dat. in -tigum. Þunð prefixed to the tens after fixtig is sometimes dropt, when hunð, *hundred*, goes before, as scipa an hunð ⁊ eahtatig, *of ships one hundred and eighty*.

Þealf, *half*, placed after an ordinal number, reduces it by half, as oþer-healf, *one and a half* (Ger. anderthalb); þriðde-healf, *two and a half*. From an, tpa, þreo, are formed æne, *once*; tpipa (tupa), *twice*; þripa (þýpa), *thrice*.

VERBS.

There are two Orders of Verbs, as of nouns, viz., the Simple and the Complex (or, according to Grimm's nomenclature, the Weak and the Strong). The simple order forms its imperfect by adding -oðe (-eðe), -ðe, or -te to the root; the participle past by adding -oð (-eð), -ð, or -t. In the complex order the imperfect is monosyllabic, and changes its vowel, and the participle past ends in -en. The former is divided into three classes, forming one Conjugation; the latter into two Conjugations of three classes each.

Simple Order, or First Conjugation.

lufian, *to love*; hýran, *to hear*; tellan, *to tell, count*.

Indicative.

Present.

Singular	ic luf-ige	hýr-e	tell-e
	þu luf-aft	hýr-ft	tel-ft
	he luf-að	hýr-ð	tel-ð
Plur. *pe, ge,*	hi luf-iað	hýr-að	tell-að
	luf-ige	hýr-e	tell-e

Imperfect.

Sing.	ic luf-oðe	hýr-ðe	teal-ðe
	þu luf-oðeft	hýr-ðeft	teal-ðeft
	he luf-oðe	hýr-ðe.	teal-ðe
Plur. *pe, ge,*	hi luf-oðon	hýr-ðon	teal-ðon

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Present.

Sing.	luf-ige	hỳn-e	ċell-e
Plur.	luf-ion	hỳn-on	ċell-on

IMPERFECT.

Sing.	luf-ode	hỳn-de	ċeal-de
Plur.	luf-odon	hỳn-don	ċeal-don

IMPERATIVE.

Sing.	luf-a	hỳn	ċel-e
Plur.	luf-iað / luf-ige	hỳn-að / hỳn-e	ċell-að / ċell-e

INFINITIVE.

Pres.	luf-ian	hỳn-an	ċell-an
Gerund	ċo luf-igenne	ċo hỳn-enne	ċo ċell-anne
Part. pres.	luf-igende	hỳn-ende	ċell-ende
Part. past	(ge)luf-od	(ge)hỳn-ed	(ge)ċeald

The first form of the present indicative plural and of the imperative plural is used when the pronoun either precedes or is omitted, as: þe lufiað, *we love;* hỳrað, *hear;* the second when the pronoun immediately follows, as: ċelle ge, *tell ye.* The gerund, which is always preceded by ċo, answers both to the Latin supines and the future in *rus.*

Þabban, *to have;* þýllan, *to will, velle;* and nýllan, *to will not, nolle,* are thus conjugated:

Indic. pres. 1	hæbbe (habbe)	Sub. pres.	habbe (hæbbe)
2	hæfſt (hafaſt)	Plur.	habbon
3	hæfð (hafað)	Imp.	hæfde
Plur. 1, 2, 3	habbað (hafiað) / hæbbe (habbe)	Plur.	hæfdon
Imperf.	hæfde (-ſt)	Imper.	hafa
Plur.	hæfdon	Plur.	habbað / habbe
Infin. pres.	hæbban (habban)	Part. pres.	hæbbende
Gerund	habbenne	Part. past.	(ge)hæfed, hæfd

Indic. pres. 1	ꝑille	Subj. pres.	ꝑille
2	ꝑilꝛ	Plur.	ꝑillon
3	ꝑile	Imp.	ꝑolδe
Plur. 1, 2, 3	ꝑillað, ꝑille	Plur.	ꝑolδon
Imperf.	ꝑolδe (-ꝼꝛ)	Infin. pres.	ꝑillan
Plur.	ꝑolδon	Part. pres.	ꝑillenδe
Indic. pres. 1	nelle	Subj. pres.	nelle (nẏlle)
2	nelꝛ	Plur.	nellon (nẏllon)
3	nele (nẏle)	Imp.	nolδe
Plur. 1, 2, 3	nellað (nẏllað), nelle	Plur.	nolδon
Imperf.	nolδe (ꝼꝛ)	Imper.	nelle
Plur.	nolδon	Plur.	nellað
		Infin.	nẏllan

COMPLEX ORDER.

The Complex Order changes the vowel in the imperfect. The imperfect ends with the characteristic, which, if bb, becomes ꝼ; if ʒ, h. In the 2nd pers. sing. and in the plur. h again becomes ʒ.

The SECOND CONJUGATION changes certain vowels in the 2nd and 3rd persons sing. present. The part. past sometimes changes its vowel

EXAMPLES:—bꝛecan *to break;* healδan, *to hold;* δꝛaʒan, *to drag, draw.*

	CLASS I.	CLASS II.	CLASS III.
		INDICATIVE.	
		Present.	
Sing. 1	bꝛece	healδe	δꝛaʒe
2	bꝛicꝛꝛ	hẏlꝛꝛ	δꝛæʒꝼꝛ
3	bꝛicð	hẏlꝛ (healꝛ)	δꝛæʒð
Plur.	bꝛecað, bꝛece	healδað, healδe	δꝛaʒað, δꝛaʒe
		IMPERFECT.	
Sing. 1	bꝛæc	heolδ	δꝛoh
2	bꝛæce	heolδe	δꝛoʒe
3	bꝛæc	heolδ	δꝛoh
Plur.	bꝛæcon	heolδon	δꝛoʒon

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Present.

Sing.	bɲece	healðe	ðɲaʒe
Plur.	bɲecon	healðon	ðɲaʒon

IMPERFECT.

Sing.	bɲæce	heolðe	ðɲoʒe
Plur.	bɲæcon	heolðon	ðɲoʒon

IMPERATIVE.

Sing.	bɲec	healð	ðɲaʒ
Plur.	bɲecað / bɲece	healðað / healðe	ðɲaʒað / ðɲaʒe

INFINITIVE.

Pres.	bɲecan	healðan	ðɲaʒan
Ger.	ꝺo bɲecanne	ꝺo healðanne	ꝺo ðɲaʒanne
Part. pres.	bɲecenðe	healðenðe	ðɲaʒenðe
Part. past	(ʒe)bɲocen	(ʒe)healðen	(ʒe)ðɲaʒen

Ƿeɾan, to be, is thus conjugated:

INDICATIVE.

Pres.	1 eom	Imp.	1 pæɾ
	2 eaɲꝺ		2 pæɲe
	3 iɾ (ýɾ)		3 pæɾ
Plur.	ɾýnð (ɾýnðon)	Plur.	pæɲon

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Pres.	ɾý (ɾiʒ, ɾeo)	Imp.	pæɲe
Plur.	ɾýn	Plur.	pæɲon

IMPERATIVE.

	peɾ
Plur.	peɾað / peɾe

INFINITIVE.

Pres.	peɾan
Ger.	ꝺo peɾanne
Part. pres.	peɾenðe
Part. past.	(ʒe)peɾen

With some of the above forms the negative ne is combined:

Pres. 1 (ic) neom (*I*) *am not*; 3 niɾ (nýɾ); Imp. næɾ; Subj. imperf. næɲe, etc.

Ꝑpeꝺan, *to say*, is thus conjugated:

Ind. pres. cpeþe, cpýrt, cpýð; imperf. cpæð, cpæðe, cpæð, plur. cpæðon; Subj. pres. cpeþe; imperf. cpæðe; part. past (ȝe)cpeðen. In other respects it is regular.

Lanȝan (ȝan) *to go;* ðon, *to do,* and buan, *to inhabit, cultivate,* are thus conjugated:

INDICATIVE.

Pres.	1	ȝanȝe (ȝa)	ðo	bue
	2	ȝæſt	ðeſt	býſt
	3	ȝæð	ðeð	býð
Plur.		ȝað	ðoð	
		ȝa	ðo	
Imp.		eoðe (ȝeonȝ)	ðýðe	buðe

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Sing.	ȝa	ðo	bu
Plur.	ȝan	ðon	bun

IMPERATIVE.

Sing.	ȝanȝ (ȝa)	ðo
Plur.	ȝað	ðoð
	ȝa	ðo

INFINITIVE.

Pres.	ȝanȝan (ȝan)	ðon	buan
Ger.		to ðonne	
Part. pres.	ȝanȝenðe	ðonðe	buenðe
— past	(ȝe)ȝanȝen (ȝan)	(ȝe)ðon	(ȝe)bun

In the THIRD CONJUGATION the vowel remains the same in the present; but that of the imperfect is changed in the 2nd pers. sing., and in the whole plural.

EXAMPLES: bindan, *to bind;* ðrifan, *to drive;* clufan, *to cleave.*

		CLASS I.	CLASS II.	CLASS III.
		INDICATIVE.		
		Present.		
Sing.	1	binde	ðrife	clufe
	2	bintſt	ðrifſt	cluffſt
	3	bint	ðrifð	clufð
Plur.		bindað	ðrifað	clufað
		binde	ðrife	clufe

IMPERFECT.

Sing. 1	banð	ðpaf	cleaf
2	bunde	ðpife	clufe
3	banð	ðpaf	cleaf
Plur.	bunðon	ðpifon	clufon

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Present.

Sing.	binde	ðpife	clufe
Plur.	binðon	ðpifon	clufon

IMPERFECT.

Sing.	bunde	ðpife	clufe
	bunðon	ðpifon	clufon

IMPERATIVE.

Sing.	binð	ðpif	cluf
Plur	{bindað {binde	{ðpifað {ðpife	{clufað {clufe

INFINITIVE.

Pres.	bindan	ðpifan	clufan
Ger.	to bindanne	to ðpifanne	clufanne
Part. pres.	bindende	ðpifende	clufende
— past	(ge)bunden	(ge)ðpifen	(ge)clofen

Weorþan, *to be, to become,* is thus conjugated;

Ind. pres. sing. 1	peorðe	Subj. pres.	peorþe, etc.
2	pýrtt	Imp.	purde, etc.
3	pýrð	Imper.	peorð
Plur.	{peorþað {peorþe	Plur.	{peorþað {peorþe
Imperf. sing. 1	pearð	Infin. pres.	peorþan
2	purde	Ger.	to peorþanne
3	pearð	Part. pres.	peorþende
Plur.	purðon	— part.	(ge)porden

Beon, *to be,* is defective.

Ind. pres. sing. 1	beo	Subj. pres.	beo
2	býrt	Plur.	beon
3	býð	Imper.	beo
Plur.	{beoð {beo	Plur.	{beoð {beo

Infin. beon Ger. to beonne Part. pres. beonde

Ceoſan, *to choose*, makes 3 pers. pres. cyſt; imperf. ceaſ, 2 pers. cure, pl. curon; part. past (ge)coren. And so others in -ſan.

Seoðan, *to seethe*, makes 3 pers. pres. ſyð; imperf. ſeað, 2 pers. ſoðe; part. past (ge)ſoðen. And so others in -ðan.

Fleogan, or contr. fleon, *to fly, flee*, has fleoge and fleo, plur. fleoð, fleo; so likewise teogan or teon, *to draw;* þþeon, *to cover;* and þeon, *to thrive*.

Seon, *to see*, makes imperf. ſeah or ſeh, ſape or ſege; imper. ſeoh or ſyh; part. pres. ſeonde; part. past (ge)ſepen or (ge)ſegen.

Leſeon (-ſean), *to rejoice*, has imperf. geſeah or -ſeh, geſage or -ſege; part. past geſagen or geſægen.

ANOMALOUS VERBS.

The following Verbs are anomalous, having for their present an old imperfect of the Complex Order, and for imperfect one subsequently formed according to the Simple Order.

Pres. 1. 3. ah, 2. age, pl. agon; imperf. ahte; infin. agan; part. past agen, *to owe, own*. Also combined with the negative ne: nah, nahte.

Pres. 1. 3. an, 2. unne, pl. unnon; imperf. uðe; infin. unnan; part. past (ge)unnen, *to grant*.

Pres. 1. 3. can, 2. cunne or canſt, pl. cunnon; imperf. cuðe; infin. cunnan; part. past (ge)cuð, *to can, be able*, Lat. *posse, valere*.

Pres. 1. 3. deah, 2. dugе, pl. dugon; imperf. dohte; infin. dugan, *to be good for, worth*.

Pres. 1. 3. dear, 2. dearſt, pl. durron; subj. durre; imperf. dorſte; infin. dearan, *to dare*.

Pres. 1. 3. geman, 2. gemanſt; pl. gemunon; imperf. gemunde; infin. gemunan, *to remember*.

Pres. 1. 3. mæg, 2. miht, pl. magon; subj. mæge (mage); imperf. mihte (meahte); infin. magan, *to may, can, be able*.

Pres. 1. 3. mot, 2. moſt, pl. moton; subj. mote; imperf. moſte, *may, might, must*.

Pres. 1. 3. ſceal, 2. ſcealt, pl. ſceolon (ſculon); subj. ſcyle; imperf. ſceolde; infin. ſculan, *shall, owe*.

Pres. 1. 3. pat, 2. paſt, pl. piton; imperf. piſte (piſſe); subj. pite; imper. pite, pitað; infin. pitan; ger. to pitanne; part. pres. pitende; part. past piten, *to know*. Also nytan, *not to know*.

Pres. 1. 3. þeaꞃꞃ, 2. þeaꞃꞃꞇ or þuꞃꞃe, pl. þuꞃꞃon; subj. þuꞃꞃe; imperf. þoꞃꞃꞇe; infin. þeaꞃꞃan, *to need.*

Auxiliaries, etc.

The Anglo-Saxon has no future tense, the present being used to express both the present and the future; ꝼillan and ꞃculan are used only to express *will, duty,* etc. The present of beon has usually a future sense. The perfect and the pluperfect are formed, as in English, by the verb habban, *to have,* as ıc hæbbe or hæꞃðe ȝeluꞃoð, *I have or had loved.* There is no passive voice, the passive being expressed by means of the auxiliaries ꝼeꞃan, ꝼeoꞃþan, and beon, as ıc eom or ꝼeoꞃðe (ȝe)luꞃoð, *I am loved;* ıc ꝼæꞃ or ꝼeoꞃð (ȝe)luꞃoð, etc.

Impersonal verbs are as in other tongues, as hıꞇ ꞃınð, *it rains*; hıꞇ ȝelımpð, *it happens,* etc.

SYNTAX.

I. Syntax of Nouns.

Nouns of time, answering to the question *how long?* are put in the acc. or abl.

Answering *to when?* they stand in the abl., dat. with on, or gen.

Measure, value, age and the like are used in the gen.

The matter, to which a measure is applied, generally stands in the gen. as hunð mıꞇꞇena hꝼæꞇeꞃ, *a hundred measures of wheat.*

The means or instrument stands in the abl. or dat., with or without the prep. mıð, *with.*

II. Syntax of Adjectives.

Adjectives, generally speaking, but particularly those denoting want, desire, knowledge, remembrance and the like, have a gen. of the noun which defines them, as ꝼeoꞃ ꝼana, *wanting money;* æꞇeꞃ ȝeoꞃn, *desirous of food.*

Adjectives denoting pleasure, profit, injury and the like, govern a dat. as eallum anðꝼenȝ, *acceptable to all;* ȝehꝼẏlcum unnẏꞇ, *useless to every one.*

Comparatives require þonne or þe, *than,* with a nomin.; or an abl. or gen. without; superlatives require a gen.

III. Syntax of Verbs.

Verbs of naming have an accus. of the object named, and a nomin. of the name, as þone unȝemelice eaꞃȝan þu mihꞇ haꞇan haꞃa, *the immoderately timid thou mayest call hare.*

Ræðan, *to rule, counsel,* abꞃeȝðan, *to draw (a sword),* ꞇobꞃeȝðan, to *cast off (sleep)* govern an abl., as þenðen hi þẏ ꞃice ꞃæðan moꞃꞇon, *while they might rule the realm;* an oꞃ þam þẏ ꞃꞃeoꞃðe abꞃæð, *one of them drew a sword.*

Verbs of bidding, forbidding, serving, following, obeying, consenting to, opposing, pleasing, trusting, injuring, etc., govern a dat.

Verbs of motion, also onðꞃæðan, *to dread,* often have a redundant dat. of the subject, as ȝa þe ꞃoꞃð, *go forth;* him þa Scẏlð ȝeꞃaꞇ, *Scyld then departed.*

Verbs of desiring, needing, tempting, wondering at, using, remembering, forgetting, ceasing, etc.; also ꝼenan, *to hope;* neoꞃian, *to visit,* govern a gen., as ꝼe ȝeꞃilniað ꞃꞃiþeꞃ ꝼið eoꞃ, *we desire peace with you;* hꝼẏ ꞃanðiȝe ȝe min? *why tempt ye me?* hi þæꞃ ne ȝẏmðon, *they cared not for that.*

Some impersonals govern the person in the acc. or dat.; hiꞇ, *it,* is often omitted, as hẏnȝꞃað hine, *he is hungry;* hiꞃe ȝebẏꞃað, *it becomes her.* Others have besides a gen. of the remote object, as þone ꝼeliȝan lẏꞃꞇ anꝼealðeꞃ, *the wealthy lusts after power.*

Syntax of Prepositions.

The following govern the accus.: ȝeonð, *through, over* þuꞃh, *through;* ꝼið-æꞃꞇan, *behind, after;* ẏmb (ẏmbe), *about.*

These govern the dat. be (bi, biȝ), *of, about, by;* oꞃ, *off, from, of;* ꞃꞃam, *from, by;* æꞇ, *at, to;* ꞇo, *to;* inꞇo, *into;* æꞃ, *ere, before;* ꞃeoꞃ, *far, far from;* unꞃeoꞃ, *near;* neah (nean), *nigh;* ȝehenðe, *near, handy;* æꞃꞇeꞃ, *after;* buꞃan, on-uꞃan, *above;* beæꞃꞇan (bæꞃꞇan), behinðan, *after, behind;* beheonan, *on this side;* buꞇan, *without, outside;* beꞇꝼẏnan (beꞇꝼeonum, beꞇꝼeonan), *between, among,* ꞇo-emneꞃ, *along;* ꞇo-miððeꞃ, on-miððan, *amid;* binnan, ꝼið-innan, on-innan, *within, inside;* æꞇꞃoꞃan, ꞇoꞃoꞃan, *before;* ꞇoꝼeaꞃð, *towards;* ꞇo-eacan, *besides.*

Anðlanȝ, *along,* governs a gen.

The following govern the accus. or dat.: ꞃoꞃe and beꞃoꞃan, *before;* onbuꞇan, *about, around;* oð, *unto, till;* uppon, *upon;*

innan (innon), *within;* on, *in, on, into;* (on-)ȝemanȝ, *among;* betweox, *betwixt, among;* utan (uton), piðutan, *without, outside;* ofer, *over;* unðer, *under;* toȝeanes, onȝean, *towards, against;* beȝeonðan, *beyond.*

For, *for,* and miþ, *with,* govern the accus., abl., or dat.

Wiþ, *against, with,* governs the accus., dat., or gen.

A preposition sometimes stands after its case, as hi him miþ sæton, *they sat with him.*

Ymbutan is sometimes divided, as, ymb hancneþ utan, *about cockcrowing.*

Syntax of Conjunctions.

The following require the verb in the indicative: and, *and;* eac, *eke, also;* ac, *but, for,* Lat. *nam;* swa, *so;* swa swa, *so as;* þa, þonne, *then;* þa, þaþa, *when, as;* (for) hwy, *why?* miþ þy (þe), miþ þam (þe), *when, while;* þenðen, *while;* siðþan, *since;* oððe—oððe, oððe-tweȝa—oððe, and oððe þara—oððe, *either—or;* ȝe—ȝe and æȝþer ȝe, *as well—as, both—and;* swa-þeah and (þeah-) hwæþere, *yet, nevertheless;* nalæs—ac, *not only—but;* (for) þy (þe), *for, because, therefore.*

The following require the subjunctive: þæt, þætte; *that;* þeah-(þe), *though;* þonne and hwænne, *when;* hwær (hwar), *where;* þy-læs (þe), *lest;* to þon (þe), *in order that;* a-þy—þe, *so much the—as;* oð, oðþæt, *until;* ær, ærþam (þe), *ere, before;* hwæþer (þe) and swa—swa, *whether—or;* ȝif, *if;* nemne, næfne, nymþe, *unless, except;* hu, humeta, *how.*

Þu ne, with an indicative, and hwæþer, with a subjunctive, are used to make propositions interrogative, as hu ne doð manfulle swa? *do not the wicked do so?* hwæðer ȝe nu secan ȝold on treowum? *do ye now seek gold on trees?* Cwyst þu, or segst þu? *sayest thou?* answer the same purpose with an indicative, as cwebe ȝe hæbbe ȝe sufol? *have ye meat?* segst þu mæȝ se blinda þone blindan læðan? *can the blind lead the blind?*

Uton (utan) with an infinitive expresses a wish, as uton ȝan, *let us go.*

Two or more negatives are frequently used, as ne wep þu na, *weep not.*

Butan (buton), *but, only,* takes ne before it, as we nabbað buton fif hlafas, *we have but five loaves.*

GLOSSARY TO OROSIUS.

Note.—All substantives ending in a, ꝼcẏpe (ꝼcıpe), haδ, and δom, are masculine. Those in unʒ, neꝼ (nẏꝼ, nıꝼ), are feminine. Words beginning with the prefix a or ʒe are ranged according to their roots.

Ā.

Ā, ever, always
Āc, but, for, Lat. nam, enim
Ācꝼan, ashes
Le-acꝼıan, Le-ahꝼıan, Le-axıan, Āhxıan } to ask, be informed of, hear say, or tell
Āδ, *m.* pile
Āδl, *f.* disease
Æ, *f.* law
Æbẏlʒδ, *f.* indignation
Æceꝼ, *m.* field, acre
Æδꝼe, *f.* vein, nerve
Æꝼen, *m.* evening
Æꝼꝼe, ever
Æꝼτ, after, again
Æꝼτemeꝼτ, Æꝼτeꝼmeꝼτ } aftermost, last
Æꝼτeꝼ, next, second, after
Æꝼτeꝼ-ꝼẏlʒenδe, follower, successor
Æꝼτeꝼ-ꝼẏlıan, Æꝼτeꝼ-ꝼẏlıʒan } to follow, pursue
Æʒhꝼæꝼ, everywhere, on all sides
Æʒþeꝼ, either, both; æʒþeꝼ ʒe . . . ʒe, both . . . and
Ælc, each, every. See Ylc
Ælmıhτıʒ, almighty
Ælτæꝼ, honest, good, honourable
Ælþeoδıʒnẏꝼ, exile, foreign parts
Æmenne, desolate
Æmeτıʒ, waste, desert
Æmoδ, pusillanimous
Ænıʒ, any
Ænlıc, unique, excellent
Æꝼ, ere, before; æꝼoꝼ, earlier; æꝼeꝼτ, first
Æꝼ, *n.* brass
Æꝼ-δaʒum, in days of old
Æꝼ-ealδe, formerly
Æꝼen, of brass
Æꝼenδ, *n.* errand, message
Le-æꝼenδıan, to obtain by message
Æꝼenδꝼaca, messenger, ambassador
Æꝼeꝼτ, erst, first
Æꝼnan. See Yꝼnan
Le-æꝼnan, to get by running
Æꝼꝼa, former
Æꝼþam, Æꝼþon } before that
Æτ, at, with, in
Æτ, *m.*? food
Æτʒæδeꝼe, together
Le-æττꝼeδ, poisoned
Æꝼıꝼτ, disgrace
Æꝼẏlme, *f.*? spring, source
Æx, *f.* axe
Æþel, noble, precious
Æδelınʒ, *m.* noble, prince
Āʒan, pret. ahτe, to own, possess, have
Āʒen, own
Le-aʒnıan, to appropriate
Āhꝼan, ashes
Āhꝼıan, to ask
Āhτe. See Āʒan
Āhꝼæꝼ, Āhꝼeꝼ } anywhere

Ambep, *m.* a certain vessel or measure
Ambýpne, favourable (wind)
An, for, on
An, a, one; ane, alone
Ana, -e, alone, only
Anbid, *n.* delay, expectation, attendance
Anbugan, pret. -beah, pl. -bugon, to bow, submit
And, and
Andeym, worth, value
Andlang, along
Andlýfen, *f.* sustenance, substance
Andpæban. See Ondpæban
Andpýrne, terrible, formidable
Andplita, face, countenance
Andpýrde, *n.* answer
Anfealdnes, simplicity
Anfindan, to find. See Findan
Angе, anxious
Angean, against. See Ongean
Angildan, to pay. See Gildan
Angin, *n.* beginning, undertaking, enterprise
Anginnan. See Onginnan
Angitan, to know, be acquainted with
Angodian, pret. angode (an error or contraction for angodode), to indemnify
Anlicnes, image, idol, statue
Le-anmetan, to encourage
Anpædnes, unanimity
Anfittan, to stay in. See Gefittan
Anfýn, *f.* sight, spectacle
Anpald } *m.* power, dominion
Anpeald }
Anpealda, monarch
Anpig, *m.* single combat
Andpýrdan } to answer
Le-andpýrdan }
Apdpede, the country of the Obotritæ, a Slawish people to the north of the Old-Saxons, inhabiting the greater part of Mecklenburg
Ar, *f.* wealth, income
Ar, *f.* mercy, honour
Ar, *f.* possession
Ar, *n.* brass
Ar-geotere, brass-founder
Le-arian, to honour, have pity on
Aring, honour
Arleas, void of honour, base
Arlic, honourable.
Arh. See Yrnan
Attor } *n.* poison
Attres }
Aweg, away
Aweg-cuman, to come away, escape. See Luman
Axian. See Leacnian
Axan, ashes
Að, *m.* oath
Aher, either
Athum, son-in-law

B.

Ba, *f. n.* dat. bam, both
Bæcbord, larboard, left
Bæd. See Bidan
Bærtan. See Beærtan
Le-bær, *n.?* conduct, behaviour
Bærnan, to burn, pret. barn, pl. burnon, v. n.
Bæð, *m.* bath
Ban, *n.* bone
Babian, to bathe
Beærtan, behind
Beah, inclined. See Bugan
Bealð, bold
Le-bealh. See Gebelgan
Beam, *m.* tree, beam
Bearn, *n.* child
Bearn-team, *m.* progeny
Bebicgan, to sell. See Bicgan
Beboð, *n.* command, order
Bebýrian } to bury
Bebýrigean }
Bec, gen. dat. abl. sing. nom. and acc. pl. of boc, book
Becuman, to come upon. See Luman
Beð, *n.* bed
Bebelran, to bury. See Delran
Ge-beden, demanded. See Bidan
Bebrigan, pret. -brag, pl. -brigon, to drive
Begangen, encompassed. See Begon
Begangan, to betake. See Fangan

Beƿon, to contain, comprise; utan beƿon, to encompass. See Fon
Beƿopan, before
Began, Begangan } to venerate, cultivate, encompass. See Lan
Begen, *m.* both
Begeondon, beyond
Beginnan, pret. -gan, pl. -gunnon, to begin
Begitan, Be-gytan } pret. -geat, to get, obtain
Behabban, to comprise
Behatan, pret. -het, to promise
Beheafdian, to behead
Behealdan, 3 pers. -hylt, pret. -heold, to hold, observe, see
Behlidan, to close up. See Tohhidan
Behydan, to flay
Beladian, to unload, exculpate
A-belgan, Le-belgan } 3 pers. -bylgð, pret. -bealh, pl. bulgon, to enrage, incense
Belicgan, to enclose. See Licgan
Belifan, pret. belaf, part. belifen, to remain
Belucan, pret. -leac, pl. -lucon, to lock, close; part. belocen
Belytegian, to circumvent
Bemætan, to presume, esteem (oneself?) Ger. vermessen? I am not aware of the occurrence of this verb in any other author
Bemurcnian, to murmur
Ben, *f.* prayer
Bena, supplicant, supplicating
Benæman, to deprive, take away
Benaman, to name
Benð, *m. f.* band, bond
Le-benð, bound. See Binðan
Le-benðan, to lay in bonds
Beniman, pret. benam, part. benumen, to take away, deprive of
A-beodan, to announce. See Beodan
Beodan, Be-beodan, Le-beodan } pret. -bead, pl. -budon, to command, enjoin, offer
Beorgan, Le-beorgan, Burgan } pret. beaph, pl. burgon, part. -borgen, to save, secure
Beoph, *m.* mountain
Beormar, the people inhabiting the country called Biarmaland, east of the Dwina. See Aall, note to Snorri, i. p. 77
Le-beotian, to threaten, promise
Beran, Le-beran } pret. -bær, part. -boren, to bear, carry, bring forth
Bera, bear
Bepeafian, to bereave of, plunder
Beren, of bearskin
Berstan, pret. bærst, pl. burston, to burst
Berætian, to beset, lie in wait for
Berapon, beheld. See Seon
Berceapian, to see, observe
Berceotan, pret. berceat, to shoot, dart, rush, precipitate
Bercuƿan, pret. -rceaf, pl. -rcuƿon, to shove, push
Bercýpan, pret. -rceaƿ, to shave
Berem, besom, broom, rod
Berencan, to sink: v. a.
Berengan, to singe, scorch, burn
Bernean, pret. -ranc, pl. -runcon, to sink, v. n.
Berittan, pret. -ræt, part. -reten, to besiege
Berpon, drawn, attracted. See Arpanan
Berppecan, to talk about, announce, complain. See Sprecan
Berstelan, pret. rtæl, to steal, i. e. to go clandestinely
Berpican, pret. -rpac, pl. -rpicon, to deceive, calumniate, betray, circumvent; berpice beon, to deceive
Berýman, Berpman } to ensnare, circumvent, plot against
Bet, better, *adv.* þý bet, the better
Betæcan, Betæcean } pret. -tæhte, to commit, entrust, deliver
Betan, Le-betan } to make reparation, atone, repair; betan rýr, to make up a fire
Betepe, comp. of god, better
Betogen, covered, from beteon. See Teon
Betst, best

Betux, Betpux, Betpih } between, among
Betpeonan, Betpeonum } between, among
Betýnan, to close, shut
Bepeopcan, to work over, or cover, construct
Bepeoppan, Bepýppan } pret. -peapp, pl. -pupon, to cast
Bepepian, to defend
Bepiuban, pret. -panb, pl. -punbon, to wind about
Bepitan, pret. bepirte, to take care or charge of, command
Bepopen, shedding tears, from pepan
Beþrýðian, to force, encompass?
Beþýðan, to urge, impel
Bi, by
Bicgan, Le-bicgan } pret. bohte, to buy
Le-bicnian, to signify, show
Bidan, Ā-bidan, Le-bidan } pret. -bad, pl. -bidon, to abide, stay, continue
Biddan, Le-biddan } pret. bæd, to pray, worship, demand
Ā-biddan, to solicit, obtain by solicitation. See Biddan
Le-bigan, to bow, subdue
Bilibban, to live by *or* on
Bilpitnes, meekness, gentleness
Bindan, Le-bindan } pret. -band, pl. -bundon, to bind, part. gebunden
Binnan, within
Birceop, bishop, priest
Birceophad, priesthood
Birmes, Birmos } infamy, ignominy, blasphemy, mockery
Birmepian. See Lebýrmepian
Birmoplic, disgraceful, ignominious, squalid
Birmpung, insult, ignominy, disgrace
Birpel, *n.* proverb
Bit, *m.*? bit, bite
Ā-bitan, pret. -bat, pl. -biton, to bite
Biteþ, bitter
Blac, black, *also* pale, Ger. bleich
Blæd, *f.* fruit
Blædre, *f.* boil, tumour
Le-bland, *n.*? mingling; rnap-ge-bland, snow-storm
Le-bletsian, to bless
Blindlice, blindly
Blinnan, Ā-blinnan } pret. blan (blon) pl. blunnon, to cease
Blīð, blithe, luxurious, joyful
Blīðlice, blithely, joyfully
Blīðnes, blitheness, gladness
Blod, *n.* blood
Blod-þrync, *m.* blood-drinking
Blod-gyte, *m.* bloodshed
Blodig, bloody
Blod-rýne, *m.* effusion of blood
Le-blot, *n.* sacrifice
Blotan, to sacrifice
Blotung, sacrifice
Boc, *f.* book
Boc-land, *n.* land held by charter or testament
Le-bod, *n.* order, ordinance
Le-bodian, to announce
Le-bogen, inhabited, from bugan
Ā-bolgen, Le-bolgen } exasperated, angry. See Ābelgan
Le-bopen, born, from beran
Bot, *f.* atonement, from betan
Bnad, broad, wide-spread
Bnadian, to widen, extend, spread
Bnæd, *f.* breadth
Bnædan, Le-bnædan } to spread, extend, widen
Bnæð, breath, vapour
Le-bnec, *n.* breaking, breach
Bnecan, Ā-bnecan } pret. -bnæc, part. -bnocen, to break, capture by assault, Lat. expugnare, violate, burst
Bneð, *n.* board, tablet
Ā-bneðan, Le-bneðan } pret. -bnæð, pl. -bnuðon, part. -bnoðen, to draw
Bneðenð, cunning, crafty
Bneost, *n.* breast
Bneðer, dat. and abl. of bnoðer
Bningan, Le-bningan } pret. bnohte, to bring
Bnoc, *n.* misery, affliction, trouble

Bpocian } to afflict, distress,
Ge-bpocian } maim, half kill
Bpohte } see Bpingan
Ge-bpohte }
Bpopnian, to decay
Ge-bpopen, brewed
Bpoþop, brother
Ge-bpoþorpcipe, brotherhood
Ge-bpoðpa } brethren, brothers;
Ge-bpoðpu } Ger. Gebrüder
Bpucan, pret. bpeac, pl. bpucon, to enjoy, use, eat
Bpýcg, *f.* bridge
Bpýcð, breaks. See Brecan
Bpýme } famed, renowned
Bpeme }
Bpýne, *m.* burning, fire
Buan } 3 pers. býð, pret. buðe, part. -bun to inhabit, dwell, cultivate
Ge-buan }
Bupan, above
Bugan } pret. -beah, pl. -bugon, part. gebogen, to bow, bend, submit, turn, revolt, inhabit
Ā-bugan }
Ge-bugan }
Ge-bun, inhabited, cultivated; from buan
Ge-bunden. See Bindan
Burgenda-land, Bornholm
Burgendan, the Burgundians. These in Ælfred's time appear to have dwelt to the north of the Osti. We find them at another period on the east bank of the Oder. They have given name to the isle of Bornholm (Borgundar-holm)
Buph } *f.* burgh, city
Bupuh }
Buph-leode, *m. pl.* citizens
Buphpapu, *f.* townsfolk, inhabitants
Butan, buton, but, save, except, unless, without
Butu, both
Ge-bycgan, pret. -bohte, to buy
Byge, *m.* bending, angle
Ge-bylð, emboldened
Bylpihce, innocently, meekly
Byn, cultivated, from buan
Ge-byrd, *f.* birth
Byrðeorc, of best birth
Byrele, cup-bearer
Byrgen, *f.* sepulchre
Ge-byrian. v. impers. to happen
Byrig, dat. abl, and nom. pl. of burh; also of beorh, mound, barrow, sepulchre
Byrigen, *f.* sepulchre, grave
Byrnan, pret. barn, pl. burnon, to burn. Lat. ardere
Byren, *f.* example, precept
Ge-byrmepian, to treat with contumely, maltreat

C.

Carcern, *n.* prison
Carepe, Cæsar, emperor; Ger. Kaiser
Capl, *m.* basket
Cealc } *m.* chalk
Cilc }
Cealð, cold
Ceap, *m.* chap (as in chapman), chattel, commodity
Ceapian } to buy
Ge-ceapian }
Ceap-scip, *n.* merchant-ship
Ceaf. See Ceofan
Cempa, champion, soldier
Cene, bold, valiant
Cennan, to bring forth
Ā-ceorfan, pret. aceaf, to cut, cut off, part. acorfen
Ceorf-æx, *f.* axe
Ceorian, to murmur
Ceorl, *m.* churl, peasant
Ceofan } pret. -ceaf, 2. -cure, pl. -curon, part. -coren, to choose, elect
Ge-ceofan }
Cidung, chiding
Cild, *n.* child
Cirice, *f.* church, temple
Clæne, clean, completely
Clað, *m.* cloth, garment
Clif, *n.* shore, cliff
Clud, *m.* rock
Cludig, craggy, rocky
Clure, narrow pass, strait
Clypian, to call
Cneop, *n.* knee
Cniht, boy, youth

Lnihthaδ, boyhood
Lnýran } to crush, overthrow
Le-cnýran }
Loopta, cohort
Ā-copen, chosen. See Leoran
Lopn, *n.* corn
Lortian, to tempt
Lot, cot, cottage
Lpæft, pl. cpaftaf, *m.* craft, device, power
Ā-cpæftan, to resolve, devise?
Le-cpæftgian, to strengthen, render powerful
Lpæftig, crafty, powerful
Lpæt-þæn, *m.* cart-wain; chariot, car
Lpeopan, pret. cpeap, pl. cpupon, to creep
Lpiften, christian
Lpiftenδom, christianity
Lpiftenefte, most christian
Lucu }
Luca } quick, living
Luco }
Luman, 3 pers. cýmð, pret. com, to come
Ā-cuman, to come, be born. See Luman
Lunnan: ic can, pl. cunnon; pret. cuðe, pl. cuðon, to know, be able, can
Le-cunnian, to try, attempt
Lupon }
Ā-cupon } see Leoran
Le-cupon }
Luð, known, manifest. See Lýþan
Luðon. See Lunnan
Lpacian, to quake
Lpacung, quaking
Lpealm, *m.* mortality, pestilence, plague
Ā-cpelan, pret. acpæl, to die, perish
Lpellan } pret. cpealδe, to slay,
Ā-cpellan } kill
Lpeman } to conciliate, please
Le-cpeman }
Lpen }
Lpene } queen, woman
Ā-cpencan, to quench
Lpenlanδ, the country between the Gulf of Bothnia and the White Sea, including Finmark
Lpen-ræ, *m.* the White Sea
Lpeðan } 3 p. cpýð, pret. cpæð,
Le-cpeðan } pl. cpæδon, to say, speak, agree on, declare
Lpic, quick, living
Lpilman, to kill
Lpýδpæδen } *f.* compact, cove-
Le-cpýδpæδen } nant
Lýl, *m.* leathern bag
Lýle, *m.* cold
Lýmð, comes. See Luman
Lýn, *n.* kin, kind, sort, race
Le-cýnδ, *n.* nature; adj. natural
Lýne, royal; used as a prefix, as cýne-cýnnef, of royal race
Lýneδom, kingdom
Lýnelice, royally, nobly
Lýne-pice, *n.* kingdom
Lýne-fetl, *n.* royal seat or residence
Lýng }
Lýning } king
Lýningc }
Lýpepen, of copper
Lýp }
Lip } *m.* time, occasion
Lýppan }
Le-cýppan } to turn, return
Le-cippan }
Lýpice, *f.* church
Lýft, *f.* chest, box
Lýþan } pret. -cýðδe, cýδδe,
Le-cýþan } part. -cýþeδ, to make known, devise
Lýðþu, *f.* country

D.

Dæδ, *f.* deed
Dæδbot, *f.* penance, repentance
Dæg, *m.* day; pl. δagaf
Dæl, *m.* part
Dælan } to deal, divide, distri-
Le-δælan } bute
Le-δafenian, to be fitting
Le-δafenlice, fittingly
Dalamenfan, the Dalamensæ, a Slavonic people, formerly inhabiting Silesia

Deaþ, dead
Deaþlic, deadly
Deaþnunga, secretly
Deaþþan, ic þeaþ (þeoþ) þe þuþþon, pret. þorfte, to dare
Deaþ, *m.* death
Le-þelf, *n.* delving, digging
Delfan, Ā-þelfan } pret. þealf, pl. þulfon, to delve, dig
Dem, Demm } *m.* loss, detriment
Le-þeman, to doom, sentence
Denamearc, Denmark; though not in the modern sense, but the then Danish provinces of Skaane (Scania) and Halland, which were, in fact, the ancient seat of the Danes, and constituted a part of that kingdom until 1658, when they were ceded to Sweden
Deofol, Deoful } devil
Deofol-cræft, *m.* diabolical art
Deofolgýlð, *n.* idol, idolatry
Deofulgýlð-hus, *n.* heathen temple
Deor, *n.* deer, beast
Derian, to hurt, injure, annoy
Dic, *f.* dike, ditch
Digel, dark, secret
Digelnes, darkness, secret, mystery
Dohtor, daughter
Dom, *m.* doom, authority, dignity
Don, Le-þon } 3 pers. deð (doð), pret. dyde, part. gedon, to do, make, reduce, bring
Ā-þon, to do, take, remove, release See Don
Dorfte. See Deaþþan
Ā-þræþan. See Onþræþan
Ā-þræstan, drive out, expel
Le-þræfednes, grief, sorrow
Dream, *m.* frenzy
Drecan, Le-þrecan } pret. þrehte, to torment, afflict
Le-þrefan, to perplex, trouble, afflict
Le-þrefedlic, turbid, dense
Drenc, *m.* drink, potation
Ā-þrencan, to drown, *v. a.*
Dreogan, 3 pers. þrýð, pret. þreah, pl. þrugon, to suffer, sustain
Drifan, Dryfan } pret. þraf, to drive, urge
Le-þrifan, to be wrecked. See Drifan
Drig, dry
Ā-þrigan, to dry up
Drihten, *m.* lord
Drinca, drink
Druncan, pret. þranc, pl. þruncon, to drink
Ā-þruncan, to be drowned. See Druncan
Dropa, drop
Druncen, drunk
Ā-þruncen, drowned. See Druncan
Druncennys, drunkenness
Dry, wizard, magician
Drycræft, *m.* witchcraft, magic
Dryhten, lord
Le-þrync, *n.* drinking
Drypan, to drip, drop
Dugeð, *f.* nobility, flower (of a people), virtue
Dulmun, a sort of large ship, dromond
Dun, *f.* down, mountain
Dura, *f.* door
Durt, *n.* dust
Ā-þrærcan, to quench
Le-þrola, error, heresy
Le-þrolman, heretic
Dyde. See Don
Ā-þyde. See Āþon
Le-þyfan, pret. -þeaf, pl. -þufon, to dive, sink
Le-þyngian, to dung, manure
Dyr, Deor } dear, precious
Dyrn, dark, secret
Dyrnan, to conceal
Dyrig, *n.* folly, adj. foolish
Dyrigness, folly, delusion

E.

Ea, *f.* river; ea-gang, course or bed of a river
Eac, eke, also
Eaca, addition, increase
Eage, *n.* eye
Eahta, eight

Eahtateoþe, eighteenth
Eahtatiġ (hunð), eighty
Eahteðe } eighth
Eahtoðe }
Eala, alas
Ealað, *m.* ale
Ealð, old
Ealðdom, age
Ealdorðom, eldership, supremacy
Ealdorman, prefect, tribune, general
Ealdung, age
Eall, all
Ealn } *f.* ell
Eln }
Ealneġ } constanly, always
Ealniġ }
Ealo-ġepeorc, *n.* ale-brewery
Eam, uncle
Eard, *m.* country, habitation
Eardfæst, abiding
Eardian, to inhabit, dwell
Earfeð } *f.* difficulty, hardship,
Earfoð } mishap
Earfoðlice, hardly, sorely
Earg, bad, slothful, cowardly
Á-eargian, to become cowardly, etc.
Earm, *m.* arm
Earm, poor, miserable
Earmlice, miserably, piteously
Le-earnian, to merit, earn
Eart, east
Eartane, from the east
Eart-dæl, *m.* east part
Eartene, in the east
Eartemest, eastmost
Eartepeard, eastward
Eartland, the country of the Osti, or Estas, Esthonia. See Ost
Eartþýhte, due east
Eart-ymbutan, east about
Eapunga, publicly, openly
Eað, easier, more easily. See Yð
Eaðe, easily
Le-eaðmedan, to humble
Eaðmetto } *f.* humility
Eaðmettu }
Eaðmodiġ, humble
Eaðmodnes, humility
Ece, eternal, perpetual
Ecnyss, eternity
Edpit, reproach, contumely
Eft, again, after
Eft-agiefan, to give back. See Liefan
Eft-ġependan, to turn back, retrograde
Eft-secgan, to say again, repeat. See Secgan
Eage } *n.* eye
Ege }
Ege, *m.* awe, fear, terror
Egefull formidable
Egeslic. terrible, dire
Egsian } to terrify
Le-egsian }
Ehtan, to follow, prosecute, assail
Ehtatyne } eighteen
Eahtatyne }
Ehtnes } persecution
Ehtnyss }
Ele, *m.* oil
Ellþeod, *f.* exile
Eln, *f.* ell
Elpend, *m.* elephant
Elþeodiġ } foreign
Ellþeodiġ }
Embe. See Ymbe
Embsittan. See Ymbsittan
Emsela, equally many
Emleof, equally pleasing
Emlic } similar ; emlice, emnlice,
Emnlic } similarly, equally.
Emn, even, equal; co-in comp. emne, equally, level ; emnar, more equally ; on emn, simultaneous
Emnet, *m.*? plain, level country
Emnlange, along,
Emn-sceolere, co-disciple
Emsarig, equally sorrowful
Ende, *m.* end, extremity, part
Endemes, after all, at length
Endian } to end.
Le-endian }
Endleofan } eleven
Endlufon }
Ent, *m.* giant
Eode } See Gan and Legan
Le-eode }
Eorðbeofung, earthquake
Eorðe, earth

Eorðlic, earthly
Eorð-tyrene, earth-tar, bitumen
Eorð-ærtm, *m.* fruit of earth
Eorðbuende, *f. pl.* inhabitants of earth
Eorð-gela, abundance of earthly produce
Eow, you, to you
Erian, to plough
Etan, 3 pers. yt, pret. æt, to eat
Ettan, for etan, to eat? or pasture? or for hettan, to hunt?
Eudomane, Arabia Eudaimon
Eðel, *m, n.* country

F.

Le-fa, foe
Facen, Facn } *n.* artifice, deception, device
Facian, to contrive, plot, scheme
Fæder, father
Fædera, paternal uncle
Fæder-eðel, *m. n.* paternal country
Le-fædreð, related through the father
Fæger, fair, beautiful
Fæhð, *f.* feud, hostility, enmity
Fæmnanhad, *maidenhood*
Fænn, Fenn } *n.* fen
A-færan, to fear
Færeld, Færelt, Færelde } *n.* expedition, march, retinue
Færlic, sudden
Færr, fast, strong, firm
Færre, fast, firmly, closely
Færre-boc, *f.* fast-book?
Færren, *n.* fastness, fortress
Færrlic, firm, secure
Færrmod, firm
A-færrman, Le-færrman } to fasten, fix, confirm, resolve, establish
Færrnyr, fastness, strength
Fæt, *n.* vessel; pl. fatu
Fæt, fat
Fætelr, *n.* vessel
Fagen, Fægen } glad, joyful
Fandian, Le-fandian } to try, explore, attempt

Le-fangen, captured, taken (prisoner). See Fon
Fapan, Le-fapan { pret. fop, to fare, go, journey, experience, capture, ravage, gain (a victory), die; ge-fapen, departed, dead
A-fapan, to go from
Le-fea, joy
Fealð, *m.* fold
Fealh. See Filhan
Feallan, A-feallan, Le-feallan } 3 pers. fylð, pret. feoll, to fall
Feap, *m.* bull
Feap, few
Le-feccan, pret. -fehte, (-fette) to fetch, seek, get
Feðan, A-feðan } to feed, rear
Fel, *n.* fell, hide
Fela, much, many
Le-felan, to feel
Feng, A-feng } See Fon
Fen-land, *n.* fen-land
Feo, Feoh } *n.* cattle, money
Le-feoht, *n.* fight, war
Feohtan, A-feohtan } pret. -feaht, pl. -fuhton, to fight
Le-feohtan, to fight, gain by fighting
Feond, *m.* foe
Feondscipe, enmity
Feor, far
Feorh, *n.* life
Feorm, *f.* feast
Feorþa -e, fourth
Feoper, four; feopera fum, one and four others, or one of four?
Feoper-fet, *m.* quadruped, cattle
Feoperscyte, quadrangular
Feoperti3, forty
Feoperti3ðe, fortieth
Feopertyne, fourteen
Le-fera, comrade, associate
Feran, pret. ferde, to go, march
Le-ferræden, *f.* fellowship
Ferfc, fresh
Le-ferscipe, fellowship, companions
Le-fett, fetched, sent for. See Lefeccan

Feþe, gait, locomotive power
Feþe-heþe, *m.* foot army, infantry
Fif, five
Fifte, fifth; fiftene healf, four and a half
Fiftig, fifty
Fiftýne, fifteen
Filð, open, campaign
Filhan, pret. feall, to betake oneself?
Findan / Á-findan, pret. fand, pl. fundon, to find, determine, find out
Fingep, *m.* finger
Fipen-luft, *m.* sinful lust; from fipen, sin, and luft, lust
Fipmettan, to request? In the Cott. MS. the word has over it in a later hand bædon
Fippa, further
Fipc, pl. fixar, *m.* fish
Fipcað / Fipcoð, *m.* the occupation of fishing
Fipcepe, fisherman
Fla, *f.* arrow
Fleah. See Fleogan
Fleam, *m.* flight
Fleðe, flood, flood-tide
Fleoga, fly
Fleogan / Fleon, pret. fleah, pl. flugon, to flee, fly; fleonde, fleeing
Fleot, water, sea
Flex, *m.* flax
Ge-flit, *n.* contest, dispute
Flocmælum, in flocks
Flod, *m. f. n.* flood
Flopan / Á-flopan / Ge-flopan, pret. -fleop, to flow, flood
Flugon. See Fleogan
Flýma, fugitive
Á-flýman / Ge-flýman, to put to flight, rout
Fodpepe, fodderer
Folc, *n.* folk, people
Folc-gefeoht, *n.* general battle
Folgere, follower, successor
Folgian, to follow
Folgoð, *m.* train, service, Lat. ministerium, sequela
Fon / Ge-fon, 3 pers. feh, pret. feng, part. gefangen, to receive, take, begin, succeed to
Fop, *f.* journey, march
Fop, for, on account of
Á-fop. See Áfaran
Fopbærnan, to burn, be burnt
Fopbeodan, pret -bead, pl. -budon, part. -boden, to forbid
Fopberan, to endure, bear. See Beran
Fopbrecan, pret. -bræc, part. -brocen, to break, violate
Fopbugan, pret. -beah, pl. -bugon, to eschew, avoid
Fopbýrð, obstacle, hindrance
Fopceorfan, pret. -ceaf, pl. -curon, to cut, sever
Fopcuð, depraved, wicked
Fopcpeþan, to accuse, charge with. See Cpeðan
Fopdeman, to condemn
Fopdon, to foredo, destroy, *also* to perish. See Don
Fopdrifan, to drive. See Drifan
Fope, before
Fope-gilpan, pret. -galp, pl. -gulpon, to vaunt
Foppeard, forward, early
Fopfleogan, to run away. See Fleogan
Fopgan, to forgo. See Gan
Fopgifan, to forgive. See Gifan
Fopgifen / Fopgýfen, indulgent, compliant
Fopgifenes, forgiveness
Fopgitan / Fopgýtan, pret. -geat, pl. -giton, to forget
Fopgýldan, pret. -gealð, pl. -guldon, part. -golden, to pay, requite
Fophergian, to ravage, plunder, harm
Fophergung, ravaging, devastation
Fophte, afraid, fearful
Fophpæga, ? about
Fophýnan, to bring down, reduce, humble
Foplæban, to mislead
Foplætan, pret. foplet, to leave, forsake, dismiss, abandon, allow

Forleoran, 3 pers. -lýrt, pret. -leaf, pl. -luron, part. -loren, to lose
Forlicgan, to commit incontinence, v. refl.
Forlor, loss
Forma, -e, foremost, first
Formeltan, to be consumed by fire. See Lemeltan
Forneah, almost all, very near
Forneþan, to devote, sacrifice?
Forniman, to take away (by death), destroy. See Niman
Forod, broken
Forsacan, pret. -soc, to refuse, deny, renounce
Forsætian, to beset, lie in wait for
Forsapon, despised. See Forseon
Forscapung } metamorphosis, vi-
Forsceapung } cissitude?
Forscyran, pret. -scear, pl. -scurun, to crop off, gnaw off
Forsendan, to send away, banish
Forseon, to despise. See Seon
Forsepenner, contempt
Forsittan, to obstruct, occupy. See Lesittan
Forslean, 3 pers. -slýð, pl. -sloh, pl. -slogon, part. -slagen (-slegen), to kill, destroy, beat
Forspillan, to destroy
Forstandan, to stand before. See Standan
Forsugian } to pass in silence
Forsupian }
Forsýgian }
Fortendan, to burn
Forpeorcan } to destroy, make cri-
Forpýrcan } minal. See Lepeorcan
Forpeorþan, to perish. See Peorþan
Forpýrnan, to warn, forbid, deny, refuse
Forð, forth, on
Forþæm } because
Forþam }
Forþon }
Forþencan, to despise, despond; forþoht, despised. See Þencan
Forðsapan, to go forth, die
Forðsapen, departed, dead
Forð-gelædan, to lead forth
Forð-gesecgan, to say forth. See Secgan
Fot, *m.* foot; betweox þam sotum, tête-à-tête
Fracoð } profligate, indecent
Fracoð }
Frætwian } to fret, adorn
Le-frætwian }
Fram } from, by, through. of
From }
Frambugan, to desert, abandon. See Lebugan
Frecenlice, dangerously
Freolice, wantonly, lasciviously
Fregea, lord, master
Fregnan, pret. frægn, pl. frugnon, to ask, inquire of
Fremde, strange, foreign
Le-fremman } to effect, perpetrate,
Le-fremman } promote, perform
Freodom, freedom, liberty
Le-freogan, pret. -freode, to free, emancipate
Freond, friend
Freondscipe, friendship
Freoran, pret. frop, part. fropen, to freeze
Fretan, pret. fræt, to devour
Frig, free
Frinan, pret. fran, pl. frunon, to ask, inquire
Frið, *m.* peace
Friðian, to protect
Frox, *m.* frog
Fruma-, first, *used as a prefix*
Fruma, beginning
Fruma-cenned, firstborn
Fruma-slæp, *m.* first sleep
Frymð, *f.* beginning
Le-fryndo, friends, *used collectively*
Fugel, *m.* fowl, bird
Fugelere, fowler
Fulgan, to follow
Fulian, to corrupt, rot
Full, full
Fulleodon, to fulfil. See Lan
Fullgan } to complete, accom-
Fullgangan } plish, terminate, perform duty. See Lan

Fullıan, to baptise
Fullıce, fully
Fullpıht, *m.* baptism
Fulneah, nearly
Fulnaðe, very quickly, very soon
Fultum, *m.* help, aid, force
Le-fultumian, to aid, support
Fultumleaf, without help
Funðian, to tend, hasten
Funþon, indeed, even
Funþumlic, wonderful, singular?
Le-fylde, *n.* plain
Fyll, *f.* fill, glut, fall, destruction
A-fyllan, to fill
A-fyllan, to quell
Le-fyllan, to fell, strike down, slay
Fylstan } to aid, support
Le-fylstan }
Fylð, falls. See Feallan
Le-fynd, foes; from feond
Fyr, *n.* fire
Fyr-bryne, *m.* conflagration
Fyr-cyn, *n.* sort of fire
Fynd, *f.* army
Fyren, fiery
A-fyrhtan, to frighten, terrify
Fyrhtnes, fear, terror
Fyrhto, *f.* fear
Fyrmest, first, foremost, chiefly
Fyrr, farther; comp. of feor
Fyrrest, farthest; superl. of feor
Fyrst, *m.* space of time
Fyrst, first, chief
Fyrþrian, to further, promote

L.

Le-gaderian, to gather, collect
A-gælan, to strike with a panic; part. agæled (agælped), busy
Græs-cið, *m.* blade of grass
Græstapa, grasshopper, locust
Gafol, *n.* tribute
Gafol-gylda, tributary
Gan } pret. eode, to go, walk
Gangan }
Le-gan, to overrun, conquer. See Gan
Gangende, going, foot soldiers
Gang-here, *m.* army of foot
Gara, point? p. 258
Garsecg, *m.* ocean
Ge, yea, also
Geap, *n.* year. In geap-dagum, in days of yore. Pages 332, l. 30, and 430, 7. geap is masc.
Geard, *m.* home, dwelling
Geare, readily, well; comp. gearor
Gearo, ready
Geat, *n.* gate
Geat. See Geotan
Gefea, joy
Geleafa, belief, faith
Gemæne } common; gemæng-
Gemænlic } lice, in common
Gemong, among, during
Geoc, *n.* yoke
Geomorlic, sad, doleful
Geompian, to sigh, groan, lament
Genoh, enough
Geond, throughout, over
Geong } young
Giong }
Geongra, junior, disciple
Georn, diligent, desirous
Georne, earnestly, diligently, well; comp. georner, rather
Geornfful, desirous, diligent
Geornfulnes, zeal, energy
Geornlic, desirable
Geotan, pret. geat, pl. guton, to shed, pour
Geotere, founder
Giddian, to sing, make verses
Gif, if
Gifan } pret. geaf, pl. gifon, to
Gyfan } give
A-gifan } to give up, restore. See
A-gyfan } Gifan
Gifl, meal, refection
Gifu, *f.* gift, favour, grace
Gildan } pret. gealð, pl. guldon,
A-gildan } to pay, requite
Gilp } *m.* vaunt, boast
Gylp }
Gim-stan, *m.* gem, precious stone
Gind. See Geond
Gingra. See Geongra
Gingest, youngest
Ginian, to yawn
Gipian, to prepare

Ginnan } to yearn, desire
Gýnnan }
Gisel, *m.* hostage
Gitsung, *f.* cupidity
Gleap, skilful, sagacious
Glidan, pret. glád, pl. glidon, to glide
Gnæt, *m.* gnat
Gnidan, pret. gnád, pl. gnidon, to rub
Gnornung, complaint, murmuring
God, God
God, *n.* good, *adj.* good
Godcund, divine, blessed
God-gýld, *n.* image of a god, idol
Gold, *n.* gold
Gold-hord, *m.* treasure
Gram, incensed, angry
Gremman } to irritate, vex
Ge-gremman }
Gretan, pret. gréette, to greet, meet, encounter
Grim } fierce, sanguinary
Grimlic }
Ge-grípan, pret. grap, pl. -gripon, to gripe, seize
Grohte, *n.* grain, groat, grit
Gropan, to grow
Guðfana, gonfanon, war-banner, ensign
Gýddian } to sing, recite (verse)
Giddian }
Gyden, goddess
Gylden, golden
Gylpan } pret. gealp, pl. gulpon, to
Gilpan } vaunt
Gylpe-word, *n.* vaunt-word, boast
Gylt, *m.* guilt, crime
A-gyltan } to sin, offend
Ge-gyltan }
Gyman, to heed; *gov. gen.*
Gyme, *f.* heed
Gyrela } garment, clothing
Ge-gyrela }
Gyrlan } to clothe, ornament,
Ge-gyrlan } prepare
Gyrnan, to yearn, desire; *gov. gen.*
Ge-gyrwan, to prepare
Gyt, yet, still
A-gytan, pret. ongeat, to understand

Þ.

Habban, 3 pers. hæfð, pret. hæfde, to have
Hacele, *f.* mantle, garment
Hæfdon. See Habban
Hæftnýd, *f.* captivity, thraldom
Ge-hælan, to heal, cure
Hælend, Saviour
Hærfest, *m.* harvest, autumn
Hæte } *f.* heat
Hætu }
Hætt, *m.* hat
Hæþe, heat?
Hæþen, heathen, hæþenisc, heathenish
Hæþum (æt), Haithaby, now Haddeby, on the south bank of the Slie. This now forgotten city has long been supplanted by the more modern Sleswig. Its ancient church is all that remains of it
Hagol, *m.* hail
Hagolian, to hail
Hal, hale, whole, sound
Ge-halgian, to hallow, consecrate
Halig, holy
Halsian, to implore
Ham, *m.* home
Ham-færeld, march home
Hampeard, homewards
Hand, *f.* hand; on hand gan, to yield, surrender
Hat, not
Hatan } pret. -het, to command,
Ge-hatan } promise
Hatan, to call, be called; pret. hatte (het), part. gehaten
He, he
Hear, *m.* groan, groaning
Hearod, *n.* head
Hearod-burh, *f.* chief city
Hearodlic, head, chief
Hearod-mice, *n.* chief empire
Hearod-stede, *m.* chief place
Hearod-stol, *m.* chief seat, metropolis
Heah, high
Heahþungen, of high rank
Healdan, 3 pers. hylt, pret. heold, to hold, conduct

Ḥealꝼ, *f.* half, side
Ḥealꞇ, halt, lame
Ḥean, mean, base, contemptible
Ḥeanlıc, disgraceful, contemptible, lowly
Ḥeap, *m.* body (of men), -band, corps
Ḥeapmælum, in bodies
Ḥeaꞃð, hard, cruel, rugged, bold; heaꞃðoꞅꞇ, chiefly
Ḥeaꞃðlıce, hardly
Ḥeaꞃðꞅælneꞅ } calamity
Ḥeaꞃðꞅælð }
Ḥeaꞃm, *m.* harm, injury, prejudice
Ḥeaꞃan, pret. heoꞃ, to hew, cut
Ā-hebban, 3 pers. aheꞅð, pret. ahoꞅ, part. ahaꞅen, to heave, lift, raise
Ḥeꞅenlıc } heavenly
Ḥeoꞅonlıc }
Ḥelan, pret. hæl, to conceal
Ḥell, *f.* hell
Ḥelp, help
Le-helpan, pret. -healp, pl. -hulpon, to help, *gov. gen.*
Le-henð, handy, convenient
Ḥenðe, on henðe, on hand
Ā-henȝ } See Āhon
Ḥenȝon }
Ḥeo } she, it, *fem.*
Ḥıo }
Ḥeoꞅ, sighing, groaning, lament
Ḥeoꞅon } *m.* heaven
Ḥeꞅon }
Ḥeoꞅon-ꞃıce, *n.* kingdom of heaven
Ḥeoꞅonꞃaꞃe, inhabitants of heaven
Ḥeoꞃꞇe, *f.* heart
Ḥeꞃ, here
Ḥeꞃe, *m.* army
Ḥeꞃe-ꞅeoh, *n.* } military booty
Ḥeꞃe-hýð, *f.* }
Ḥeꞃȝ } *m.* temple
Ḥeaꞃȝ }
Ḥeꞃȝıan, to ravage, plunder, harry, capture
Ḥeꞃȝunȝ, harrying, warfare
Ḥeꞃıan } to praise
Ḥeꞃıȝan }
Ḥeꞃınȝ, praise, glorification
Ḥeꞃꞃa, for heahꞃa, higher. See Ḥeah
Ḥeꞇ. See Ḥaꞇan

Ḥeꞇe, *f.* heat
Ḥeꞇe, pret. subj. of haꞇan
Ḥeꞇelıc, hateful, execrable
Ḥı } they, them, pl. of he, heo
Ḥý } hıꞇ
Ḥıeꞃ, hewn, p. 434, 3. ? hıeꞃne
Ḥınðan, behind, after
Ḥıne, accus. of he, he
Ḥıꞃan } to belong
Ḥýꞃan }
Ḥıꞃeð, *m.* family, household
Ḥıꞇ, it
Ḥıꞃunȝ, marriage
Ḥlæꞅðıe, lady, mistress
Ḥlæꞅmæꞅꞅe, Lammas
Ḥlæne, lean
Ḥlaꞅ, *m.* loaf, bread
Ḥlaꞅoꞃð, *m.* lord, master
Ā-hleapan, pret. ahleop, to run, leap up, rush on
Ḥleoꞇan } pret. hleaꞇ, pl. hluꞇon,
Le-hleoꞇan } to draw lots
Ḥlıhhan, pret. hloh, pl. hloȝon, to laugh
Ḥloð } body of men
Le-hloð }
Ḥlýn, *m.* cry, noise
Ḥlýpan, to leap
Ḥlýꞇꞇa, augur, diviner by lots
Ḥneꞅc, soft
Ā-hneꞅcıan, to become effeminate, enervated
Ḥneꞅclıc, soft, effeminate
Ḥol, *n.* hole, cave
Ḥolð, kind, well-disposed
Ā-hon, pret, ahenȝ, to hang, v. a.
Ḥoppe, *f. Lat.* bulla; an ornament or amulet, worn on the neck of noble or free-born children
Ḥoꞃıꞇhı, a people to the east of the Dalamensæ
Ḥoꞃꞅ, *n.* horse
Le-hoꞃꞅeð, horsed, cavalry
Ḥoꞃꞅ-hꞃæl, *m.* walruss
Ḥꞃæðlıc, short
Ḥꞃæðlıce, speedily
Ḥꞃæȝl, *n.* garment, clothes
Ḥꞃæn, *m.* raindeer; pl. hꞃanaꞅ
Ḥꞃað, quickly, soon; comp. hꞃaðoꞃ, sooner, more speedily
Lehꞃeaꞅ. See Lehꞃeoꞅan

Ā-hꞃeddan, to preserve, save
Þꞃeoh, rough
Le-hꞃeoꞃan, pret. -hꞃeaꞃ, 2 pers. -hꞃuꞃe, part. ȝehꞃoꞃen, to fall
Þꞃeoꞃende, falling, decaying
Þꞃeoꞃ, *f.* repentance
Þꞃeoꞃlice, cruelly, bitterly
Þꞃeoꞃꞃung, *f.* repentance
Þꞃic, *m.* back
Þꞃiꞃ, womb
Þꞃing, *m.* ring
Þꞃoꞃ, *m.* roof
Þꞃẏꞃe, *m.* fall, rain
Þꞃẏꞃꞃian } to rue, repent
Þꞃeoꞃꞃian }
Þꞃẏþeꞃ, *n.* ox
Þu, how
Þulucu } how ; Lat. qualis
Þulicu }
Þund, *m.* dog
Þund, hundred. Þund is generally placed before the tens after sixty, without affecting the number, as hund-ꞃeoꞃontig, seventy
Þungeꞃ, *m.* hunger, famine
Þungꞃeg } hungry
Þungꞃig }
Þunig, *n.* honey
Þunta, hunter
Þuntað, *m.* hunting, chase
Þuꞃ, *n.* house, temple
Le-hꞃa, each, every
Þꞃæl, *m.* whale; pl. hꞃalaꞃ
Þꞃæl-hunta, whale hunter
Þꞃæþeꞃe, notwithstanding, yet, nevertheless, however
Þꞃænne, when
Þꞃæt, what
Þꞃæt, vigorous, active
Þꞃæt-hꞃaꞃa, somewhat
Þꞃætꞃcipe, vigour, activity, valour
Þꞃanon, whence
Þꞃaꞃ } (hꞃæꞃ), where
Þꞃaꞃa }
Þꞃateꞃt, boldest, most energetic
Þꞃeaꞃꞃian, to go round about, wander round and round
Þꞃelp, m. whelp
Þꞃene } a little, somewhat
Þꞃæne }
Þꞃeol, *n.* wheel
Þꞃeoꞃꞃan } pret. -hꞃeaꞃꞃ, pl. hꞃuꞃꞃon, to turn, return ; hꞃeoꞃꞃende, alternate
Þꞃẏꞃꞃan }
Le-hꞃeoꞃꞃan }
Þꞃetꞃtan, *m.* whetstone
Ā-hꞃettan, to whet
Þꞃi } why ; onhꞃi, from what cause
Þꞃẏ }
Þꞃideꞃ, whither
Þꞃil, *f.* while, time; hꞃilum, sometimes
Þꞃilc } which, what, some, any
Þꞃẏlc }
Þꞃit, white
Þꞃon, little, but little
Le-hꞃẏlc, any, every, whichsoever
Le-hꞃẏꞃꞃtnian, to tear?
Þẏð, *f.* hide, skin
Le-hẏðan, to hide
Þẏld } *f.* homage, grace, favour, fidelity, affection; hlaꞃoꞃð-hẏldo, homage to a superior lord
Þẏldo }
Þẏnan, to abuse, injure, oppress
Þẏꞃan } to hear, listen, obey
Le-hẏꞃan }
Þẏꞃde, shepherd
Þẏꞃe, her
Þẏꞃꞃe, higher, comp. of heah
Le-hẏꞃꞃum, obedient
Þẏꞃꞃumian } to obey
Le-hẏꞃꞃumian }
Le-hẏꞃꞃumneꞃ, obedience
Þẏꞃe, boy, youth; hẏꞃe-cild, male child
Þẏꞃpan, to despise

I.

Ic, I
Ie, *f.* river
Le-iecan, to eke, enlarge
Iglanð, *n.* island
Ilc, same. See Ylc
In-ȝeꞃinn, *n.* intestine war or dissension
Inn, house, inn
Innan } within
Inne }
Innepeaꞃð, within
Into, into
Ioꞃeꞃ, Jove, Jupiter

Iꞃalanꝺ, Ireland or, rather, Scotland. Possibly an error for Iꞅalanꝺ, Iceland
Iꞅ, *n.* ice
Iꞅen, *n.* iron; also adj.
Iꝺ, easily. See Yꝺ

K.

Kennan. See Ƚennan
Ꞓkenneꞅ } nativity
Ꞓcẏnneꞅ }
Kẏning. See Ƚẏning

L.

Ƚe-lacnian, to heal, cure
Laꝺian, to excuse, exculpate
Laꝺꞇeoꝑ } guide, leader, general
Laꞇꞇeoꝑ }
Ƚe-læcan, to flatter
Læce, *m.* leech, physician
Læꝺan } to lead, conduct
Ƚe-læꝺan }
Læꞅan, to leave
Læꞃan, to teach, advise
Ƚe-læꞃeꝺ, learned
Læꞅ, less
Ƚe-læꞅꞇan, to perform, execute, make good, aid
Læꞇ, late, slow
Læꞇan, to let, esteem, regard, value
Læꞇan } pret. -leꞇ, to leave, re-
Ꞓ-læꞇan } sign
Laꞅ, *f.* remainder, relict, widow; ꞇo laꞅe beon or ꝑeoꞃþan, to be left
Lanꝺ. *n.* land, country
Lanꝺ-ꞅæꞅꞇen, *n.* land-fastness, or pass
Lanꝺ-ꝫemæꞃe, *n.* frontier, confine
Lanꝺ-leoꝺe, *m.* people of the country
Lanꝺ-ꞃice, *n.* territory, region
Lanꝫ, *adj.* long; lanꝫe, *adv.* long
Ƚe-lanꝫ, owing
Lanꝫian, to long
Lanꝫꞅum, long, tedious, lasting
Lanꝫꞅumlice, slowly
Laꞃ, *f.* lore, instruction, advice
Laꞃeoꝑ, doctor, teacher
Ƚe-laꞅꞇꞅall, officious, obedient
Laꞇe, late, slowly
Laꞇoꞃ, comp. of læꞇ and laꞇe
Laꝺ, calamity
Laꝺ, hostile, hateful, hostility
Laþian } to invite, summon
Ƚe-laþian }
Laꝺꞅpell, *n.* sad intelligence
Ƚe-leaꞅa, belief
Ƚe-leaꞅꞅum, credulous
Ꞓ-leah. See Ꞓleoꝫan
Leahꞇꞃian, to blame, criminate
Lean, *n.* reward
Leaꞅ-ꞅpell } *n.* fiction, fable,
Leaꞅunꝫ-ꞅpell } falsehood
Ꞓ-lecꝫan, pret. -leꝺe, to lay, lay down, place
Ꞓ-leꝫen, prostrated
Leꝫeꞃ, illness, sick-bed
Lencꞇen, lent, lenten, spring
Ƚe-lenꝺan, to land
Lenꝫ, comp. of lanꝫe
Lenꝫꝺ, length
Leo, lion
Leoꝺ, *m.* people, nation
Leoꞅ, dear; leoꞅꞃe, preferable
Leoꞅian, to live
Leoꝫan } pret. leah, pl. luꝫon, to
Ꞓ-leoꝫan } lie, belie
Leohꞇ, light, easy
Leoꞃnian } to learn, agree
Ƚe-leoꞃnian }
Leoꞃnunꝫ, *f.* learning
Leoꞇan, pret. leaꞇ, pl. luꞇon, to bow, incline forwards
Leoꝺ, *n.* poem, song
Leoꝺ-cꞃiꝺe, *m.* poem
Ƚe-leꞇan, to let, hinder
Leþe. See Liþe
Libban } to live, lead a life
Ꞓ-libban }
Lic, *n.* corpse
Ƚe-lic, like
Ƚe-lica, an equal
Licꝫan } pret. læꝫ, part. le-
Ƚe-licꝫan } ꝫen, to lie, die, be
Ƚe-licꝫean } allayed; licꝫenꝺe ꞅeoh, treasure
Lichoma, body, corpse
Ƚe-lician, v. impers. to like, to please
Liꞅ, *n.* life
Ƚe-liꝫeꞃ } fornication, adultery
Ƚe-liꝫeꞃneꞅ }

Liȝeꞇ, *n.* lightning
Lim, *n.* limb
Le-limpan, pret. -lamp, pl. -lumpon, to happen
Le-limplic, fitting, proper
Le-limplice, fittingly, properly
Liðe, soft, delicate, kind, mild
Ā-loccian, to entice
Locian, to look
Le-lomlic, frequent
Lonð, *n.* land
Longȝrum, long, tedious
Loꞇþrenc, *m.* trick, artifice
Luȝe } *f.* love
Luȝu }
Luȝian, to love
Luȝꞇbæꞃ } pleasant, agreeable, desirable, joyful
Luȝꞇbæꞃlic }
Luȝꞇȝumlic }
Luȝꞇȝull, desirous
Luȝꞇlice, gladly
Luꞇian, to lurk, crouch
Ā-lȳȝan, to allow, permit
Le-lȳȝan, to believe
Ā-lȳȝðen, lived. See Ālibban
Le-lȳȝeðlice, trustingly, implicitly
Ā-lȳȝan, to release, redeem, deliver
Lȳȝꞇan, to lust, desire, *gov. gen.*
Lȳꞇ, little, few
Lȳꞇel, little; læȝꞇ, least
Lȳꞇiȝ, crafty
Le-lȳꞇhan, to make little, diminish
Lȳð, mild
Lȳþeꞃlic, squalid, poor, mean

M.

Ma, more
Maðm-huȝ, *n.* treasure-house
Mæðen-cilð, *n.* female child
Mæðu } *m.* mead, meadow
Meðu }
Mæȝ, *m.* parent, kinsman, relation
Mæȝ, may; subj. mæȝe, pret. mihꞇe, might
Mæȝðen-man, maiden, virgin
Mæȝen, *n.* strength, efficacy, virtue, faculty
Mæȝ-ȝemoꞇ, *m.* meeting of kin
Mæȝꞃæðen, *f.* kinship
Mæȝð, *f.* tribe, people, family
Mæȝðalanð, the Polish province of Mazovia?
Mæȝðhað, maidenhood
Mænan } to complain of, bewail
Le-mænan }
Le-mæne, common, general
Mæniȝ } many
Maniȝ }
Mæniȝȝealð } manifold, divers
Moniȝȝealð }
Mæniȝȝealðlice, manifoldly, multifariously; comp. -or
Mæꞃe } great, famous
Mæꞃlic }
Le-mæꞃe, *n.* boundary, frontier
Le-mæꞃȝian, to exalt; ȝemæꞃȝoð, famed
Mæꞃð, *f.* greatness, glory, wonder
Mæȝȝe-ꞃꞃeoȝꞇ, mass-priest
Mæȝꞇ, most greatest, almost
Mæð, *f.* measure, degree
Maȝan, þu mihꞇ, pret. mihꞇe or meahꞇe, to may, can, be able. Lat. posse
Maȝiȝꞇeꞃ, master
Le-mahlic, wicked
Man } pl. men, man
Mann }
Man } one; Fr. on; Ger. man
Mon }
Mân, *n.* wickedness, falsehood
Man-cþealm } *m.* pestilence, mortality, plague
Mann-cþealm }
Mancȳn, *n.* mankind
Mân-ðæð, *f.* crime
Manȝelð, *m.* field of sin
Mann-ȝulꞇum, *m.* body of men
Man-ȝlihꞇ, *m.* slaughter
Ā-manȝumian, to excommunicate
Man-þeꞃoð } *n.* body of men, company
Mann-þeꞃoð }
Maꞃe, more; comp. of micel
Le-maꞃꞇꞃian, to martyr
Maꞃꞇꞃunȝ, suffering
Maꞃꞇȳꞃ, *m.* martyr
Maꞇꞇuc, *m.* mattock, pickaxe
Maþan, to mow
Mealm-ȝꞇan, *m.* metal, ore. O. N. malmr.
Meaꞃc, *f.* march, boundary, confine
Le-meaꞃcian, to define, describe

Meaꞃð, *m.* marten
Meðeꞃ, dat. and abl. of moðoꞃ
Le-meðꞃeð, related through the mother
Meðꞅælð, *f.* ill fortune
Meðu, *m.* mead
Ā-meldian, to announce, disclose
Le-meltan, pret. -mealt, pl. -multon, to melt, burn, consume (by fire)
Le-mengan, to mingle
Menigeo, *f.* many, multitude
Meolc, *f.* milk
Le-meꞃcian, to mark out
Meꞃe, *m.* mere, lake
Meꞃgen, *m.* morning, morrow
Le-met, *n.* mote, meeting
Metan } pret. mette, to meet,
Le-metan } find
Mete, *m.* meat, food
Meteleꞅt, *f.* ? want of food
Le-metgian, to moderate
Le-meting, meeting, engagement
Le-metgung, moderation
Met-ꞅeax, *m. f. n.* meat-knife, dagger
Mettꞃýmneꞅ, malady
Meþig, faint, enfeebled
Micel } much, great
Mýcel }
Le-miclian, to increase
Miclum, greatly
Mið, with
Mið, mid
Miðmeꞅt, middlemost
Miðð, a certain measure, about a peck
Miððaneaꞃð } *m.* world, earth
Miððangeaꞃð }
Mið-ealle, totally, altogether
Miððeꞃeaꞃð, towards the middle
Miðꞅaꞃan, to go with, accompany. See Faꞃan
Mið þam, when, while
Miht, *f.* might, power
Mil, *f.* mile
Mild, mild, gentle, kind
Mildelice, kindly
Mildheoꞃte, mild-hearted, compassionate
Mildheoꞃtneꞅ, mercy, pity
Miltꞅung, mildness, mercy
Miꞅdæed, *f.* misdeed
Miꞅlimpan, to be unsuccessful
Miꞅꞅenlic, various
Miꞅꞅpoꞃan, to speed ill
Mitinc, meeting
Le-mittan, to meet
Le-mitting, meeting, engagement
Mod, *n.* mood, mind, courage
Modoꞃ, mother
Modꞃie, maternal aunt
Mon. See Man
Mona, moon
Monað, *m.* month
Moncynn, *n.* mankind
Le-mong, among, during
Monð, *m.* month
Moꞃ, *m.* mountain
Moꞃð, *n.* deadly sin, murderous deed
Motan, must, might
Le-munan, to remember, make mention
Munt, *m.* mount, mountain
Munuc, *m.* monk
Munuc-liꞅ, *n.* monastery
Muꞃcnian, to murmur
Muþa, mouth (of a river)
Mýcelnýꞅ, magnitude
Mýclian } to increase
Le-mýclian }
Lemýnan. See Lemunan
Le-mýngian } to commemorate,
Le-mýndgian } mention
Le-mýnegung, remembrance, memorial
Mýnꞅteꞃ, *n.* minister, monastery
Lemýꞃc, *n.* boundary, march
Mýꞃe, mare
Mýꞃꞃan } to hinder, corrupt,
Ā-mýꞃꞃan } waste

N.

Na, not
Nabbað, for ne habbað. See Habban
Næðꞃe, *f.* serpent, adder
Næꞅꞃe, never
Nægel, *m.* nail
Nænne, accus. sing. masc. of nan
Næꞃe, for ne ꞃæꞃe. See Ꞅeꞅan
Næꞅ, for ne ꞃæꞅ

Le-næȝan, pret. -naȝ, to preserve, sustain
Naȝela, navel
Nahꞇ, naught, nothing
Nahꞇon, for ne ahꞇon, from aȝan
Nalæȝ } not; nalæȝ ꝥ an, not that
Naleȝ } alone
Naliȝ, p. 464, l. 35 ?
Nama, name
Nan, no, none
Nanuhꞇ, naught
Naꞇ, for ne ꝑaꞇ, know not; from ꝑiꞇan
Naþeꝓ } neither
Naþoꝓ }
Ne, not, no
Neaðinȝa, by force, needs
Neah, near
Le-nealæcan, pret. -læhꞇe, to approach
Neaꝓoneȝ, narrowness, strait
Neaꝓu, narrow
Neaꝓ, comp. of neah, near
Neaꝑeȝꞇ, proximity
Neȝa, nephew
Nehȝꞇ, last
Nellan. See Nȳllan
Nemnian, to name
Neoð-þeaꝓȝ, *f.* necessity
Le-neꝓ, *n.* refuge, asylum
Le-neꝓian, to save
Nexꞇa, next, last
Le-neþan, to dare, venture
Neþinȝ, degradation?
Nieð } *f.* need, compulsion, vio-
Neoð } lence, oppression
Nieðlinȝ. See Nȳðlinȝ
Niȝonꞇiȝ, ninety
Niȝonꞇȳne, nineteen
Niȝoþe, ninth
Nihȝꞇ, next
Nihꞇ, *f.* night; nihꞇeȝ, by night
Le-nihꞇȝumneȝ, abundance
Niman } pret. -nam, part. -nu-
Le-niman } men, to take, accept
Niꝑ, new
Niꝑan, newly
Niꝑ-cilcꞇ, newly cemented, from cilc, chalk
Niꝑlice } newly, recently
Niꝑilice }
Nið, *m.* jealousy, hatred
Le-niþeꝓian } to humble, degrade
Le-nȳþeꝓian }
Le-noh, enough
Nohꞇ, no, not, naught
Nolðe, for ne ꝑolðe. See Ꝑillan
Noma, name
Noꝓð, north
Noꝓþan, from the north
Noꝓðemeȝꞇ, northmest
Noꝓþeꝓn, northern
Noꝓðmenn, the Norwegians
Noꝓðꝓihꞇe, due north
Noꞇ, *f.* use, enjoyment
Nu, now
Nunne, nun, vestal
Le-nȳðan, to force, reduce to (subjection)
Nȳðlinȝ, *m.* thrall, serf.
Nȳȝan } nine
Niȝon }
Nȳhȝꞇ, nearest, sup. of neah
Nȳllan, contr. for ne ꝑillan, pret. nolðe, to will not. Lat. nolle
Nȳꝓeꝑeꞇꞇ, *n.* narrow pass
Nȳȝꞇan, for ne ꝑiȝꞇon
Nȳȝꞇe, for ne ꝑiȝꞇe
Nȳꞇ } use, useful
Nȳꞇꞇ }
Nȳꞇan } for ne ꝑiꞇon
Nȳꞇon }
Nȳꞇen, *n.* cattle, beast

O.

Oȝ-aceoꝓȝan, to cut off. See Æceoꝓȝan
Oȝ-aðꝓincan, to quench. See Dꝓincan
Oȝbeaꞇan, pret. -beoꞇ, to beat to death
Oȝðune, down
Oȝeꝓ, over, above, against, contrary to, throughout
Oȝeꝓbꝓecan, to transgress, infringe. See Bꝓecan
Oȝeꝓclimman, pret. -clomm, pl. -clummon, to climb over
Oȝeꝓcuman, to overcome. See Luman
Oȝeꝓðꝓencan, to overdrench
Oȝeꝓȝæꝓelð, *m.* passage over

Oꝼeꝼꝼaꝼan, to cross over. See Faꝼan
Oꝼeꝼꝼeꝼan, to traverse
Oꝼeꝼꝼlıtan, to refute
Oꝼeꝼꝼloꝼan, pret. -ꝼleoꝼ, to overflow
Oꝼeꝼꝼon, to take by surprise, seize. See Fon
Oꝼeꝼꝼꝼoꝼen, frozen over. See Fꝼeoꝼan
Oꝼeꝼꝼẏꝼ, *f.* transit
Oꝼeꝼgan, to pass over. See Lan
Oꝼeꝼhebban, to pass over. See Ahebban
Oꝼeꝼheoꝼtneꝼ, overflowing of heart
Oꝼeꝼheꝼgıan, to overrun, ravage
Oꝼeꝼhlæꝼtan, to overload
Oꝼeꝼhogıan, to despise, disdain
Oꝼeꝼhẏꝼan to hear, overhear, contemn
Oꝼeꝼmætlıc } immense
Oꝼeꝼmete }
Oꝼeꝼmettо, *f.* pride
Oꝼeꝼmodıg, proud
Oꝼeꝼꝼeon, to see over or across
Oꝼeꝼꝼtıgan, pret. -ꝼtah, pl. -ꝼtıgon, to pass over
Oꝼeꝼꝼꝼıþan, to overcome, prevail over
Oꝼeꝼꝼẏlꝼꝼıan, to silver over
Oꝼeꝼꝼaðan, to wade or pass over. See Ꝼaðan
Oꝼeꝼꝼeoꝼcan, to work over, cover. See Ꝼeoꝼcan
Oꝼeꝼꝼınnan, to conquer. See Ꝼınnan, part. oꝼeꝼꝼunnen
Oꝼeꝼꝼlenceð, proud, exalted
Oꝼꝼaꝼan, to go out, pursue. See Faꝼan
Oꝼꝼꝼıan, to offer, sacrifice
Oꝼꝼꝼung, offering, sacrifice
Oꝼꝼceotan, pret. -ꝼceat, pl. -ꝼcuton, part. -ꝼcoten, to shoot
Oꝼꝼlean. See Slean
Oꝼꝼmoꝼıan, to smother, suffocate
Oꝼꝼtıcıan, to stab
Oꝼꝼtıngan, pret. -ꝼtang, pl. -ꝼtungon, to stab, pierce
Oꝼꝼꝼıngan, to scourge. See Sꝼıngan
Oꝼt, often; oꝼtoꝼt, oftenest
Oꝼtoꝼꝼıan, to cast (stones), lapidate
Oꝼtꝼæðlıce, often, frequently
Oꝼtꝼeðan, pret. -tꝼæð, part. -tꝼeðen, to tread down
Oꝼtꝼıð, oftentimes
Oꝼtẏꝼꝼan, to stone, lapidate
Oꝼꝼeoꝼꝼan, pret. -ꝼeaꝼꝼ, pl. -ꝼuꝼꝼon, part. -ꝼoꝼꝼen, to strike down, slay
Oꝼþıncan, to take ill, repent. See Þıncan
Olecung, *f.* flattery
On, in, on, from, against
Onbæꝼnan, to burn, set on fire
Onbeoðan, to announce. See Beoðan
Onbıð, expectation
Onbutan, about
Oncnaꝼan, 3 per. -cnæꝼð, pret. -cneoꝼ, to know, understand, recognise
Onð, and
Onðon, to undo. See Don
Onðꝼæðan, pret. onðꝼeð, to dread
Onðꝼæðıng, *f.* dread, fear
Onꝼaꝼan, to proceed on or against. See Faꝼan
Onꝼınðan, to find, find out. See Fınðan
Onꝼon, to receive. See Fon
Ongean, against, towards
Ongean-ꝼeaꝼð, against
Ongılðan, to pay. See Lılðan
Ongın, *n.* enterprise, conduct
Ongınnan, pret. ongan, pl. ongunnon, to begin, undertake
Ongıtan, pret. -geat, to understand, perceive
Onhæleð, unhealed
Onhæt, hot
Onhætan, pret. -het, to heat
Onhagıan, to please, seem advisable
Onhangen, crucified. See Onhon
Onhon, to hang, crucify. See Þon
On-ınnan, in, within
Onlıcgan, to press, urge. See Lıcgan
Onꝼægan, to sacrifice
Onꝼcunıan, to shun
Onꝼenðan, to send
Onꝼeon, to look on. See Seon
Onꝼtælan, to raise, set on foot

Onȝtellan, pret. -ȝtealde, to appoint, establish, order
Onȝtȳȝian, to excite, affect
Onteon, to draw. See Teon
Ontȳndan, to kindle
Onpacan, pret. -poc, to awake
Onpald } See Ānpald
Onpeald }
Onpealh, sound, whole
Onpeg, away
Onpendan, to turn, convert, pervert, subvert
Onpeoȝpan, pret. -peaȝp, pl. puȝpon, to cast on or against
Onpinnan, to make war on. See Þinnan
Onþȝingan, pret. -þȝang, pl. -þȝungon, to throng on, press on
Open, open
Openlice, openly, publicly
Ordȝȝuma, author, originator
Orgȳte, known?
Ormæte, without measure, immense
Ortȝeop, desponding, without faith
Le-oȝtȝupian, to despair
Oȝpene, without hope
Oȝti, the Estas of Wulfstan, and Osterlings of modern times. They dwelt on the shores of the Baltic to the east of the Vistula
Oð, until; oðþæt, until, till that
Oðbȝedan, pret. -bȝæd, pl. -bȝudon, to draw away, withdraw
Oþeȝ, other, second, either, one
Oðȝeallan, to fall, be extinct
Oðȝleogan } pret. -ȝleah, pl. -ȝlugon, to flee, escape
Oðȝleon }
Oðhȳdan, to hide from
Oðiepan } to appear
Oðȳpan }
Oðȝpeȝan, pret. -ȝpoȝ, to deny on oath
Oðpitan, to twit, reproach
Oðȳpan, to show, reveal
Oððe, or; oðþe . . . . oðþe, either . . . . or
Oðþȝingan, to expel, force from. See Leþȝingan

P.

Palentȝe, palace
Paliȝte, balista
Pinian, to torture
Pinung, torment
Plega, play, game
Plegian, to play
Pleo } n. peril, danger
Pleoh }
Pleolic, dangerous
Poȝt, m. port
Pund, n. pound
Puȝpuȝe, f. purple
Pȳle, pillow, cushion
Pȳt, m. pit

R.

Racente, f. chain
Le-ȝad, n. condition
Le-ȝad, ready
Rad-heȝe } m. horse-army, cavalry
Rade-heȝe }
Rad-ȝæn, m. riding-wain, chariot
Le-ȝæcan, pret. -ȝæhte, to reach, attain, capture, reproach; work? p. 434, l. 22
Ræd, m. counsel
Rædan, to deliberate
Rædlic, advisable
Ræd-þeahteȝe, counsellor, councillor
Ræd-þeahtung, counsel
Ā-ȝæȝneȝ, f. exaltation
Raȝ, m. rope
Raþe, quickly, soon; ȝaþe þæȝ, soon after
Read, red
Reaȝeȝe, m. robber
Le-ȝeaȝian, to plunder
Reaȝlac, n. plundering, robbery
Reaȝung, plundering
Reccan, pret. ȝehte, to interpret
Ā-ȝeccan } pret. -ȝehte, to relate, recount, reckon
Ā-ȝeccean }
Le-ȝeccean }
Reccend, m. ruler
Le-ȝeȝa, reeve, prefect; Lat. comes
Ā-ȝeȝnian, to bear, endure
Reȝneȝbuȝh, the modern circle of Regen, of which Regensburg (Ratisbon) is the chief city

Ren, *m.* rain
Ge-penian, to adorn, to dress up (as a mockery) ?
Ge-peorð, *n.* meal, refection, language
Ge-perstan, to rest, desist from
Reð, fierce, cruel
Ribb, rib
Ric, rich, powerful
Rice, *n.* empire, state
Ricsian, to rule, govern, reign
Riðan } pret. -rað, pl. -riðon, to
Ā-riðan } ride, ride out
Riht, right, just
Rihtlic, right, righteous
Rihtwis, righteous
Ge-rim, *n.* number
Riman } to count, number, re-
Ā-riman } count
Ge-riman }
Rinan, to rain
Ripa, sheaf, bundle of corn
Ā-risan, pret. arās, to arise
Ge-risan, to be fitting
Ge-risenlic, fitting, proper
Ge-risene, fitting, becoming; ġerisna beon, to be of (the number of) unbecoming things
Rixian. See Ricsian
Rome-buph, the city of Rome
Rustiġ, rusty
Ge-þyht, straight, direct
Ryne, *m.* course

S.

Sacu, *f.* strife
Sæ, *m. f.* sea, lake
Sæ-ræpelð, *f.* sea-course
Sæġen, *f.* saying, utterance
Sæl, *m.* time
Ge-sæliġ, happy, blessed
Ge-sældð, *f.* happiness, blessing
Sagl } *m.* club, pole
Sahl }
Sam . . . . sam, whether . . . . or
Samcuce, half alive
Ge-samnian, to assemble
Sand, *n.* sand
Sandiht, sandy
Sariġ, sorry, sorrowful
Sarl, *f.* soul
Ge-scadwislice, distinctly, discreetly
Ge-scamian, to feel shame
Scamlic, shameful
Scande } shame, disgrace
Sconde }
Scandlic, scandalous, shameful
Sceal, pl. sculon, pret. sceolde (scolde), shall, must, debeo, Ger. sollen
Sceap, *n.* sheep
Ge-sceapan, pret, -sceop, (-scop), to shape, create, give (a name)
Sceapp, sharp
Sceat } *m.* angle
Sceata }
Sceapian, to see, behold
Sceapunġ, *f.* view, seeing
Sceop } poet, bard; sceop-leoð,
Scop } poem, song
Sceopsan, to bite off, or gnaw
Sceopp, *n.* garb, dress
Sceopt, short
Sceoptlice, shortly
Ge-sceot, *n.* shooting, arrow
Sceotan, pret. sceat, pl. scuton, to shoot, run, flow
Scib-ġebrȳc, *n.* ? shipwreck
Scil, scale (of a serpent, &c.)
Scilban. See Ge-scylban
Ge-scilðnes, protection
Scincræft, *m.* magic, sorcery, artifice
Scinend, shining
Scinlac, *n.* delusion, treachery, image, idol
Scip, *n.* ship.
Scip-ȳþ, *f.* fleet
Scip-here, *m.* ship-army, fleet
Scip-læst, transport-ship
Scip-rap, *m.* ship-rope
Scir, *f.* shire, province
Scirian to destroy, clear of, get rid of
Scirinġes-heal. In the south of Norway there was in ancient times a trading place, which has since been forgotten, named Skíringssalr. This was, however, strictly the name of a district (herred) in the most south-

western part of Vestfold, the present parish (sogn) of Thjöling, between the mouth of the river Laagen and the Sandefjord; but the site of the town may still be recognised in the name of Kaupang (Kaupangr) attached to a farm (gaard). Munch, *Historisk-geogr. Beskrivelse over Kongeriket Norge, i Middelalderen*, Moss, 1849. See also Aall, Snorri, i., p. 35.

Scol, *f.* school

Scomian, to feel shame

Scondlic, shameful, disgraceful

Scop, *m.* poet

Scpiðe-Finnaȝ, the inhabitants of that part of Bothnia which lies between the Angerman and the Torneå, perhaps including those dwelling to the north of Norway

Le-ȝcpincan, pret. -ȝcpanc, pl. -ȝcpuncon, to shrink

Sculan, pres. ic ȝceal, pl. ȝculon, (ȝceolon), debere, shall

Scýlð, *m.* shield

Le-ȝcýlðan, to shield, protect

Le-ȝcýnðan, to shend, put to shame

Ā-ȝcýppan, pret. -ȝceop (-ȝcop), part. -ȝceapen, to shape, create, bestow (a name)

Le-ȝcýpran, to shorten

Scýt, shot, power of shooting

Scýtta, shooter, archer

Se, the, masc. Ger. der

Le-ȝeah. See Seon

Sealt, *n.* salt, *also* salt, *adj.*

Seapa-ppenc, *m.* stratagem, device

Seapian, to sorrow; part. ȝeapigenðe

Seapu, *f.* stratagem, artifice, snare

Le-ȝecan, pret. -ȝohte, to seek, visit, go to

Secȝan, Ā-ȝecȝan, Le-ȝecȝan } pret. ȝæðe, to say, tell, recount

Seȝtneȝ, softness, ease

Seȝel, *m.* sail

Seȝlian, Le-ȝeȝlian } to sail

Sel, good, desirable

Selðon, seldom

Selðȝyn, rare

Selt, p. 422, l. 15, apparently an error for ȝetl

Le-ȝemian, to reconcile, allay

Senðan, to send

Seo, Sio } the, fem. Ger. die

Seoȝeþa, -e, seventh

Seoȝontiȝ, Seoȝantiȝ } (hunð), seventy

Seoȝontýne, seventeen

Seoȝoða, -e, seventh

Seol, Siol } *m.* seal, phoca

Seolȝep, *n.* silver

Seon, Le-ȝeon } 3 pers. -ȝýhð, pret. -ȝeah, pl. -ȝapon, part. ȝeȝepen

Sepmenðe, Sarmatia, a country to the north of Mægthaland, and to the east of the Burgendas, extending to the Riphæan mountains, being the modern Livonia, Esthonia, and part of Lithuania

Setl, *n.* seat, setting, siege

Le-ȝetneȝ, Le-ȝetnýȝ } law, institute

Settan, Ā-ȝettan, Le-ȝettan } to set, set up, place, establish, confirm, appoint, allay

Seþe, who, *masc.*

Sib, *f.* kin, relationship

Sibb, *f.* peace

Sibȝum, Le-ȝibȝum } peaceable

Siȝe, *m.* victory, *f.* at p. 382, l. 6

Simbel-ȝapenðe, ever journeying, wandering

Sin-, ever; *used as a prefix*

Singan, pret. ȝanȝ, pl. ȝunȝon, to sing

Sin-þýpȝtenðe, ever thirsting

Sipian, Sýpian, Sýppan } to lay snares, plot, contrive

Le-ȝittan, pret. -ȝæt, to sit, post (oneself)

Six, Sýx } six

Sixtig } sixty
Sýxtig }
Sixtýne, sixteen
Síð, *m.* journey, way, time
Síðmeſt, last
Síððan } then, afterwards
Sýððan }
Slæð, *n.* plain, Dan. slette? swamp? mountain-pass?
Slæp, *m.* sleep
Slæpan } pret. ſlep, to sleep
Slapan }
Slæpende, sleeping
Á-ſlapian to grow slothful
Slean, 3 pers. ſlýð, pret. ſloh, pl. ſlogon, part. ge-ſlagen (ge-ſlegen), to slay, strike
Á-ſlean, to strike off. See Slean
Slege, *m.* slaying, slaughter
Sliht, *m.* slaughter
Slog (ſloh), pret. of ſlean
Smæl, small, narrow
Smeorende, smarting
Smeðe, smooth
Smic, *m.* smoke
Á-ſmorian, to smother
Snap, *m.* snow
Snel, bold, active
Snoſ, daughter-in-law
Snýttro, *f.* prudence, sagacity
Ge-ſomnian, to assemble
Sona, soon, immediately; ſona þæſ, immediately after
Sond, *n.* sand
Sorg, *m.* sorrow, apprehension, care
Soð, sooth, true
Soðfæſt, veracious, righteous
Á-ſpanan } pret. aſpeon (aſpon),
Ge-ſpanan } to draw to, entice
Speð, *f.* opulence, prosperity
Speðig, opulent
Spell, *n.* discourse, narrative, tale
Spell-cýðe, *m.* narrative
Á-ſpendan, to disperse, distribute
Speon, pret. of ſpanan, to draw to, entice. See Áſpanan
Spere, *n.* spear
Spinge, *f.* sponge
Ge-ſpon, enticed, attracted. See Áſpanan
Ge-ſpopan, pret. -ſpeop, to thrive, succeed
Sprecan } 3 pers. ſprýcð, pret.
Ge-ſprecan } ſprǽc, to speak, say
Sprǽc, *f.* speech
Á-ſpringan, pret. aſprang, pl. a-ſprungon, to spring up
Stace, *f.* stake
Stæl, *m.* place
Stæl-hræn, *m.* decoy-raindeer, pl. -hranaſ
Stænen, of stone
Stæſ-ſtitere, historian
Stalian, to steal, come unawares
Stalung, *f.* stealing, theft
Stan, *m.* stone
Standan } 3 pers. ſtent, pret. ge-ſtod, to stand, exist, last
Ge-ſtandan }
Stanig, stony
Ge-ſtapan, pret. -ſtop, to step
Stað, *n.* shore, bank
Ge-ſtaðelian, to found
Staþol, *m.* foundation
Stellan } pret. aſtealde, to set
Á-ſtellan } up, set on foot, begin
Stenc, *m.* stench
Steop-fæder, stepfather
Steop-moder, stepmother
Steop-ſunu, stepson
Steorbord, *n.* starboard, right
Sticcemælum, piecemeal, here and there
Stician, to stick, pierce
Sticung, sticking, piercing
Stigan } pret. ſtah, pl. ſtigon, to
Á-ſtigan } go (up or down)
Gerihtian, to dispose, ordain.
Stihtung } dispensation, provi-
Ge-ſtihtung } dence
Stillan } to still, appease
Ge-ſtillan }
Stilnes, quiet, tranquillity
Stincan, pret. ſtanc, pl. ſtuncon, to stink, emit odour
Stop, *f.* place
Strang } strong, powerful, valiant;
Streng } comp. ſtrengra, sup. ſtrengeſt
Ge-ſtrangian, to strengthen
Stream, *m.* stream
Ge-ſtreon, *f.* gain, treasure

Strong, strong, powerful
Strýnan } to beget, conceive
A-strýnan }
Stupian, to stoop
Styccemælum, piecemeal
Le-strýnan } to regulate, restrain,
Le-strýpian } govern
Sulh, *n.* plough
Sum, some, a, an
Sumor, *m.* summer
Sund, swimming; Lat. natatio
Le-sund, sound, whole
Sundor-spræc, *f.* private conference
Sunne, sun
Sunu, son
Suppe, a Slavonic people inhabiting Lusatia, Misnia, part of Brandenburg and Silesia. Their capital was Sorau
Surl, *n.* torment
Le-supian, to pass in silence, silere
Suð, south
Suðemest, southmost
Suðpihte, in a southward direction; suðpihte, due south
Spa, so, such, as; spa spa, like as
Spætan, pret. spætte, to sweat
Spang. See Spingan
Spa same spa, as well as, the same as
Spatig, sweaty
Spa-þeah, nevertheless, however
Speðel, *m.* sulphur; speðlen, sulphureous
Speðn, *n.* dream
Speg, *m.* sound, noise
Spelgere, drunkard, glutton
Spelcan, pret. spealc, pl. spulcon, to die, perish (by death)
Spencan } to vex, afflict
Le-spencan }
Speor, father-in-law
Speora, neck
Speord, *n.* sword
Speostor, sister
Le-speostra, sisters
Speotol } manifest
Sputol }
Speotolice, manifestly
Spepian } pret. spor, part. -ge-
Le-spepian } sporen, to swear
Spet, sweet
Le-speþþian, to mitigate
Spic, craft, guile
Le-spican, pret. -spac, pl. -spicon, to deceive, desist from; gov. gen. withdraw from, desist
Spicdom, fraud, deceit, treachery
Le-spigian. See Lespian
Spilc }
Spylc } such
Spelc }
Le-spinc, *n.* toil
Spingan, pret. spang, pl. spungon, to scourge
Spiðlic, violent; spiðlice, violently
Spiðor, more; comp. of spið
Spiþorð, superl. of spið, above all, chiefly; most violently
Spiðra, right, dexter
Le-sputelian, to make manifest, show
Spylce, as if, as though
Spyn, *n.* swine
Sy, subj. pres. of peran, to be
Syfan, seven
Syl, *f.* post, pillar, column
Sylf, self
Sylfren, of silver
Syllan } pret. realde, to sell,
Le-syllan } give
Symbel, *n.* feast
Symbel } ever, always; on simbel,
Symble } continually
Syn, *f.* sin
Synðrig, singular, extra, apart
Le-syne, visible, from seon
Syngian, to sin
Syrele, the country of the Wends so called

T.

Tacen, *n.* token, sign
Tacnian } to betoken, show, de-
Le-tacnian } clare
Tacnung, *f.* tokening, appointment, sign, miracle
Tæcan, pret. tæhte, to teach, direct
Tælan, to blame, increpate
Talenta, talent
Tam, tame
Tapian, prepare, treat
Le-teah. See Teon
Teala, well

Ā-tellan } pret. -tealde, tell, count,
Ge-tellan } recount, reckon
Tempel, *n.* temple
Tengan, to march on, rush on
Ge-tenge, heavy, oppressive
Teon } 3 pers. tyhð ; pret.
Ā-teon } teah, pl. tugon, to
Ge-teon } draw, lead, go, accuse
Teona, injury, wrong, accusation, tribulation
Teoþe, tenth
Teppinna-land, the country between the northern point of the Bothnian Gulf and the North Cape
Tiberner, sacrifice
Tid, *f.* time, tide
Tidlice, betimes, soon, in time
Tigel, *m.* tile, brick
Tihtle, *f.* accusation
Tima, time, hour
Timber, *n.* timber, material
Ge-timber, *n.* structure, habitation
Timbrian }
Ā-timbrian } to build
Ge-timbrian }
Tintregian, to torment, afflict
Tintrego, torments
Tiðian }
Ge-tiðian } to grant, consent to
Ge-tigðian }
To, to, too; to þon, in order, to the end
Tobeatan, to beat to pieces
Tobeorstan, pret. -bærst, to burst
Tobiddan, to pray to, adore. See Biddan
Tobrecan, pret. -bræc, part. -brocen, to break to pieces, demolish
Tobreðan, pret. -briéd, pl. -bruðon, to pull or tear in pieces, disperse
To-cuman, to come to, attain. See Luman
Todælan, to divide, separate, disperse
To-eacan, in addition to, besides
To-emnes, even with, opposite, along
Toferian, to disperse, separate, proceed to. See Farian
Toreoll, pret. of toreallan. See Feallan
To-forlætan, to let, leave, allow, admit. See Forlætan
Togædere, together
Togædere-fereð, towards each other
To-gehatan, pret. -het, to promise
Tohlidan, pret. tohlad, to gape, open
To-hopa, hope
Tolicgan, to lie to *or* towards, to be separated
To-middes, in the middle
Tonemnan, to name, distinguish by name
Top, *m.* tower
Toprung, hurling, casting
Topn, *m.* anger
Toretlan, to settle
Torlean, pret. -rloh, to strike down, destroy. See Slean
Toromne, together
Tortician, to pierce
Toteon } to draw, drag, pull to
To-geteon } pieces. See Teon
Totepan, to tear in pieces
Totpæman, to divide
Toweard, towards, to come, future
Towendan, to overthrow, subvert, abrogate (a law)
Toweorpan, pret. -wearp, pl. -wurpon, to overthrow, destroy
Toð, *m.* tooth, pl. teð
Trahtigean, to discuss
Treow, *n.* tree, stake
Treow, *f.* covenant, treaty
Ge-trewian, to trust
Trog } trough, boat
Troh }
Truma, cohort, body (of men); butan truman, without order
Truro, a town on the border of the mere or lake from which the river Ilfing (Elbing) flows in its course towards the city of that name
Ge-trumian } to trust, believe
Ge-treowian }
Trymian } to set in array, *or*
Ge-trymian } in truman, to encourage

Le-tryp, true, faithful
Tu, two
Tungel } n. star, heavenly body
Tungol }
Ā-tugon } see Leteon
Le-tugon }
Tun, m. town, villa, vill
Tunece, f. tunic, toga
Tupa, twice
Tpa, f. n. two
Tpegen, m. two
Tpelf, twelve
Tpelftig (hund), hundred and twenty
Tpentig, twenty
Tpeogan, pret. tpeode, for tpeogde, to doubt
Tpeogendlic, doubtful
Tpeolice, doubtfully, ambiguously, equivocally
Tpeon, m. doubt
Le-tpeoman, to doubt
Tpeopa }
Tpipa } twice
Tpýpa }
Tpýpýpdig, ambiguous, equivocal
Le-týan, to instruct
Týdpian, to bring forth (offspring)
Le-týgpian. See Letidian
Týn, ten
Týncen?

U.

Ufan, up; on-ufan, upon
Ufane, from above
Ufep, ulterior; ufepan dagum, at some future day
Uht, n.? thing, creature, wight
Unablinnenlice, incessantly. See Blinnan
Unap, f. dishonour
Le-unapian, to dishonour
Unapimed, unnumbered, numberless
Unapimedlic, countless
Unafecgendlic, unspeakable
Unbebolit, unsold. See Bebicgan
Unclænnef, uncleanness, impurity, unchasteness
Le-unclænfian, to pollute, defile
Uncuð, unknown
Undep, under, among
Undepfeng. See Undepfon
Undepfon, to undertake, receive, adopt. See Fon
Undepgýtan, pret. -geat, to understand, perceive
Undepiende, innocent
Undepn, morning, nine o'clock a.m.
Undepneoþan, underneath
Undepþeod } subjected
Undepþeoded }
Undep-þeop, thrall, serf
Undon, to undo. See Don
Uneaþe, with difficulty, hardly
Uneaðnef } harshness, barbarity,
Unieðnef } difficulty
Uneðe, difficult, unpleasant
Unfopbæpned, unburnt
Unfpið, m. hostility
Ungeapu, unaware; ungeapefe, unawares
Ungeappe, unawares
Ungefeplic, unsocial
Ungefohge, excessively
Ungefotlic, impassable on foot
Ungelieſedlic } incredible
Ungelýfedlic }
Ungemæt } immense; mid unge-
Ungemet } mete, immoderately
Ungemetlic, immense; ungemetlice, exceedingly
Ungenýdd, without compulsion, spontaneously
Ungeopne, reluctantly, unwillingly
Ungepad, discordant, disagreeing
Ungepædnef, dissension
Ungepifne, unfitting, unbecoming
Ungefælig, unblessed, unhappy
Ungetæf, barbarous, untractable, detestable
Ungetima, mishap, calamity (at p. 318 we should probably read ungetiman)
Ungepealdef, involuntarily
Ungepif, uncertainty
Ungepunelic, unusual
Ungepýld, unsubdued
Ungeþpæpnef, dissension, discord
Ungýltig, guiltless
Unmiltfung, lack of pity, cruelty
Unmýndlinga, unexpectedly, unawares

Unoferppunnen, unconquered
Unoferppunnenð, unconquerable
Unpæð, *m.* evil counsel
Le-unpett, saddened
Unpiht, *n.* injustice, wrong
Unpihtlic, unrighteous
Unpihtpiſ, unrighteous, unjust
Unriht, *f.* enmity
Unrpeðiġ, not opulent
Unrtillneſ, unstillness, restlessness
Untiðlic, untimely, unseasonable
Untreoplice, faithlessly
Untreorð, *f.* treachery, perfidy
Untrumneſ, sickness, malady
Untreoġenðlice, Untreġenðlice { undoubtedly, not doubting, positively
Unpæp, Unpæplice { unaware
Unpæſtmbæpneſ, unfruitfulness
Unpenlic, hopeless, desperate
Unpeorð, Unpeorðlic, Unpýrð { unworthy, worthless, vile
Unpillum, unwillingly; hiſ unpillum, against his will
Unpiſ, unwise
Unpitenðe, unwittingly, voluntarily?
Unppaſt, weak, powerless
Unýþe, not easy
Unþanc ſecġan, contr. to þanc ſecġan, to take amiss
Unþancoſt, against the will. Lat. invite
Unþeap, *m.* vice
Up, Upp { up.
Up-ahebban, to raise. See Ahebban.
Up-aheng, hung up. See Ahon
Up-ahoſon. See Up-ahebban
Up-aræran, to raise
Up-eoðon, ascended, went up. See Gan
Up-ſoplætan, to divide (a river). See Foplætan
Uppeapðeſ, upwards
Up-ſeſt, runs up. See Sceotan
Up-ſýlð, springs up. See Seallan
Upe, our
Ut, ute, out, external, *adj.*
Ut-aloccian, to entice out
Utan, without, from without
Ut-arceotan, pret. -ſceat, to shoot out, dart forth. See Sceotan
Uten (utan)-cumen, stranger
Utſapan, to go out. See Fapan
Utſleoġan, to flee out. See Fleoġan
Ut-ſoplætan, to let out, deliver. See Foplætan
Uton, let us
Uton-ymbſapen, surrounded
Ut-oðbpeðan, to draw out. See Abpeðan
Utſihte, diarrhœa
Utſionde, flowing, running (as a sore)
Ut-ýpnan, to run out. See Ypnan
Uþon. See Unnan
Le-uðan. See Unnan
Unnan, Le-unnan { 1 pers. pres. an, pl. unnon, pret. uþe, to give, allow

Ƿ.

Ƿa, woe, woful, sad
A-ƿacan, pret. apoc, to wake, arise
Le-ƿacian, to flinch
Ƿaðan, pret. poð, to wade, go
A-ƿæcnian, to awake, arise
Ƿæðla, poor
Ƿæl, *n.* slaughter, death
Ƿælġrimlice, fiercely, cruelly
Ƿælhreoplice, cruelly
Ƿæl-ſtop, *f.* field of battle
Ƿæpen, *n.* weapon, arm
Ƿæpman, Ƿæpneð-man { man
Ƿæp, *f.* compact, covenant
Ƿæpnian, to protect, guard
Ƿæpſcipe, caution
Ƿæſtm, *m.* fruit
Ƿæſtm-bæpo, *f.* fruitfulness
Ƿæt, wet
Ƿæta, wetness, humidity
Ƿætep, *n.* water
Ƿah, *m.* wall
Ƿan. See Ƿinnan
Ƿaſian, to diminish, impair
Ƿannſreð, *f.* poverty
Ƿar, *f.* care, caution
Ƿaſie, heed, guard, protection
Le-parnian, to warn, prohibit
Ƿat (ic), know (I). See Witan

Ƿealð, *m.* forest
Ƿealð, Ge-pealð } *m.* power
Ƿealðan, Ge-pealðan } pret. peolð, to govern, command
Ge-pealðen, powerful
Ƿeall, *m.* wall
Ƿeallan, 3 pers. ƿýlð, pret. peoll, to well, bubble up, boil
Ƿeapð, *m.* ward, guard, advanced post
Ƿeapð. See Ƿeorðan
Ƿeax, *n.* wax
Ƿeaxan, Ƿexan, Á-peaxan } pret. peox, part. pexanðe, to wax, grow, increase
Ƿeð, *n.* pledge
Ƿeðan, Á-peðan } pret. peðde, to become mad, rage
Ƿeðð, *n.* pledge
Ƿeðer, *n.* weather
Ƿeg, *m.* way
Ƿel, well
Ƿela, wealth, pl. riches; prosperity
Ge-pelgian, to enrich
Ƿelig, Ƿeleg } wealthy, rich
Ƿen, *f.* hope, expectation
Ƿenan, to ween, imagine
Ƿendan, Á-pendan } to turn, restore, change
Ƿendel-ræ, Mediterranean
Ƿeonoðland, the country of the Vinedi or Wends. Under the name of Vindland was at one time comprised the whole coast-land from the Slie to the mouth of the Vistula
Ƿeorc, *n.* work
Ge-peorcan, Ge-ƿýrcan } pret. -pophte, to work, make, do
Á-peorpan, pret. -pearp, pl. -purpon, to cast, depose
Ƿeorð, worthy, honourable; superl. peorþest
Ƿeorðan, Ge-peorðan } 3 pers. ƿýrð; pret. pearð, pl. purðon, part. geporðen, to become, be, happen; to decree, determine
Ƿeorðfullice, honourably
Ƿeorþian, to honour, worship
Ƿeorþlic, honourable; peorþlice, honourably
Ƿeorðmynt, *m. f.* dignity, honour
Ƿeorðscipe, worship, honour
Ƿeota. See Ƿita
Ƿepan, pret. pop, to weep, bewail
Ƿer, man, husband
Ge-pergian, to weary
Ƿerian, Á-perian, Ƿerigan } to defend; part. pergenðe for perigenðe
Ƿerian, to wear
Ƿerig, weary, afflicted
Ƿerod, *n.* army, host, band
Ƿesan, eom, eart, is (ys); subj. sý, pæpe, to be
Ƿest, waste, desolate
Ƿest, west
Ƿestan, from the west
Á-pestan, to lay waste, desolate
Ƿest-dæl, *m.* the west part
Ƿestemest, westmost
Ƿesten, *n.* waste, wilderness
Ƿestene, in the west
Ƿestepeard, westward
Ƿest-sæ, the West-sea, or that part of the German ocean that washes the coasts of Norway, Jutland, and Holstein. Dan. Vester Hav.
Ƿest-suð, south-west
Ge-pician, to encamp
Ƿicing, *m.* viking, pirate
Ƿic-stow, *f.* camp
Ƿid, wide
Ƿide, widely, far apart
Ƿif, *n.* wife, woman
Ƿifhic, womanly
Ƿifman, woman
Ƿig, *m.* war, battle
Ƿigcræft, *m.* military knowledge
Ƿig-hus, *n.* tower
Ƿig-pægn, *m.* war-chariot
Ƿiht, *f.* thing, creature, wight
Ƿild, wild
Ge-pild, Ge-ƿýld } overpowered; to gesyldum don, to subdue, overcome
Ƿildeor, *n.* wild beast
Ge-pill, will, desire
Ƿilla, will
Ƿillan, pret. polde, to will

Ƿille, *f.* well, spring
Ƿilnian, to will, desire, *gov. gen.*
Ƿilnung, desire
Ƿin, *n.* wine
Ƿind, *m.* wind.
Ƿindan, pret. ƿand, pl. ƿundon, to wind, whirl, roll
Le-ƿinn, *n.* war
Le-ƿinna, foe
Ƿinnan. pret. ƿan (ƿon), pl. ƿunnon, to war, win
Ƿinter, *m.* winter, year. The northern nations reckoned by *winters*
Ƿinter-ƿetl, *n.* winter-quarters
Le-ƿintrad, full of years
Ƿintrig, wintry
Ā-ƿirgan, to strangle
Ƿiƿ, wise
Ƿiƿ } *f.* wise, manner, way
Ƿiƿe }
Ƿiƿa, counsellor, councillor
Ƿiƿcan, to wish
Ƿiƿdom, *m.* wisdom
Ƿiƿlic, wise
Ƿita, senator
Ƿitan, to accuse
Ƿitan, pret. ƿioton ? to impute
Ƿitan; ic ƿat, pl. ƿiton, pret. ƿiƿte, to know; ƿitende, voluntarily?
Le-ƿitan, pret. -ƿat, pl. ƿiton, part. geƿiten, to go, pass away
Ƿitega, prophet
Le-ƿitegian, to prophesy
Ƿitland, the country bordering on the east bank of the Vistula
Le-ƿitneƿ, witness
Ƿitnian, to punish
Ƿið, against, towards, with, on
Ƿið-æƿtan, after, behind
Ƿiðcƿeþan, refuse, oppose. See Lƿeþan
Ƿiðeƿƿlita, adversary
Ƿiþeƿƿeard, adverse, hostile
Ƿiþeƿƿinna, adversary
Ƿiðhabban, to resist
Ƿiðƿacan, pret. ƿiðƿoc, to renounce, deny, declare enmity
Ƿiðƿeon, pret. -ƿeah, pl. ƿaƿon, to rebel. See Seon
Ƿiðƿtandan, to withstand. See Standan
Ƿiðutan, without
Ƿiðƿinnan, to war against. See Ƿinnan
Ƿlenceo, *f.* pride
Ƿod, wood, mad
Ƿoh, *n.* crooked, wrong
Ƿol, *m. f.* plague, pestilence
Ƿolbæƿneƿ, pestilence, calamity
Ƿol-bƿÿne, *m* pestilence
Ƿolde. See Ƿillan
Ƿol-geƿinn, pestilential war
Ƿon. See Ƿinnan
Ƿop, *m.* wail, weeping, whoop: from ƿepan, to weep
Ƿoƿc, *n.* work
Ƿoƿd, *n.* word, speech, resolve
Le-ƿoƿht, wrought. See Leƿeoƿcan
Ƿoƿld. See Ƿoƿuld
Ƿoƿmƿ, *m.* corruption, pus
Ƿoƿuld, *f.* world
Ƿoƿuldlic, worldly, secular
Ƿoƿuld-ÿƿmð, *f.* worldly, misery
Ƿoƿuld-þing, *n.* worldly thing
Ƿƿacu, *f.* vengeance, retaliation
Ƿƿæcca } exile
Ƿƿæccea }
Ƿƿæcƿið, *m* exile, banishment
Ƿƿæne, libidinous
Ƿƿænneƿ, libidinousness, lust
Ƿƿat. See Ƿƿitan
Ƿƿað, wroth
Ƿƿecan } pret. ƿƿæc, to avenge,
Le-ƿƿecan } punish
Ƿƿenc, *m.* trick, devise
Le-ƿƿit, *n.* writing, testament, book
Ƿƿitan } pret. ƿƿat, pl. ƿƿiton, to write, score. The Latin has: cum panes per convivia frangerentur
Ā-ƿƿitan }
Ƿƿixlian, to exchange
Ƿƿoht, *f.* crime, evil
Ƿuce, *f.* week
Ƿudu, *m.* wood, forest
Ƿulƿ, *m.* wolf
Le-ƿuna, wont, usage
Ƿuld, *f.* wound; adj. wounded
Le-ƿundian, to wound
Ƿundoƿ, *n.* wonder, miracle, prodigy
Ƿundoƿlic, wonderful
Ƿundƿian, to wonder

Ƿunian } to dwell, continue
Le-ƿunian }
Ƿunung, *f.* habitation
Le-ƿẏðeꝛ, *n.* tempest, bad weather
Ƿẏlð, powerful, prevailing
Le-ƿẏlðan, to subdue, subject
Ƿẏlle, rolling?
Ƿẏlte, the Wilzen, a people that settled in Germany in the sixth or seventh century; they occupied the east of Mecklenburg, and the Mark of Brandenburg. The river Havel was the boundary between them and the Sorabi
Ƿẏnn, *f.* delight, joy
Ƿẏꝛð, *f.* fate
Le-ƿẏꝛð, *n.* word, utterance
Le-ƿẏꝛhꝛ, part. of ȝeƿẏꝛcan; buꝛon ȝeƿẏꝛhꝛum, undeservedly. See Leƿeoꝛcan
Ƿẏꝛhꝛa, wright, workman
Ƿẏꝛm, *m.* worm, serpent
Ƿẏꝛm-cẏn, *n.* the worm or serpent race
Ƿẏꝛnan, to warn, refuse, deny
Ƿẏꝛp, *m.* cast
Ƿẏꝛꝛeꝛꝛ, worst
Ƿẏꝛꝛ } worse
Ƿẏꝛꝛe }
Ƿẏꝛꝛ, *f. n.* herb, plant, wort
Ƿẏꝛꝛ-ꝛuma, root
Ƿẏꝛþan. See Ƿeoꝛþan
Ƿẏꝛþe, worthy
Ƿẏꝛþꝛulneꝛ, honour

Y.

Le-ẏcan, pret. -ẏhꝛe, to eke, increase
Yꝛel, evil, subst. and adj.
Yꝛelian, to harm, injure
Ylc, same
Ylðeꝛꝛ, eldest, chief
Ylðꝛa, elder, forefather
Ylpenð, *m.* elephant
Ymb } about, around
Ymbe }
Ymbꝛaꝛan, to go round or about. See Faꝛan
Ymbȝanȝ, *m.* circumference
Ymbhæꝛð, surrounded; part. of ẏmbhabban
Ymbhƿẏꝛꝛꝛ, *m.* circuit, orb
Ymbhcȝan, to lie around, encircle
Ymbꝛiꝛꝛan, to besiege, invest (a place)
Ymbuꝛan, round about
Ymbƿeaxan, pret. ẏmbƿeox, part. ẏmbƿeaxen, to grow about
Ynðꝛe, *f.* ounce
Yppan } to disclose
Le-ẏppan }
Yꝛꝛeꝛeaꝛð, *m.* heir, inheritor
Yꝛhð, *f.* sloth, fear
Yꝛminȝ, poor wretch
Yꝛmð, *f.* misery
Yꝛnan, pret. ana, pl. uꝛnon, to run
Yꝛꝛe, *n.* ire, anger; adj. angry
Yꝛꝛ, *m.* tempest
Yꝛemeꝛꝛ, outmost; sup. of uꝛ
Yꝛeꝛen, of otter-skin; from otter
Yð, comp. of eað, easy; þe ẏð, more easily
Yþelice } easily, for eaþelice
Yȝþelice }
Yþꝛe, more easily

Ð.

Ða, when, then; þa-ȝẏꝛ, still, yet
Ða, pl. of þæꝛ
Ðæm } dat. of þæꝛ
Ðam }
Ðæne, i. q. þone
Ðæꝛ, there, where. Orosius frequently uses þæꝛ in the sense of ȝiꝛ, if
Ðæꝛa } gen. pl. of þæꝛ
Ðaꝛa }
Ðæꝛæꝛ, thereat
Ðæꝛinne, therein
Ðæꝛmið, therewith
Ðæꝛoꝛ, thereof
Ðæꝛꝛo, thereto
Ðæꝛuꝛe, thereout
Ðæꝛ, after; þæꝛ on moꝛȝen, the morning after
Ðæꝛ, that, the
Ðaꝛian } to approve, permit
Le-þaꝛian } endure
Ða-ȝẏꝛ, yet, still
Ðanc, *m.* thought
Ðanc, *m.* thanks
Ðanceꝛ, for the sake or love of

Le-þancian, to thank
Ðanon, thence; þanon-uꞇ, out from thence
Ðaꞅ, accus. fem. of þiꞅ
Ðe, who, which, that, the
Ðe, whether; þe . . þe, whether . . or
Ðeah } though, although
Ðeh }
Ðeah- } hꞅæþeꞅe, yet, neverthe-
Ðeh- } less
Ðeaꞅꞅ, *f.* need, necessity
Ðeaꞅ, *m.* custom, morals, manners
Ðeꞅen, minister, officer, soldier, person
Ðeꞅnꞅcipe, valour, ability, manhood
Ðencan } pret. þohꞇe, to think,
Ā-þencan } devise, intend
Le-þencan }
Ā-þenian, to stretch out, expand
Ðeoð, *f.* nation, people
Ðeoꞅman, thief
Ðeoh, *n.* thigh
Ðeoꞅan for þiꞅꞅum ? p. 326, l. 24
Ðeoꞅꞇeꞅnÿꞅ, darkness
Ðeoꞅ, *m.* slave, serf; adj. servile
Ðeoꞅðom, slavery, thraldom
Ðeoꞅian, to serve, to be a slave
Ðeoꞅoꞇ, *m.* servitude, slavery
Ðic } thick
Ðicce }
Ðicꞅan } to eat, drink, partake
Le-þicꞅan }
Ðiclice, thickly
Ðiðeꞅ, thither
Ðiðeꞅꞅeaꞅð, thitherward
Ðincan } pret. þuhꞇe, to seem; v.
Ðÿncan } impers.
Ðinꞅ, *n.* thing; on ælcum þinꞅum, in every way, totally; ꞅoꞅ hiꞅ þinꞅum, on his account
Le-þinꞅian, to agree with, mediate
Le-þoꞅꞇa, companion, associate, ally
Le-þoꞅꞇian, to associate, ally with
Le-þohꞇ, *m.* thought, intention, design
Ðohꞇe. See Ðencan
Ðolian } to suffer, undergo
Le-þolian }
Ðon, that; ꞇo þon, in order to
Ðoncunꞅ, *f.* thanking, gratitude
Ðone, acc. masc. him, that
Ðonne, than, then, when
Ðꞅeaꞅunꞅ, *f.* threat
Ðꞅeo } three
Ðꞅÿ }
Ā-þꞅeoꞇan, to weary, tire
Ðꞅeoꞇeoþe, thirteenth
Ðꞅiðða -e, third
Ðꞅieꞅeðꞅe } *f.* trireme, a vessel
Ðꞅÿꞅeþꞅe } with three benches of oars
Le-þꞅinꞅan, pret, -þꞅanꞅ, pl. -þꞅunꞅon, to throng, press
Ðꞅiꞇiꞅ, thirty
Ðꞅoꞅian, to suffer, endure
Ðꞅÿmlic, grand, magnificent
Ðꞅÿꞅcÿꞇe, triangular
Ā-þꞅÿꞅemoðian, to suffocate
Ðꞅÿꞅmian, to oppress
Ā-þꞅÿꞅꞇꞅian, to darken, eclipse
Ðunoꞅ, *m.* thunder
Ðuꞅh-ꞅceoꞇan, to shoot through. See Sceoꞇan
Ðuꞅh } through
Ðuꞅuh }
Ðuꞅhꞇeon to carry through, accomplish. See Teon
Ðuꞅhꞅunian, to continue
Ðuꞅꞅꞇ, *m.* thirst
Ðuꞅenð, thousand
Ðÿ, abl. of þæꞇ, therefore
Ðÿ-læꞅ, lest
Ðÿllic, such
Ðÿꞅꞅꞇan, to thirst
Ðÿꞅ } this
Ðiꞅ }
Le-þꞅæꞅ, gentle, agreeing
Le-þꞅæꞅneꞅ, harmony, concord
Ðꞅiꞅeꞅ } across, obliquely, athwart
Ðꞅÿꞅeꞅ }
Ðÿꞅꞇeꞅneꞅ, darkness
Ā-þÿꞅan, to drive away.

THE END.

LONDON: W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

00086912

JJA g 50
the life Alfred the
Great 86912
JAC 923.143 Alf/Pau/Lif
B1872 15/11/56 28/12
DIGITIZED

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018